# American Numismatics Before the Civil War 1760-1860

*Emphasizing the story of Augustus B. Sage*

***by Q. David Bowers***

**Foreword by Dr. Joel J. Orosz**

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Q. David Bowers

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With best wishes
Eric & Emily Nunn
with gratitude
for
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# ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Q. David Bowers, with Raymond N. Merena, is an owner of Bowers and Merena Galleries, Inc., and has been in the rare coin business since he was a teenager in 1953. The author is recipient of the Pennsylvania State University College of Business Administration's Alumni Achievement Award (1976), has served as president of the American Numismatic Association (1983-1985) and president of the Professional Numismatists Guild (1977-1979), is a recipient of the highest honor bestowed by the ANA (the Farran Zerbe Award), was the first ANA member to be named Numismatist of the Year (1995), is a recipient of the highest honor given by the Professional Numismatists Guild (The Founders' Award), and has received more "Book of the Year Award" and "Best Columnist" honors given by the Numismatic Literary Guild than has any other writer. He is the author of over 40 books, hundreds of auction and other catalogues, and several thousand articles including columns in *Coin World* and *The Numismatist.*

Dave enjoys buying, selling, studying, and writing about coins. Seemingly, the more arcane the avenue of numismatic inquiry, the more he enjoys it! His other interests include American history, books, music, natural history, and art.

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*Augustus B. Sage*

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# *Style, Terminology, and Arrangement Notes*

**ABBREVIATIONS:** In modern (but not quoted) text, current postal abbreviations such as NY, PA, etc., are used; in original material such forms as Pa., Penna., Penn., etc., are retained.

**DIRECTORY LISTINGS:** In general, city directories of a given date were prepared during the previous year and contain information that may have changed by the directory date. Thus, a New York City directory dated 1860 was compiled in 1859. Further, old listings were sometimes continued uncorrected for several years or more, even though a person may have moved or died. Still further, many directories contain unexplained omissions. Thus, a person can be listed at a given address for several years, skipped for a year or two, and then relisted at the same address. Because of these considerations, directory listings are not always definitive for a given date, especially for people and businesses in different locations from one year to the next. Directories of certain organizations (the Boston Numismatic Society being an example) sometimes retained listings of deceased persons. An effort has been made to evaluate such listings and correct errors for use in the present text.

**EDGES:** While certain modern listings such as Rulau-Fuld *Medallic Portraits of Washington* (1985) and Russell Rulau's *Standard Catalogue of United States Tokens 1700-1900* (1st and 2nd editions) include listings such as *plain edge* and *reeded edge,* and while such listings are quoted in the present work, it is to be remembered that edge styles were rarely mentioned in nineteenth century catalogues. Moreover, the present writer tends to believe that at least a few listings of reeded edge Washington issues in reference works were assumed and did not represent specimens actually examined by the compilers; some pieces may have plain edges instead. Thus, present listings of varieties by edge styles (such as in Sage's Historical Tokens series) are not necessarily complete. In instances in which a variety exists in both styles of edge, the plain-edge variety is listed first, within a given metal.

**FOOTNOTES:** Footnotes, including in quoted material, are those of the present author (QDB) unless specifically noted otherwise.

**MEASUREMENTS / SCALES:** Coin scales used over the years in descriptions of coin diameters include the Mionnet Scale (see Appendix VIII for a discussion of this and other scales), popular from the 1850s through much of the 1860s, occasionally later; the American Scale (in 16ths of an inch), developed in 1858 and popularized beginning in the 1860s; and the metric scale in millimeters (publicized beginning in the late 1870s, though not used widely in the United States until the twentieth century). Modern measurements taken by the author and contributors to the present text are expressed in millimeters; weights are in grains (the last in deference to numismatic tradition; conversion information to the metric weight system is given in Appendix VIII).

**METALS:** There was no consistency in early catalogues with regard to metals and alloys. The same issues might be called *copper* in one listing and *bronze* in another. In the absence of metallurgical analysis, it is not possible to determine the precise alloys of copper used over a period of time. In reference listings of varieties, the word *copper* represents all such variations. However, *brass,* being distinctive in appearance, is listed separately. In original catalogues such terms as *tin, white metal,* and *pewter* were used to describe alloys consisting mainly of tin; the term *white metal,* popular today, is used in the present text to refer to such metals collectively. In instances in which a variety exists in multiple metals, the metals are listed, as appropriate, in this order: copper, brass, white metal, and silver.

**ORIGINALS—RESTRIKES—MULINGS:** In connection with Sage tokens and medals, those described as *originals* are tokens, typically about 30.8 mm. diameter, struck in copper, with plain edges, and marketed by Augustus B. Sage circa 1858 to early 1860. *Restrikes* are pieces from the same obverse and reverse die combinations as originals, but mostly struck in the 1860s and in different formats, such as white metal, brass, silver, or copper, with plain or reeded edges (most copper restrikes have reeded edges). *Mulings* are combinations of various Sage dies with other dies never used in that combination as part of the original Sage issues; some of these are mulings with other Sage dies, others are mulings with dies made by George H. Lovett (primarily) or Robert Lovett, Jr., among others, and were intended for other series.

**QUOTED MATERIAL:** Some quoted material has been lightly edited, but in all instances the original meaning has been preserved. In most original fixed-price listings, priced auction catalogues, etc., cent marks (¢) and dollar signs ($) were not used. Instead, items in dollars would be written as, for example, a $3 sale as 3, 3.00 or 300. Items in cents were often given as, for example, 20, 75, etc. For purposes of clarification ¢ and $ have been added to such quotations.

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The Bibliography and footnotes give additional sources.

# *Foreword*

*by Dr. Joel J. Orosz*

Q. David Bowers has been, since first hanging out his shingle as a coin dealer in 1953, God's gift to the numismatic publishing market. He has authored insightful biographies of the hobby's great personalities (T. Harrison Garrett, John Work Garrett, Abe Kosoff, Virgil M. Brand, the Norweb family, and Louis E. Eliasberg, Sr.); in-depth analyses of several coin series (silver dollars, trade dollars, encased postage, Indian cents, and commemoratives), detailed histories of institutions (the American Numismatic Association); and sweeping "big picture" hobby overviews (United States gold coins, and the overall history of the United States coinage). This is a remarkable range, but not even Dave Bowers has ever tried to do all of the above between the covers of a single volume. Incredibly, *American Numismatics Before the Civil War: The Story of Augustus B. Sage,* is all of these things—and more.

This volume is certainly a biography, for it traces the life story of Sage, a veritable numismatic supernova of the late 1850s. Young Augustus came out of nowhere to create an enormous legacy in the hobby, then quickly vanished from the scene. Despite his historical importance, virtually nothing had found its way into print about "Gus" Sage before now, and Bowers' reconstruction of his life is as fascinating as it is important.

The book contains a meticulously researched and presented listing of Sage's token series and medallic issues. For the first time, these extensive and sometimes confusing emissions are measured, weighed, photographed and catalogued. It seems highly likely that the engaging stories Bowers tells about these rare survivors of the infancy of the American coin hobby will give rise to an entirely new collecting specialty: Sageiana.

The institutional side of this story discusses the American Numismatic Society, literally founded in Sage's living room, unearthing information that eluded even the society's two official historians (Weeks and Adelson). Perhaps most surprising is that what became a staid and august Society was established by youths barely old enough to raise stubble on their chins!

It is in the "big picture" of the 1850s numismatic scene, however, that this book truly shines. This decade, which marked the birth of the modern American numismatic hobby, is all but forgotten at the close of the twentieth century. Even most knowledgeable coin collectors of today, if they know anything of that period at all, regard it as ancient history: Sage has been as remote for them as Pliny the Elder. No one fortunate enough to read this volume, it is safe to say, will ever feel that way again. The volcanic temper of Charles Ira Bushnell, for example, lives again in his correspondence with "Gus," back in print for the first time in 140 years. Bowers reconstructs Sage's auctions, even down to the purchasers of individual coins. The book also displays its author's wide-ranging and wholly absorbing knowledge of the antebellum era historical context, weaving in, with equal facility, asides on the subjects of Tom Thumb, Jenny Lind, the Civil War, P.T. Barnum, and Nathaniel Currier of Currier & Ives fame, among dozens of others. Within numismatics we also read about scores of other early figures, some of whom have never been discussed in any numismatic book. Without any question, *American Numismatics Before the Civil War* will stand for years as the best reference to the personalities and events of the cradle age of the American coin hobby.

It is altogether fitting that Q. David Bowers should be the one to rescue Augustus B. Sage from unwarranted numismatic obscurity. Born nearly one hundred years apart (Sage in 1841, Bowers in 1938) both were precocious dealers in the '50s of their respective centuries. As to Bowers, we can be thankful that he fulfilled his youthful promise with a long and exemplary numismatic career. As to "Gus," all one can do, when reflecting that he died at a relatively early age, is to remember the lines penned by Sage's contemporary, the poet John Greenleaf Whittier:

*For of all the words of tongue or pen,*

*The saddest are these: It might have been.*

Dr. Joel J. Orosz
Kalamazoo, MI
July 2, 1998.

# *Author's Introduction*

Today, the name of Augustus B. Sage is little remembered. However, in the late 1850s he was one of the most prominent stars in the American numismatic constellation, despite his being only in his teenage years. Among his activities and accomplishments were these:

Sage was the first American to write a continuing numismatic column in a periodical publication (the *New-York Dispatch* in 1857).

Sage catalogued several coin collections for auction (one of which, the Henry Bogert sale, set a total price record in 1859 that was to endure until 1862). Indeed, for the year 1859 he was America's pre-eminent auction cataloguer, although, admittedly, with little in the way of serious competition.

Sage published two fixed-price lists, one of which may have been the first specifically illustrated American listing of its type; three colonial coins were pictured.

Sage issued over two dozen varieties of tokens and medals as part of what may have been the first successful private American effort to create for collectors and subscribers a series of related topical or commemorative medals. It seems that all other lengthy series of collector-oriented medals, ranging from those of the Lovetts and Robinson of the 1859-1861 era down to the productions of the Franklin Mint of the 1960s to date, followed in Sage's footsteps.

Sage, with several other collectors, founded the American Numismatic Society in the Sage family home in New York City. The Society went on to achieve great things and today is recognized as the center in America for numismatic research and study.

Sage distributed the first medal issued for the Civil War.

All of the preceding accomplishments were achieved when he was between 16 and 19 years old!

Important as he may have been to the history and tradition of coin collecting, neither the activities of Sage himself nor the details of his tokens and medals have ever been documented at length in a single study.

The present effort began with searching many newspapers, magazines, directories, and catalogues of the nineteenth century. To the information thus gained have been added selected commentaries, as credited, from modern scholars and a generous measure of help from numismatic historians, researchers, and genealogists, per the names listed in the Acknowledgments and Sources pages. The result, hopefully, will be found to be an illumination of Sage's activities as well as the numismatic era in which he played a part.

Often the solution of one mystery opened the door to another question. Thus, there remain some unknown facets of Sage's personal life and business activities, although many have been brought to light. Perhaps the present study will serve as a springboard for the interest of others.

At the outset it should be stated that while Sage had many accomplishments, writing was not one of them, at least not as evidenced by any of his located surviving publications. His published catalogues are written tersely with virtually nothing in the way of discussion, observations, or opinions, save perhaps for comments on a coin's rarity. However, his newspaper articles (in the *New-York Dispatch* in 1857) and his correspondence reveal a broad education in numismatics and history and a great depth of knowledge. His generosity and willingness to give credit to others also come to the fore.

Sage's memory was not of the best, and in later years he confused certain dates and names. However, he was a *doer,* and his accomplishments on the collecting and dealing scene were sufficient to place him in the front rank of the numismatic scene in the period of his greatest activity, which seems to have been circa 1856-1861, and especially from spring 1857 through early 1860.

I don't recall when I first encountered the name of Augustus B. Sage. It was probably in the mid-1950s—about 1954 or 1955—by which time I had been involved in rare coins for about two years, had been a dealer in a modest way for about a year, and had found numismatic history to be just as interesting as coins themselves and sometimes even more fascinating. This was a rather unusual thing for a rare coin dealer, but it is a direction that has brought a great deal of enjoyment to me over the years.

Within the decade of the 1950s I assembled a modest numismatic library consisting of a nearly complete set of *The Numismatist* (first published in 1888; my set began with 1894, as the earlier issues eluded me) and an absolutely complete set of the *American Journal of Numismatics.* There

was not much interest in collecting old coin magazines and catalogues back then, and the supply of most titles was more than adequate for the number of people desiring to buy them. I recall that the American Numismatic Society in New York City still had piles of old issues of the *American Journal of Numismatics* in storage, wrapped in brown paper by volumes, that were available for nominal cost to anyone interested.

In the pages of the *American Journal of Numismatics* I encountered a vast treasure trove of interesting information. First published in May 1866, the *AJN* (its popular nickname) was too late to be on the ground floor of the hobby in America. Much had already happened, and many numismatists who had been prominent in the 1840s, 1850s, and early 1860s had passed from the earthly scene. However, enough old-timers were still living that there was no end of reminiscences and commentaries about the past. Among these were three long letters Sage sent to the *AJN* in 1867, telling of his experiences of a decade earlier.

Apart from Sage's commentaries in the *AJN,* which I do not recall having any particular effect on me when I first read them in the mid-1950s, I encountered various tokens bearing Sage's name on the reverse. At the time I was fascinated by the Hard Times token series, a group of political and advertising tokens loosely defined as including those issues produced from about 1833 to 1844, and especially those of 1837 and 1838. Each token seemed to have its own story, and when I read about them in the standard reference, Lyman H. Low's *Hard Times Tokens* book published in 1899, I had the desire to own one of each. While there were certain unobtainable rarities, dozens of different varieties could be purchased on the market for a dollar or two each. One of my sources was William L. Pukall, a dealer from Union City, NJ, who advertised in the *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine.*

The two most knowledgeable people in the Hard Times tokens field I met in the 1950s were John J. Ford, Jr., and Donald M. Miller, the latter who lived in Indiana, Pennsylvania, in the house in which movie star Jimmy Stewart spent his childhood. I had many nice talks about tokens with John and Don. Casting a wider net in the token field, especially regarding Civil War issues, were Melvin Fuld and his son George, who over a period of time wrote many columns on the subject for *The Numismatist* and published several monographs. Even today, much that is known about certain tokens is due to the research efforts of this remarkable duo.

As time went on and my business grew, I would buy Hard Times tokens, Civil War tokens (including sections of a reference collection of store cards assembled by George J. Fuld, whose home I visited in Massachusetts), and other pieces. Every so often in a group of tokens there would be a bunch of "miscellaneous" tokens and medalets dating from the 1850s. Some of these could be identified from looking in Edgar H. Adams' 1920 book, *United States Store Cards. A List of Merchants' Advertising Checks, Restaurant Checks, and Kindred Pieces Issued from 1789 up to Recent Years, Including Many of the Tokens Which Passed as Money and Known as Hard Times Tokens.* Despite its lengthy, enticing, and comprehensive title, I found this 75-page effort to be rather skimpy in terms of interest and historical value, especially when compared to Low's 1899 book, but it was still useful.

Other tokens that came my way were not listed in any references and were generally unknown, unless I was lucky enough to come across an article about them by Waldo C. Moore, George and Melvin Fuld, or some other contributor to *The Numismatist* or other journal. Among such unrecorded miscellany were some tokens imprinted with tiny inscriptions including AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS, AUG. B. SAGE'S ODDS AND ENDS, and AUG. B. SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY. I recall that such tokens were usually found one or two at a time, never in runs or sets. I would later learn that Guido Kisch discussed certain of Sage's tokens related to the Revolutionary War in *The Numismatist,* May and June 1945, and that in 1948 and 1949 Richard D. Kenney wrote an article about Sage's token series for Wayte Raymond's *Coin Collector's Journal,* but I do not recall having seen either article until years after I saw my first Sage tokens.

Sage's pieces marked NUMISMATIC GALLERY were particularly interesting to me, as I had a fairly complete set of auction catalogues and newsletters issued by the Numismatic Gallery, a rare-coin firm founded in New York City by Abe Kosoff circa 1937 and operated until 1954, by which time Abner Kreisberg had been a partner of the firm since 1944. The Numismatic Gallery went from one success to another and seems to have had a monopoly on handling important collections in its time, especially from about 1945 to 1950, the glory years of the firm. In my naîveté, I wondered that if in some distant past era Aug. B. Sage, otherwise unknown to me, might have been the proprietor of his own Numismatic Gallery, which in my mind's eye I envisioned as a *coin shop* in New York, Philadelphia, or some other large city.

Sage's tokens had no significant market value in the 1950s, and I would usually sell them as part of bulk groups of miscellany to interested clients, rather than catalogue them individually. Nor were they important enough to merit descriptions in other catalogues of the era such as those of the New Netherlands Coin Co., which on a couple of memorable occasions in the 1950s offered some truly fascinating and rare pieces in the Hard Times token series, complete with lengthy descriptions.

As time went on, I continued to encounter Sage's tokens on occasion, but paid little attention to them. As to Augustus B. Sage himself, probably not one collector in a thousand would have recognized the name or, for that fact, the name of any other dealer of the 1850s. Indeed, most collectors and dealers of the entire nineteenth century had

faded into obscurity, perhaps with the exception of the Chapman brothers, Sylvester S. Crosby, Charles I. Bushnell, and a handful of others mentioned on occasion by a small group of numismatists interested in tradition and history. Incredibly, in 1908 when the American Numismatic Society moved into its impressive new building at 155th Street and Broadway, New York City, the architrave around the structure was inscribed with names of leading numismatic authors, but, contrary to the Association's very name, *American* numismatists were represented by only one individual, the carefully lettered name CROSBY, who had nothing to do with the Society's formation or early years and, in fact, had little to do with it at all! Such surnames of writers as Sage, Anthon, Appleton, Colburn, and others who were exceedingly important in the conduct of the Society's affairs and/or the *American Journal of Numismatics* were nowhere to be seen. Or, if writing a *book* was the criterion for selection, certainly Montroville W. Dickeson could have been memorialized along with Crosby.

The history of token collecting in America is quite a study in itself and includes several well-defined cycles. In summary, tokens were essential to the cabinet of collectors of the American series in the late nineteenth century, with interest peaking circa 1895-1905, with the publication of Lyman H. Low's book on Hard Times tokens and Dr. Benjamin P. Wright's series of articles on "business tokens" in *The Numismatist*. Then followed a long stretch of relative inactivity, although prominent dealer Thomas L. Elder occasionally wrote of the joys of collecting such pieces, and in 1920 Edgar H. Adams' book on the subject was published.

Perhaps the next impetus occurred in the 1930s and 1940s, when New York City dealer Joseph Barnet became especially active with Civil War tokens, Wayte Raymond developed a fondness for New York City tokens and related pieces and even included some of them in his *Standard Catalogue of U.S. Coins,* Frederick C.C. Boyd sold his federal United States coins but enthusiastically continued to acquire tokens of interest. Others entered the field, among whom were such names as James Curto, John J. Ford, Jr., Melvin and George Fuld, and Donald M. Miller.

Interest continued to grow, but took a distant position to the popularity of federal coins. The lack of new books on tokens did not help, as not everyone wanted to pore through old issues of *The Numismatist, Coin Collector's Journal,* and other magazines to find information. Such sources were indexed poorly or not at all. Moreover, out-of-print numismatic magazines, although inexpensive, were hard to find, as there were no full-time specialist dealers trading in them.

In 1960 something happened. The April 1961 issue of *The Numismatist* told the story:

> For some years collectors of medals, tokens and obsolete paper money have met informally. An organizational meeting was held November 19, 1960, at the Michigan State Numismatic Convention in Detroit. Those attending included James Curto, Lucy Kelly, David Bowers, Clifford Mishler, Harry Lessin, Joseph Lucas, Earl Fankhauser, Charles N. Ricard, George D. Hatie, Thomas W. Fruit, Walter Hinkle, Jr., Ruth Hammel, and Henry Spangenberger.
>
> Provisional status was assumed with permanency of organization becoming effective on incorporation. It was decided to keep the roster open for charter membership until March 31, 1961. Aims of the Society were outlined as follows: To promote the study of tokens and medals; to cultivate fraternal relations; to encourage research, articles and recordings of such materials; to disperse information and knowledge; to advance interest and prestige; to promote meetings at conventions; to encourage distinct classifications of exhibits; to endeavor to determine values.

The Token and Medal Society was a success from the start. In due course, George J. Fuld was named as its first president. The *TAMS Journal* was published and served as a focal point for commentaries, research findings, advertisements, and other topics related to the field. As it developed, obsolete paper money, which at the beginning was to have been a specialty of the Society, was never highlighted. Instead, paper money devotees turned toward the long-established Essay-Proof Society and, later, the Society of Paper Money Collectors (whose organizational meeting was held in August 1961 during a party at the home of Blaise Dantone in Atlanta, GA). The Civil War Token Society came on stream in 1967 and shortly commenced issuing a fine quarterly journal.

From the 1960s to the present day, tokens have been a small but important niche of the American numismatic hobby. However, Augustus B. Sage and his tokens were not among the many topics showcased or studied. During the past two decades Russell Rulau has become a one-man whirlwind of token data compilation and research and has issued (through Krause Publications) several impressive volumes on various issues, thus bringing these series to a wide audience. David Schenkman has tended well the editorial desk of the *TAMS Journal.* The *Journal of the Civil War Token Society* (for a short time called the *Copperhead Courier*) has featured much valuable information concerning the interesting tokens of the 1861-1865 years, most of which bear the date 1863.

Meanwhile, interest in numismatic literature and out-of-print books was slower in developing. In the 1950s only a few people wanted such things. As an example, the only B. Max Mehl auction catalogue having any significant market value was that of his 1941 Dunham Collection sale, of which a copy might sell for $2 to $5. Among catalogues of the nineteenth century, just about the only interest was for large-size catalogues with photographic plates issued by the Chapman brothers. Virtually no one cared or knew about catalogues of John W. Haseltine, W. Elliot Woodward, Edward D. Cogan, W.H. Strobridge, E.B. Mason, Jr., Harlan P. Smith, Édouard Frossard, Lyman H. Low, or other erstwhile luminaries of the auction room.

In the early 1960s I decided to write a book about American numismatic history. When *Coins and Collectors* was published in 1964 quite a few readers "discovered" the Chapman brothers, B. Max Mehl, and other figures from our hobby's past, and wrote enthusiastic letters suggesting that I write more in a like vein. Meanwhile, John J. Ford, Jr., Raymond H. Williamson, Kenneth E. Bressett, George and Melvin Fuld, Eric P. Newman, Walter Breen, and a few others regularly mentioned old-time numismatists in source notes or as part of research papers. However, interest in numismatic nostalgia was hardly widespread. More important, it seemed, was the latest price for a 1950-D Jefferson nickel or a 1936 Proof set.

Beginning in the 1960s, dealers such as Frank Katen (1960s onward), Aaron Feldman (1960s onward), and George F. Kolbe (1967 onward) made a business of buying and selling hard-to-find numismatic publications. Katen and Kolbe memorialized their offerings via printed catalogues which today stand as useful references. Feldman advertised books, but did not issue auction catalogues. He started his trade as a coin and jewelry dealer in the Jewelers' Exchange on the northeast corner of 6th Avenue and West 47th Street, New York City, but converted to specializing in books. It was always quite interesting to visit his tiny booth in the Exchange and see the dozens of old books he had for sale. Feldman popularized the saying, "Buy the book *before* the coin," which someone later converted, tongue-in-cheek, to "Buy the book *instead of* the coin."

Fast forward to the 1970s and 1980s, when, at long last, a strong interest developed for old books, catalogues, and memorabilia. I like to think that, at least in some small part, my book, *The History of United States Coins as Illustrated by the Garrett Collection,* played a part in this. Published in 1979, the volume told of the collecting activities of T. Harrison Garrett from the 1860s to the 1880s and the dealers and collectors who were part of his milieu.

In California, Cal Wilson began selling numismatic literature in 1980 and in 1982 published the first of what would become a 25-issue run of a highly interesting journal titled *The Repository.* Carl W.A. Carlson delved into old auction catalogues of Woodward, Frossard, Haseltine, and others and wrote an illustrious suite of articles for *The Numismatist* outlining what he had found. John W. Adams, the Massachusetts numismatist and book collector, conducted research for what would become two remarkable volumes on early American auction catalogues, listing the output of leading sellers from the 1850s onward and assigning each sale a quality rating as to content. Martin Gengerke, of New York, created a data base listing auction sales, firms, dates of sales, and consignors' names.

Knowledge spread, and with it came an increased desire to possess the printed relics of the hobby's yesteryear. Private collectors vied to acquire catalogues issued decades earlier by the Chapmans, Frossard, Woodward, Low, and others. At first the search was for publications with interesting *content* or special editions with photographic plates. Then the *rarity* of certain catalogues was ascertained, and even if it was a no-account offering, a copy was desired to complete a catalogue set, much like collecting Lincoln cents by date and mintmark. Incidentally, my own preference was and still is to collect for content. To me, *one* modern New Netherlands Coin Co. catalogue from 1955 is worth *two dozen* vacuous catalogues issued years earlier by Ben G. Green, Barney Bluestone, or Charles French. Of course, even a catalogue devoid of significant commentary can be useful, as with Bluestone's auction listing of October 24, 1931, which may have been the first mention in print of the later-to-become-famous 1918/7-D overdate nickel five-cent piece.

After the Garrett book was completed in 1979, I derived a great deal of enjoyment researching and writing other books about numismatists of a bygone age and their era, including Virgil M. Brand, who from the 1880s until his death in 1926 assembled the largest and most valuable coin collection ever gathered, some 350,000 specimens! Brand, a wealthy Chicago brewer, was also well read and very knowledgeable. Coins were his life, it seemed. In 1991 I completed the two-volume book set, *The American Numismatic Association Centennial History.* One of my favorite comments about the *ANA History* came from John J. Ford, Jr., who told me that whenever anyone asks him how they can become involved in learning about the traditions and background of our hobby, he will tell them to buy these two books. At one time, *five* of his friends were busy reading through them, chapter by chapter.

Meanwhile, a special-interest group had been formed from a seed planted by George F. Kolbe and Jack Collins. *The Numismatist,* November 1980, told the story of what happened the preceding August:

> More than 100 numismatic bibliomaniacs met during the Cincinnati convention to attend a meeting of the newly-formed Numismatic Bibliomania Society. A bibliomaniac, according to Webster, is one who has an extreme preoccupation with possessing books. The meeting was an outgrowth of an informal gathering in St. Louis at the 1979 ANA convention when approximately a dozen bibliomaniacs gathered for a dinner and discussed forming an organization for numismatic book and catalogue collectors.
>
> John J. Ford, Jr., a leading scholar, researcher and professional numismatist, was the featured speaker for the evening. Ford declared that more fine books about numismatics have been printed in the last 20 years than in the last century. He advised that numismatists become familiar with numismatic books and their contents so they might know where to look for information. Ford urged his audience, which represented nearly every American state plus Australia, to collect books in order to gain access to the knowledge they contain. Ford related colorful incidents involving famous cataloguers and numismatic book collectors, and gave examples of his own preferences and style of book collecting, describing his excitement at acquiring

a book with a bookplate of a famous collector or dealer, or one with an unusual binding. Ford cited Harry W. Bass, Jr., who was in attendance at the meeting, as a true bibliomaniac, stating Bass collected books with a passion and was seriously interested in numismatic literature.

In time the journal of the Numismatic Bibliomania Society, *The Asylum,* came to be a forum for the exchange of ideas and information. Today, the typical issue contains research articles, comments, and advertisements by dealers specializing in the field. Certain of these specialists have been very helpful in the preparation of the present book and are credited in the Acknowledgments and Sources section.

All of the preceding factors, and others as well, have contributed to what at present is a very dynamic niche of numismatic interest.

Returning to Augustus B. Sage: If this book had been written 30 years ago, probably no one would have cared. Today, while Sage is hardly in the forefront of famous numismatic names known to the average collector, he is certainly recognized by many historians and book collectors.

After researching Sage's era of greatest activity—the years of the late 1850s—I was impressed about how much I still did not know about the many people who were active then, but who cannot be identified today. And, most who can be identified—pioneer dealers Ezra Hill and John K. Curtis are but two examples—have never been chronicled in detail.

Getting to know Augustus B. Sage and his numismatic era through papers, tokens, and other items surviving today has been a great pleasure. Although the present commentary goes far beyond what is needed to delineate Sage and his productions, it was very enjoyable to me to contemplate what Sage experienced in his prime years of activity, 1857-1861. With the thought that the present reader might enjoy vignettes of people known by Sage—and Joseph J. Mickley, Charles I. Bushnell, and William Leggett Bramhall are but three of many examples—I have included them in the present work.

By way of introduction, the first two chapters tell of the beginnings of coin collecting interest in our country and some of the incidents associated with it. Certainly, Daniel Groux—for one—is among the most curious characters ever to walk the numismatic stage. J.L. Riddell, melter and refiner of the New Orleans Mint, is a case study in himself, as the text relates.

Probably, most books express what the author already knows about a given subject. I must confess that a book telling all I knew about Sage when this project started would have been in the form of a pamphlet about 24 to 36 pages in length. The more research I did, the more I was eager to do. The entire project became very exciting. The book as it now stands represents what I have learned through my own efforts with great help from over four dozen others, reinforcing my long-held belief that numismatists are among the finest and most sharing people in the world.

I hope that as you read through the following pages you derive a generous measure of the same enjoyment I have experienced.

# CHAPTER 1

# *Numismatics in America: Setting the Scene*

*(before 1850)*

## THE EARLY DAYS

By the time that Augustus B. Sage became involved in numismatics in the mid-1850s, coin collecting already had a rich tradition in our country. This and the following chapter explore the hobby in the early days, a period of growth in which nearly every fact was new and discoveries were being constantly made.

The years before 1850 were the cradle days of American numismatics. There were no published guides describing the rarity or value of United States coins, and, aside from corresponding with or visiting other collectors to share experiences, the typical enthusiast had no knowledge as to whether an 1823 cent, 1797 silver dollar, or 1652 Pine Tree shilling was common or rare.

In sharp contrast, in Europe the art, science, or hobby—it has been called all of these things and, actually, has aspects of each—of numismatics was well developed at the time. The typical collector in London could consult a shelf full of reference books, bid in auction sales, and visit museum exhibits of coins. In England the discipline had been particularly popular since the late 1780s when a flood of halfpenny-size copper coins bearing political motifs, advertisements, slogans, illustrations of buildings, and other subjects reached circulation. The collecting of these became a pleasant pursuit in the British Isles, and in time a number of firms in Birmingham (in particular) and other cities produced many issues especially for numismatic sale. One of these was self-deprecating and bore the legend, ASSES RUNNING FOR HALF PENCE. Another showed an ass and a mule saluting each other, with the inscription, BE ASSURED FRIEND MULE YOU SHALL NEVER WANT MY PROTECTION. Another depicted that eternally popular subject, Lady Godiva.[1] The number of token-seeking enthusiasts was in the thousands.

Many British numismatists desired to add a few coins to their cabinets from that former British possession,

**One of thousands of varieties of copper conder tokens struck in England during the 1780s and 1790s. This piece, dated 1795, shows a composite head made of a puffy-cheeked man and a mule, with the inscription, A MILLION HOGG / A GUINEA PIG / ODD FELLOWS. On the reverse a group of merrymakers dance around a tall pole of the liberty pole style, but bearing at the top the head of a man, with the inscription TREE OF LIBERTY surrounding. As is the case with most such pieces, the motifs have a story for numismatists to discover. This particular piece is one of a series issued by London satirist Thomas Spence, who, by the way, included the profession of rare coin dealer among his other activities.**

**A splendid 1796 half cent, the especially rare variety without pole to cap (a diecutting error). Over the years several exceptional half cents of this date have been located in England, much to the delight of American numismatists.**

[1] A discussion of these and related British tokens appears under "The Origin of the Term Mule," *The Coin Collector's Journal,* November 1885, pp. 173-175. Pertinent information about mulings is quoted from the catalogue of English tokens formed by Sir George Chetwynd, Bart., of Grendon Hall, Warwickshire, published by Thomas Sharp, London, 1834. The term *mule* in relation to coinage is said to have originated in 1796, although mules and jackasses appeared on tokens earlier including the 1795-dated piece illustrated in the present text.

America. Thus, in the 1790s, when collectors in the United States were not saving their own country's specimens, such pieces were avidly collected on the other side of the Atlantic. This had fortunate consequences in later decades when England became a rich source for early American coins, and such dealers as E.L. Mason, Jr., S. Hudson Chapman, H.G. Sampson, and Édouard Frossard went on buying trips there. This mother lode of early American coinage continued to be mined through the present century, and significant finds sometimes occur in our own era, although important new discoveries are few and far between.

In 1887 this comment was printed:

> A lovely 1794 dollar stood for two years in the "Bureau de Change" window, Charing Cross Station, London, staring at the British public; the writer could have had it a dozen times at £1. It was finally swept off by Mr. Randall on his last visit to the British Isles.[1]

Among American collectors in the early twentieth century who tapped England as a source for American numismatic treasures was Henry C. Miller, whose name is remembered today for his attribution numbers for 1785-1788 Connecticut copper coins. Dealer Thomas L. Elder recalled him:[2]

> He had made several trips to Europe and was well enough posted on rare American coins to find some gems in that line over there before the American dealers searched there so extensively for our own coinage. Mr. Miller collected Anglo-Saxon also, rare American colonials, and Roman coins. I'll tell you more of Miller, his collections, and his finding a pair of Proof 1796 U.S. half cents in London....
>
> His fat and rotund figure suggested an amicable judge, rather than the coin collector as usually pictured. I had corresponded with him from Pittsburgh[3] and met him one day in his apartment in New York, where he showed me some duplicates which he had picked up in an English sale, for which there was at the time a market in the U.S. Lyman H. Low was at the peak of his prosperity at the time, with no competitor in New York City.[4] Mr. Miller gave him small consignments from time to time, and he seemed pleased with the results. A little later he transferred his sale trade to me and never sold coins through anybody else af-

**An American classic, the 1794 silver dollar represents the first coinage of that denomination. A similar piece was on display for two years in a shop window in London before it caught a buyer's eye. Later, the finding of the coin was described in several American numismatic publications.**

**Today, numismatists believe that about 125 to 135 specimens exist of the 1794 dollar, most of which show extensive wear.**

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[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1887. J. Colvin Randall, erstwhile business associate of John W. Haseltine, was a Philadelphia coin dealer and speculator; in January of each year he would buy unsold remainders of the previous year's minor Proof coins from the Mint. A British pound (£) was equal to about $4.80 U.S. funds. George F. Kolbe pointed out (letter, September 24, 1997) that this quotation first appeared in Ludlow, Roberts & Weller's November 29 to December 2, 1886, auction sale in Birmingham, England, of the E. Shorthouse, Esq., Collection, in a section of the catalogue titled "To American Coin Collectors." W. David Perkins related (letter, October 7, 1997) that this same item was picked up by Charles E. Leal of Paterson, NJ, and used in Vol. 1, No. 5, of his *The American Numismatist,* February 1887; there the date of the appearance of the 1794 dollar in London was given as *several decades earlier.* How this related to Randall's "last visit" is not known. Quoting Leal: "Another collector, a resident of London, stated that a magnificent 1794 United States dollar lay in the 'Bureau de Change' window, Charing Cross Station, of that city for two years (1852-3) and he could have had it a dozen times at a pound, but did not purchase. That identical dollar would bring twenty pounds were it offered today. I saw one sold by Bangs & Co., New York, at $112.50 not more than six years ago. These dollars were struck in the old Mint, opposite Filbert Street, Philadelphia, which building is still standing."

[2] Thomas L. Elder, reminiscences, *Hobbies,* January and February 1935.

[3] Elder conducted his rare coin business in Pittsburgh, until moving to New York City in May 1904.

[4] Lyman Haynes Low (1844-1924) began cataloguing coin sales in 1881 and became a dealer in 1883. By the end of his career he had produced over 120 auction catalogues and several monographs, the most important of the latter being *Hard Times Tokens* (1899). From 1891 through 1907 he was co-editor of *The American Journal of Numismatics.* In *Hobbies* magazine, June 1936, Elder recalled Low: "A ruddy-faced, bald-headed old gentleman, with snow-white goatee, with an unusual air of dignity and ceremony about him. Always neat and well dressed, his shoes well polished, one cannot recall Mr. Low as a man of careless or slipshod habits of life. Even his dog, Major, of whom he and his wife were very fond, was a white French poodle, kept immaculately trimmed and garbed. I say garbed, for he wore the latest things in collar and harness. At that time Mr. Low, our respected dean of American coin cataloguers, lived in a cute little house, a detached house, a bit above 125th Street, in Harlem, in a section then populated by people of very good taste and position, but now, alas, somewhat down at the heels, due to the changes time brings. That was over 25 years ago. Poor dog Major died...." Low said that Major, who was buried in style, would be his last dog. "As he grew old and more feeble—during the period when he held his occasional sales at the Park Avenue Hotel, in its main area-way, one flight up—he was less able to keep up with things, got his sales started very late, and sold his lots at a snail's pace. Puzzled at times over a bid, he would politely say, 'Just a moment please,' then he would laboriously thumb a wad of bid sheets to find one he wanted, and after some minutes' delay would take a new start, with a remark something like this: 'All right, Dan, fire away.'" Elder related that Low would sometimes not have a bid on a 10¢ lot and start it at a dollar, causing delays. "He usually held a lighted cigar in his hand as he conducted his sales." A cold bottle of liquor was kept on hand to serve clients who requested such; this encouraged bidding. Low later rented a house in New Rochelle (subject of George M. Cohan's satirical song, *Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway;* a very fashionable community) and moved there, inviting clients to visit.

terwards. He sold out his fine cent collection and some other items in 1916, I think it was, and we got fine results for him.[1] Sometime prior to that he had secured a pair of Proof 1796 half cents from a dealer in London for something less than $50 for the two. As he collected no half cents, he turned them over to me, and in a sale on East 23rd Street we got $300 for one of the half cents, which to that time seemed a world's record. In the cent sale just mentioned, however the second half cent made the great record of over $700, going into the cabinet of a leading Detroit collector,[2] now retired....

As Mr. Miller was born in 1844, he would be, if living today, 90 years old. He was graduated from Williams College in 1867. Just prior to his death in 1920, he told his sister, Miss Emma Miller, to take his collection to me in case anything befell him. Miss Miller informed me that he had a predilection for candy, which contributed to his end.

In Paris, Rome, Vienna, Leipzig, and other centers of art and culture, the collecting of coins and medals was fervently pursued during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, before numismatics caught on in a significant way in America. In especial demand were the coins of ancient Greece, but medals and dollar-size silver coins of European countries also had a wide circle of friends. Many of these pieces served as commemoratives, recording diverse subjects from military conquests to panoramic views of German cities. For those with an intellectual turn of mind, coins and medals were regarded as tangible links with the past. Most collectors acquired books about history, geography, art, and science to aid in their appreciation of specimens. The collecting of everyday coins from circulation was not particularly popular, except for copper tokens in England. In England and France, several series of medals were created for collectors and illustrated such diverse subjects as scenes from the Bible, the wonders of nature, abolition of slavery, and the various monarchs who occupied thrones over the years.

## MEANWHILE IN AMERICA

Similarly, in America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the collecting of coins was most often pursued in connection with other intellectual endeavors. Thus, a collector of books might seek a few Greek coins to provide a real-life link with the writings of Herodotus or the plays of Aristophanes. In the same manner, a few British coins of Queen Elizabeth, issued during the time that Shakespeare's plays were being enacted on the boards of the Globe Theatre, made a nice addition to the curios possessed by a scholar in that field. However, while the number of collectors in England and other European countries ran into the thousands, in America the count seems to have been fewer than a hundred, at least until the 1820s.

## PIERRE EUGÈNE DU SIMITIÈRE

The earliest numismatically-inclined person in America for whom we have a fairly detailed biographical record was Swiss-born Pierre Eugène Du Simitière (1737-1784), who settled in Philadelphia by 1774.[3] Among his sources for specimens was John Smith, of Burlington, NJ, who furnished him with desired pieces by 1766, and possibly as early as 1763. Du Simitière later remembered that Smith's holdings were "considerable." In the same decade, a Major James, of Philadelphia, is also said to have had a cabinet of ancient coins as well as modern European pieces and was in touch with Du Simitière on matters numismatic.

Not only did Du Simitière collect specimens, but he was also involved in the production of medals.

On March 25, 1776, the Continental Congress passed this resolution:

> That the thanks of this Congress in their own name and in the name of the thirteen united colonies whom they represent, be presented to his Excellency Gen. Washington and the officers and soldiers under his command for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston; that a medal of gold be struck in commemora-

**Pierre Eugène Du Simitière's sketch for a medal depicting Gen. Washington overlooking Boston. Commissioned by Congress in 1786, this design was never translated into medallic form. (From Joel J. Orosz, *The Eagle That Is Forgotten;* courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia)**

[1] Elder auctioned Miller's coins on several occasions including March 11, 1916 (Hard Times tokens were emphasized), April 13-14, 1917 (early U.S. copper cents), and, posthumously, on May 26-29, 1920 (Connecticut coppers and other items).

[2] Howard R. Newcomb, who began his period of great numismatic activity in the 1890s and who was among the first to examine and report on die varieties of modern coinage (*e.g.*, tail feathers and other variations among Morgan silver dollars, repunched mintmarks on Barber coins, etc.). In the 1930s he lived in retirement in the fashionable Bel Air district of Los Angeles, CA.

[3] His biography is detailed in *The Eagle That Is Forgotten: Pierre Eugène Du Simitière, Founding Father of American Numismatics*, Joel J. Orosz, 1988.

> tion of this great event and presented to his Excellency; and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks, and a proper device for the medal.

Accordingly, a sketch depicting General Washington standing with a figure of the goddess Liberty or Columbia, overlooking Boston Harbor, was prepared by Du Simitière. However, it was never used. Years later in 1786, the congressional resolution was implemented by placing an order for medals with the Paris Mint. Ignoring the work that Du Simitière had done, well-known French engraver Pierre Simon Duvivier cut dies from new designs provided by the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. The portrait of Washington was adapted from the well-known bust by Jean Antoine Houdon, modeled by Washington at Mount Vernon in October 1785.[1]

The initial commission for the medal was reflected by a payment made by Congress on November 29, 1776: "Paid P.E. DuSimitiere for designing, making and drawing a medal for General Washington, $32." Although his Washington-Boston medal was not to be, Du Simitière seems to have designed and made a medal that was actually used in the Revolutionary War. A newspaper account related on August 12, 1776:[2]

> The Congress have struck a number of silver and copper medals, which are distributed among the officers of the army, who wear them constantly. On one side are two vases swimming on the water, with the motto 'Frangimur si collidimur';[3] on the other is an emblematical device; four hands clinched together and a dove over them, beneath them is a serpent cut in pieces. These medals were designed or executed by P.E. Du Simitiere.

On April 26, 1779, Du Simitière wrote about numismatics to Governor George Clinton of New York, noting in part, "Coins and medals ancient and modern I have col-

**Washington Before Boston medal by French engraver Duvivier, the design that was selected instead of the one prepared by Du Simitière. (From James Ross Snowden, *A Description of the Medals of Washington,* 1861, Plate IV)**

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[1] A gold impression of the Washington Before Boston (as it came to be known) medal was presented to Washington. Later, a member of the president's family transferred ownership of this particular medal to Daniel Webster. In 1876, 50 citizens of Boston raised $5,000 to secure the medal and present it to the city, after which it reposed in the Boston Public Library. For a long time thereafter, restrikes in silver and copper were made by the Paris Mint; later, the Philadelphia Mint sought to acquire the dies, but could not; subsequently, the Engraving Department at the Mint made copy dies from which more pieces were struck. This bust by Houdon was later widely copied by dozens of artists and engravers including C.C. Wright and the Lovett family. John Flanagan adapted the bust for use on the Washington quarter dollar in 1932 (a caricature of this bust, with "improvements" made in modern times by the Mint staff, vastly altered in details from Flanagan's design, is currently used).

[2] Newspaper name and location not given. Quoted in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* Volume 20-21, July 1886, page 22. The same *Journal* account noted that *The Journals of Congress,* November 29, 1776, page 485, recorded the $32 payment. Further, "P.E. DuSimitière was a painter from Geneva. He practiced taking portraits, but not until he had been in Philadelphia over twenty years. He made a collection in natural history for an institution in that city, and was living there in 1782."

[3] A similar motif and motto (expressed as SI COLLIDIMUS FRANGIMUR) was used on Georgia $2 notes of 1776 and $2 and $11 notes of 1777. The vases represented England and America, and the sentiment can be translated: "If we collide, we both shatter [and sink]." The newspaper notice of the 1776 Du Simitière medal is also cited in C. Wyllys Betts, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals,* p. 248, as Betts-550, the sole entry under the heading "Continental Army," with this footnoted comment, probably by W.T.R. Marvin (who with Lyman H. Low co-edited the work of the late Betts): "The device of the floating jars, with its accompanying motto, is quite an old one (several medals bearing it being given by Van Loon); it was used on the Continental paper money. That of the serpent divided into thirteen pieces, each part lettered with the initial of one of the Colonies, and the motto 'Join or die' was also a favorite Continental emblem." (Concerning "Join or Die," see commentary under Sage's Historical Token No. 4, with variant legend *UNITE OR DIE,* in Chapter 10 of the present work.) The Betts editors commented, "No impression of this Medal is known to us." Apparently, none have come to light since that time. The discovery of such today would represent a sensational numismatic find. The Betts footnote reference is to Gerard Van Loon, *Historie Metallique*

lection of, but nowadays these are become scarce, notwithstanding I meet with some now and then."[1] By this time his cabinet included seven(!) rare Higley copper coins of the 1737-1739 era and nine Massachusetts silver pieces as part of an inventory of 135 specimens. In 1783 he wrote to Clinton to see if he had any old paper money issued by the State of New York.[2]

Later Du Simitière prepared an outline titled "Sketch of a Plan of a Work intended to illustrate the Revolution in North America by Medals, Seals, Coins, Devices, Statues, Monuments, Badges &c," which was never expanded into monograph or book form.[3]

By this time his American Museum, founded in April 1782 at his home on Arch Street, above Fourth Street, Philadelphia, had attracted wide attention and even some gifts. A small coin was given by a Lutheran minister, Reverend John C. Kunze, whose "very fine collection of coins and medals" was donated to the New-York Historical Society by his heirs on July 14, 1818, but was later stolen in its entirety from that institution.[4]

Du Simitière died in October 1784. A half year later, on March 19, 1785, the contents of his American Museum were dispersed under the auctioneer's hammer. The listing included Lot 19, "A mahogany Cabinet containing ancient and modern Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins and Medals; among which there are some very curious bronzes," and Lot 36, "A collection of Parchment and Paper Money." The buyer of Lot 19 seems to have been Matthew Clarkson, whose own estate was later auctioned on October 29, 1800, and which included "a valuable cabinet, containing silver and copper coin, medals &c. some of which are very ancient."[5]

In addition to his numismatic activities, Du Simitière is remembered for his portrait sketch of George Washington (drawn from life on February 1, 1779; later reproduced as a part of a set of popular engravings and, still later, employed on Washington medals[6]), his other art, and his participation in the design of the Great Seal of the United States.

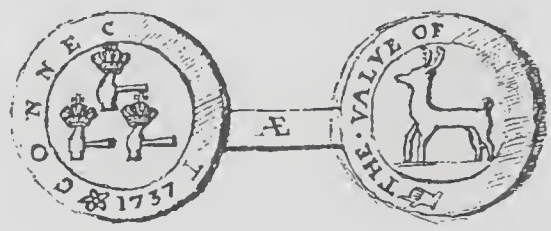
## REV. ANDREW ELIOT

In addition to the foregoing, there were others who possessed a few coins and medals of historical or curiosity interest. Among these was Rev. Andrew Eliot (1718-1778), pastor of the famous Old North Church in Boston, who by 1767 had an extensive cabinet which included many New England silver coins.[7]

Silver issues of New England, produced from 1652 until the early 1680s, were widely circulated in the Northeast. Most famous were the Pine Tree shillings. Most early American cabinets of coins included a few specimens of such pieces.

## JOHN ANDREWS

Another early Boston numismatist of note was John Andrews, a hardware merchant at No. 4 Union Street, per the first Boston directory (published in 1789). By that time he had been a selectman since 1785, a position he continued until 1790. It was related decades later that his residence was "a beautiful estate at the northerly corner of Winter and Tremont [then Common] streets—an antique wooden house in the midst of a delightful garden, extending down Winter Street, in the rear of what is now



**Sketch of a 1737 Higley copper by Eugène Du Simitière as part of the inventory of his collection, circa 1780. At one time he owned seven pieces of this general type, a remarkable gathering of issues that later generations of numismatists would consider to be extreme rarities. (From Joel J. Orosz, *The Eagle That Is Forgotten*)**

**1652 Massachusetts Pine Tree silver shilling, one of the most famous of all early American coins. Such pieces were relatively plentiful in numismatic circles.**

*des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas,* LaHaye, 1732.

[1] Quoted in *The American Antiquarian,* September 1871.

[2] Orosz, p. 31, quotes the letter.

[3] Orosz, pp. 26-27, gives details.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 67. Hour-long tours of Du Simitière's American Museum, which offered various artifacts, curiosities, etc., in addition to coins, were given for 50¢; the proprietor conducted groups of up to eight people at a time through the facility. The New-York Historical Society, (which today maintains the use of the hyphen in New-York), was organized on December 10, 1804, and incorporated February 10, 1809. By Augustus B. Sage's era of the late 1850s the Society had over 25,000 books in its library and was located (since 1857) in a building at the corner of Second Avenue and 11th Street.

[5] Clarkson sale advertisement reproduced by Orosz, p. 54.

[6] Baker-277, 278, 352, and 529 are close copies of the artist's original sketch, others differ; details in Orosz, pp. 46-50.

[7] Orosz, pp. 64-65, adapted from correspondence between Dr. Orosz and Eric P. Newman, and mention of Eliot in Newman's *The Secret of the Good Samaritan Shilling,* American Numismatic Society, 1959.

Hamilton Place." The home had been occupied earlier by Sir Francis Bernard, perhaps until he was recalled to England in 1769. A letter from Andrews to William Barrell, of Philadelphia, December 25, 1772, asked him to procure on his behalf any genuine ancient coins he might find. In later years Andrews moved to Jamaica Plain, near Boston.

Decades afterward in the 1860s, John Andrews' son Henry passed away, at which time his father's collection was revealed. The several hundred pieces in the Andrews cabinet included numerous Massachusetts silver coins among which were multiple New England (NE) shillings and the second known specimen of the NE threepence (the other being in the collection held by the library of Yale College, New Haven). The Andrews coins were purchased by the secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society on behalf of that institution.[1]

## REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY

In 1787, William Bentley, D.D., of Salem, MA, entered in his diary some interesting observations of coins then in circulation, creating one of the earliest records of this type known to exist.[2] His notes for September 2, 1787 included:

> About this time there was a great difficulty respecting the circulation of small copper coin. Those of George III, being well executed, were of uncommon thinness, and those stamped from the face of other coppers in sand, commonly called "Birmingham," were very badly executed.[3] Beside these were the coppers bearing the authority of the states of Vermont, Connecticut and New York, etc., but no accounts how issued, regularly transmitted.
>
> The Connecticut copper has a face of general form resembling the Georges, but with this inscription.... A mint is said preparing for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It may be noted that the New York and Connecticut coins face opposite ways.
>
> To remember all the coin which passes through my hands, I note down a few coppers of foreign coins, Swedish coin, shield, three bars, lion, etc., 1763, measures one inch and 3-10; another 1747, similar; Russian, a warrior on horseback with a spear piercing a dragon, on the reverse a wreath infolding a cypher.

This was part of the entry for September 16, 1787:

> In removing a stone wall in Mystic or Medford, in 1783, there were found under it a large collection of brass pieces nearly square, mixed with the smallest brass coins of Europe, the whole half a peck. A few round ones have a fleur-de-lis stamped on each side of them....
>
> A coin circulated with the apparent authority of Vermont. A star with an eye in the centre and between the rays other stars in number thirteen. On the reverse a wreath in which is enclosed the cyphers U.S. Inscription Libertas et Justitia. 1785.[4]

The July 20, 1791 entry included this:

> Being Commencement at Cambridge [Harvard College], I set out for Cambridge from Deacon Ridgeway's and in a chaise went to Judge Winthrops[5] with whom I spent the day. In the morning I entertained myself with his curious cabinet of Coins and Medals. It was large and not with any antiques [ancients], but it had a great variety of small pieces and may be deemed the best we have in this part of the country. It is improving its value by constant additions, but it requires too great an interest in this country, to have its full success.

The diary entry for September 15, 1791 verifies that Bentley had done some reading on numismatics and was a keen observer of current issues.

> Watson, in the fourth volume of his *Chymestry,* has the following: "It is reported of King James II, that he melted down and coined all the brass guns in Ireland and afterwards proceeded to coin the pewter with this inscription, Melioris Lessera Fati." The Congress in America had recoursed the same expedient; they coined several pieces of about an inch and a half in diameter, and of 240 grains in weight on one side of which was a circular ring near the edge, Continental Currency, 1776, and within the ring a rising sun with Fugio at the side of it, shining upon a dial under which was Mind Your Business. On the reverse were 13 small circles joined together like the rings of a chain, on each of which was inscribed the name of some one of the 13 states....
>
> I have been particular in the mention of this piece of money because, like the leaden money which was struck at Vienna when that city was besieged in 1529, it will soon become a great curiosity. I have estimated the weight of a

**A 1776 Continental "dollar" in pewter-like composition. Such pieces were probably used as substitute for paper Continental notes of like denomination. Although metal Continental dollars have been admired by numismatists for over 200 years, no record has ever been found of their official authorization, funding, or the quantity coined.**

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[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* August 1866, quoting the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 321, 332; similarly, *AJN,* January 1885, "Mr. John Andrews, of Boston, had a collection of coins as early as 1782."

[2] Bentley's diary entries were quoted in *The Numismatist,* January 1907 and June 1945.

[3] Other related terms used in the early days to describe spurious copper coins include *brummagem* and *bungtowns.*

[4] Although certain 1785-1786 Vermont coppers had a somewhat similar stars-and-rays reverse, the reference is to the Nova Constellatio copper of 1785, a different issue believed by some authorities to have been struck in England.

[5] Judge James Winthrop (1752-1821).

cubic foot of this Continental Currency. It weighs 7,440 ounces. This exceeds the weight of a cubic foot of our best sort of pewter, and falls short of that of our worst. I conjecture that the metal of this Continental Currency consisted of 12 parts of tin and one of lead.[1]

Bentley's diary entry on October 23, 1795, describes his work with an important cabinet (of which little is known today):

> Busied myself to provide catalogue of coins for Mr. [Samuel] Curwin's collection for Mr. Winthrop. Such collections are rare in this country and in some parts utterly unknown. This is the largest that I have ever seen. The real antiques in silver, are an Athenian City, a Greek City, a Consul, Scipio, Juba, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Hadrian, Marcus Antoninus. There are also a considerable number of copper and Mantuans, which the connoisseurs must distinguish. Among the modern is to be found a MARYLAND coin, Cecilius C Lord Baltimore. A Specimen is to be seen of all the modern coinage in this collection.

This notation of April 10, 1802, tells more about Curwin:

> Last night departed this life Samuel Curwin, Esq., aet 87.... He was a merchant of Salem.... The times of the American Revolution were no times for him.... He left America and went to England.... The remains of a valuable Library were sold just before his return by his nephew Richard Ward, Esq., and it was sacrificed. A rich collection of coins was robbed of its best pieces.... He was an excellent antiquarian and I profited much from the few things he had saved from the destruction which befell his library, cabinet and private papers.

## OTHER COLLECTORS AND COLLECTIONS

In the same era several other museums and libraries added coins to their collections. The Philadelphia Museum (a.k.a. Peale's Museum), established by artist and naturalist Charles Willson Peale in 1784, had a cabinet of coins and medals which was sold to P.T. Barnum in the mid-1840s.

**The Philadelphia Museum, founded by Charles Willson Peale in 1784, issued this admission token in the early nineteenth century. At the time the attraction included a cabinet of rare coins, a display that later, in the 1840s, was sold to P.T. Barnum.**

Doubtless, other names could be added to the roster of pioneer numismatists and institutions given above. The annals of the hobby in our country are very sparse for this early era, and only in modern times has significant research been done.

Mention is made in passing of businesses which specialized in buying and selling Continental Currency and other paper notes as a speculation in an era before serious numismatic interest developed in them. An example is provided by a Philadelphia merchant, who on July 1, 1789, advertised:[2] "For Sale, Paper money, by Richard Fullerton, Arch Street between Third and Fourth."

## THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the first half of the nineteenth century the numismatic hobby expanded greatly in America. However, there were few books in print dealing with United States coins, there were no specialized clubs or societies, and communications among collectors were difficult. In the absence of any central depot for information, collectors were often unaware of each other, even of other numismatists living nearby.

The few coins that were offered at auction were typically a part of furniture, art, or book sales and were not advertised beyond local areas. Descriptions were sparse and would have been of no value to anyone not attending the sales in person and viewing the items to be sold.

As interest grew in the early nineteenth century, the primary source for examples of American coins was everyday pocket change, in contrast to earlier times when such pieces were generally ignored. American copper cents, minted at Philadelphia since 1793, were a popular series, and many numismatists began their interest by searching for the various dates, anticipating the joy of finding such prizes as 1793, 1799 (especially), and 1804.

The more ambitious collector often made his needs known to employees of banks and bullion exchanges, who then kept a weather eye out for interesting specimens, often charging a few cents' premium above face or metal value. On the other hand, any American collector desiring ancient coins or European specimens usually corresponded with one or several collectors, dealers, or auction houses in England and was able to acquire coins easily. Similarly, Greek and Roman coins, older issues of England, and other pieces were well described in several popular texts published abroad. Gaining information was not difficult.

For the American series there were no standard texts available, nor were there any check lists of which coins existed and which did not. Thus, many collectors engaged in a fruitless search for a United States copper cent dated 1815

[1] *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins,* 1988, p. 110, notes that non-destructive analyses performed on several Continental Currency pieces in 1963–1964 revealed that the metallic composition is 95% tin and 5% other metals (natural alloys), but with no lead evident.
[2] *The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser,* July 25, 1789; advertisement dated July 1.

**1793 Chain cent. Examples of this design were first struck at the Philadelphia Mint in March 1793. By several decades later, choice pieces were highly prized by numismatists. Shown is the die variety known as Sheldon-4.**

(none were coined), and Robert Gilmor, Jr., an early Baltimore numismatist, sought a $10 gold eagle dated 1802 (similarly, none were coined).[1]

In the larger cities a strong camaraderie eventually developed among collectors by the 1830s and 1840s, and in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia they would visit each other, swap coins, and share experiences. In Philadelphia, Joseph J. Mickley's musical instrument repair shop became a focal point for local numismatists.[2]

## AN EARLY TRIO OF COLLECTORS

A commentary in *Norton's Literary Letter* told of three active collectors in the 1830s:[3]

> At a time when 'coin collectors' in the United States were popularly considered little better than monomaniacs, two or three gentlemen—Dr. J.B. Felt, of Salem, Mass., Mr. J. Francis Fisher, of Baltimore, and Dr. Jas. Mease, of Philadelphia[4]—were deeply interested in the subject, and communicated the results of their investigations to societies of which they were members, or published them in a separate form.
>
> In the 3d vol. of the New-York Historical Society's Collections (pp. 387-404), will be found a highly interesting paper by Dr. Mease, giving a description of 17 medals struck with reference to America; and this paper the Massachusetts Historical Society republished (Coll., vol. 4, 3d Series, 1834), together with additional particulars from the same hand concerning 33 medals presented to the officers of the war of 1812-14; and also of 4 other miscellaneous American medals....

Although Felt would be recognized as the author of a pioneering book, the names of Messrs. Fisher and Mease were scarcely known to a later generation of numismatists.

## DUBOIS AND STICKNEY

In 1843, William E. Dubois, curator of the Mint Cabinet in Philadelphia, compiled a listing of amateur coin collectors known to him and sent it to Matthew A. Stickney, of Salem, MA. By that time Stickney had been collecting about 25 years, buying many of his specimens from bullion exchanges and specie dealers. Among his finds was an example of the 1785 IMMUNE COLUMBIA "cent" struck in gold instead of copper.[5] A nineteenth-century account told of Stickney's collecting preferences and how he began in numismatics:[6]

> He was born in Rowley, Mass., September 23, 1805, and was a descendant of William Stickney, an early settler in that town. His education was gained in the public schools of his native place, supplemented by a sufficient study of Latin to be useful in the reading of the inscriptions, etc., on ancient coins and medals. At the age of 22 he settled in what is now Peabody (then South Danvers), where he began his business life in the counting-room of Sawyer & Pierce, dealers in West India goods. Two years later he established himself in the same business, which he carried on there and later in Salem for nearly thirty years, retiring in 1854. His residence for half a century or more was the city of Salem, and his home there was the constant resort of friends of similar tastes to his own. As a boy he was greatly interested in ornithology, and it is said that before he was 10 years old he had gathered a collection of nearly two thousand eggs—thus early giving evidence of "the collector's instinct."
>
> Inheriting from his grandfather a large amount of Continental currency, which had been paid him for services in the Revolution, he was led to make a collection of colonial and Continental coins and money. In this he was eminently successful; he has left several valuable cabinets filled with ancient and modern coins, but especially rich in early American issues, and those of Great Britain which relate more or less closely to this country. Among his choice pieces is a fine impression of the 1804 dollar, Proof sets complete from 1845, and many of the rarer issues of the United States Mint. He did not confine himself to numismatic collections, however; he acquired ancient furniture,

[1] Apparently, in some sectors there were questions as late as 1871 as to which coins had been minted in the early years, for in that year dealer Edward D. Cogan published a leaflet, *Table of Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins, Not Issued by the United States Mint.*

[2] Mickley is noticed at length in Chapter 4.

[3] *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 3, 1859,. p. 67. Copies of the works of these three gentlemen are preserved in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society and were made available to the author by curator Anne Bentley.

[4] Mease, a prominent Philadelphian and member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, prepared a catalogue of Peale's Philadelphia Museum and was an acquaintance of naturalist John James Audubon, introducing him to scientists in the city at the start of the latter's career.

[5] In a letter from Stickney to Edward D. Cogan, July 2, 1867 (reproduced in Bowers, *Louis E. Eliasberg, Sr., King of Coins,* pp. 1540155, and in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* July 1867), the date of the IMMUNE COLUMBIA pieces was given incorrectly as 1783. Years later in 1843, one of these was part of an exchange with the Mint Cabinet that netted Stickney an 1804 silver dollar.

[6] *American Journal of Numismatics,* October 1894, as part of Stickney's obituary (he died on August 11, 1894). On June 25-29, 1907, the Stickney collection was auctioned by Henry Chapman via the *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of United States and Foreign Coins of the Late Matthew Adams Stickney, Esq., Comprising one of the Greatest Collections Ever Sold in this Country. Unique Colonial and State Coins, Brasher's 1787 New York Doubloon, 1815 Half Eagle, and an Original 1804 Dollar.* This impressive publication of 222 pages described 3,026 lots. This is regarded as one of the most important auctions of all time, quite probably the best old-time cabinet to cross the auction block up to that point, a competitor to the 1890 sale of the Lorin G. Parmelee Collection sale, but more diverse than the Parmelee holding and without the buy-ins that characterized the Parmelee event.

and old almanacs, of which he had what is believed to be the most complete set ever brought together in this country, beginning in 1660, printed in England and America; autographs, also, including those of the Signers of the Declaration, American statesmen, and many prominent men of the present century, and other interesting relics of days gone by, found appropriate places in his cabinets. He was a frequent contributor to the Proceedings of the Essex Institute, of which he was an honored member, having served it as Librarian and Curator, and he also published several works on numismatic, historic, and genealogical subjects....

In a letter of reminiscence to Edward D. Cogan dated July 2, 1867, Stickney told of the earlier days:[1]

I have been for nearly fifty years a systematic collector of coins, and for a very long period almost without a competitor, and very many of the rare coins which now enrich other cabinets were by great solicitation obtained from me. My facilities for collecting coins were remarkably good, through the friendship of Beebee & Parshall's Bullion Exchange 22½ Wall St. N.Y. I received from them quarterly from 1843, rare coins I was in search of, at par, and under all the changes of the firm[2] they continued to favor me till 1854, when in consequence of ill health, I gave up my business, and ceased to make active efforts for additions to my cabinet, only obtaining the regular series of Proof coins from the Mint, which I have received from them for twenty five years.

At the Philadelphia Mint, William E. Dubois had contact with various numismatists who had occasion to buy, sell, or exchange specimens or to commission restrikes. The list of collectors he furnished to Stickney in 1843 was a modest one.[3] Included were Dr. Lewis Roper, Jacob G. Morris, Richard W. Davids (described as "nephew of Mr. Morris"), W.G. Mason, C.C. Ashmead, John Reeve, Mr. Cooper (of Camden, NJ), Hon. Henry A. Muhlenberg (of Reading, PA), Rev. Dr. Robbins (of Hartford, CT, an uncle of Matthew A. Stickney), and Edmund B. Wynn (of Hamilton, NY).

At an early date, Stickney showed Dubois' little roster to John Allan, a New York City numismatist and antiquarian, who added the names of Philip Hone and Robert Gilmor, Jr., to it.

Curiously, the name of Joseph J. Mickley, who had been active in the hobby since about 1817 and who is known to have acquired Proof coins from the Mint as early as 1827, was omitted by both Dubois and Allan. Perhaps Dubois made up the list quickly from memory and overlooked the obvious. No doubt a truly comprehensive list of collectors active in 1843 would have included the best part of 100 names, a figure that by a decade later would have crossed the 200 level.

Below are given additional sketches of some notable numismatists who were active in the 1800-1850 years, some continuing their interests to a later date. It is worth reiterating that nearly all early American numismatists also enjoyed other intellectual and collecting pursuits which, no doubt, reinforced their numismatic endeavors.

## ROBERT GILMOR, JR.

Among enthusiastic numismatists of the early nineteenth century, Robert Gilmor, Jr., of Baltimore, stood in the first rank.[4] Over a period of time he assembled a vast cabinet of treasures among which were such delicacies as virtually complete sets of United States coins by date sequence, a 1787 Brasher doubloon,[5] and many fine Greek, Roman, and classical issues. Born to a wealthy Baltimore family on September 24, 1774, the junior Robert Gilmor enjoyed the rewards of his father's mercantile and importing trade.

Sent to Amsterdam and Marseilles to further his education, Robert returned to America and in 1799 became a partner with his brother and father in the family business, thenceforth known as Robert Gilmor & Sons. Soon thereafter, Robert embarked on a grand tour of Europe, remaining away from May 16, 1799 to October 1, 1801, during which time he visited England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Austria, and Italy, among other countries. Along the way he called at the Imperial Cabinet of Natural

**A splendid 1787 gold doubloon made by Ephraim Brasher in New York City. A related specimen was once a prize in the collection of Robert Gilmor, Jr., of Baltimore. The doubloon was worth nearly $16 at the time of issue. (Garrett Collection specimen which crossed the block in 1979 for $725,000, a figure which stood for many years as the world's record price for any coin sold at auction)**

[1] Excerpted and lightly edited from Stickney's letter reproduced (with complete original orthography) in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Eliasberg Collection, April 1997, in which Stickney's 1804 silver dollar was sold.

[2] For example, in the late 1840s Samuel J. Beebee was affiliated with Beebee, Ludlow & Co. In another context in 1849, Beebee was an endorser of the San Francisco assaying and minting firm of Moffat & Co., noting: "We have the fullest confidence in Messrs. Moffat & Co., and consider their genuine Assay-Stamp equal to the United States or London Mints, and would purchase as freely."

[3] Given in a letter of reminiscence from Stickney to George A. Cogan, July 2, 1867, and subsequently published in the *American Journal of Numismatics*. In the present excerpt, spelling errors are corrected (Davids instead of David, etc.) and first names are added.

[4] Sources include "Robert Gilmor, Jr. and the Cradle Age of American Numismatics." by Dr. Joel J. Orosz, *Raw Coin Review* No. 58, 1985; Dr. Orosz's similarly titled article in *The Numismatist*, May 1990; and the same writer's "New Research Illuminates Robert Gilmor, Jr.," co-authored with Lance Humphries, *The Numismatist*, November and December 1996.

[5] This specimen was later owned by a succession of well-known numismatists including Lyman H. Low, Harold P. Newlin, Robert Coulton Davis, John G. Mills, James Ten Eyck, Virgil M. Brand, Robert Friedberg, and Walter Perschke.

History in Vienna, then as now one of Europe's most important repositories for minerals, meteorites, and other natural objects as well as crafted items. While at the Vienna museum he saw several impressive numismatic items including a gold medal which weighed 12 pounds and was said to have been worth 1,500 guineas.[1] During the trip he purchased art and objects of interest, writing to his brother to comment:

> The materials I have collected both for the improvement of art and science will I trust be a rich fund for my friends as well as myself to draw pleasure and instruction from.

During the next several decades Gilmor gathered many important properties in various fields including autographs (in 1845 he became the second person in America to complete a set of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), minerals, and paintings, landscapes being special favorites in the latter category. In fact, Gilmor was a celebrated patron of the arts. In the meantime he quietly assembled a cabinet of coins.

In 1821, Gilmor commissioned a British artist named Benjamin Rawlinson Faulkner to create a medal observing the 50th wedding anniversary of his parents.[2] These were imported in the same year through the port of New York, with well-known merchant William Bayard assisting with the formalities.

In the same decade Gilmor contacted Adam Eckfeldt at the Mint, presumably in connection with coins needed for his collection. In the 1830s he encouraged the institution to form a display of its own specimens, which became a reality when Adam Eckfeldt and W.E. Dubois set up the Mint Cabinet in June 1838. Eckfeldt had been with the Mint since its early years.

In 1841, Gilmor corresponded with former Secretary of War Joel Roberts Poinsett, who was involved in the establishment of the National Institute for the Promotion of Science to house American collections and other treasures. The National Cabinet of Curiosities owned by the government was given to the Institute's care, as were some other properties. Gilmor suggested that collections be formed to illustrate coinage of the Mint as well as the various states. In a letter dated April 14, 1841, Gilmor shared some thoughts with Poinsett and told of his own experiences with the Mint:

> The Mint has aided me considerably, and has even provided desiderata from the old dies, when I require it—Mr. Eckfeldt of the Mint has been of great service to me, and was stimulated by my attempt to commence one for the Mint itself, which really ought not to be without a specimen of every one of its coins—by timely attention to the subject by whoever has charge of the Department may soon make a considerable advance towards obtaining those in circulation, but no time should be lost, as the old gold coin is gradually disappearing by being coined into the new.[3] The Mint would no doubt aid you in this, and coin your deficiencies.

However, the National Institute did not flourish and in time was replaced by the Smithsonian Institution, which later acquired the Institute's collections.[4]

Robert Gilmor, Jr., died on November 30, 1848. Under terms of his will, his collection passed to *another* Robert Gilmor, Jr. (1808-1875), who was the son of his brother. Many of his non-numismatic collections became scattered, although his personal papers were preserved by the Maryland Historical Society. Of the coins, the main part of the collection seems to have been dispersed circa January-February 1861 by the second Robert Gilmor, Jr. Among the buyers was John P. Des Forges, a Baltimore coin dealer. A few of the "heirloom" coins, including the 1787 Brasher doubloon, passed by inheritance to the second Robert Gilmor, Jr.'s son, Harry Gilmor (1838-1883).

Writing in 1878, William Harvey Strobridge commented:[5]

> About 20 years ago, Mr. E.J. Snow, of Baltimore, and the writer, who soon after became a resident of that city, commenced life together as amateurs and collectors of rare old coins. We followed our pursuit in harmony until the breaking out of the war in 1861. Returning to New York in that year, I brought with me all of Mr. Snow's American coins, leaving him my own acquisitions, which had been mainly in the early English series. The great Gilmour [*sic*] collection was then breaking up, and I obtained out of it many valuable pieces, among them the pattern groat of Edward I, No. 272 of this [the Snow] catalogue; and the Indian Medal of George II, No. 490, of which I have never

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[1] The accuracy of this observation is questionable. Equivalent to slightly over $7,500 U.S. funds. A guinea was equivalent to 21 shillings, the same as a pound plus one shilling.

[2] Benjamin Rawlinson Faulkner (1787-1849) was best known as a portrait painter, with his initial exhibit at the Royal Academy, 1821, attracting favorable notice. Certain of his medals are described by Leonard Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists,* Volume II, 1904, pp. 75-76. Original strikings were made in England. Later, the dies were shipped to the Philadelphia Mint where they were used to make restrikes. R.W. Julian, *Medals of the United States Mint: The First Century 1792-1892,* p. 209, describes the medal and notes in part: "Director James Ross Snowden made occasional restrikes in bronze from these dies as trading stock for medals not in the National Collection. They were also exchanged for coins, as for example on February 27, 1861, when Snowden sent Jeremiah Colburn one of these pieces in exchange for coins of King 'Bomba' of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. One silver medal was struck as late as 1871."

[3] By 1834 the price of gold bullion had risen to the point at which current gold coins were worth more in melt-down value than face value. Accordingly, vast numbers of coins were melted or exported. On June 28, 1834, Congress lowered the authorized weight of gold coins, such becoming effective on August 1, 1834. As new "Classic Head" $2.50 and $5 coins were minted under the new standard, the older pieces became increasingly scarce. Called "old tenor," the old-style gold coins were quoted at a premium in financial and bullion lists.

[4] In 1854, Alfred Hunter prepared a catalogue of "extraordinary curiosities" on display by the National Institute at the Patent Office building, which included numismatic items (cf. Emmanuel J. Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 82).

[5] In his catalogue of the E.J. Snow Collection, March 19-21, 1878.

> seen another example. Since that time Mr. Snow has made constant additions to his cabinet, purchasing largely of myself in the earlier years, and directly from Lincoln & Sons, London....[1]

By that time, Strobridge had auctioned a number of other Gilmor pieces as well. In his sale of the remarkable cabinet of William A. Lilliendahl, sold May 26-28, 1862, a copper cent appearing as Lot 524 was described: "1793 Link, an unusually fine impression; has long been known as the Gilmore [*sic*] cent, and in this condition of the most extreme rarity." The coin realized an impressive $24.50, one of the highest amounts recorded for an American cent up to that time, and the buyer was Joseph N.T. Levick, who numbered early cents among his several specialties. It is likely that Lilliendahl had been a major buyer of Gilmor material when the collection was dispersed in 1861. Additional Lilliendahl coins were offered by Strobridge on December 15-17, 1863, and included two pieces specifically attributed to Gilmor, a Roman medallion and a 1792 silver half disme. The latter, described as "one of the finest known, originally in the Gillmore [*sic*] collection," fetched $26.

Few of Gilmor's coins were ever traced later, and today less than a handful of pieces can be specifically pedigreed to what in its time was America's most important rare coin cabinet. In the words of Attinelli:[2]

> This gentleman had at one time one of the largest and finest collections of the day, which he disposed of at private sale. "From the Gilmor Collection" was a recommendation which immediately gave high character to a coin or medal.

The Gilmor cabinet provides a tangential connection to the numismatic collection gathered by President James Madison. In his 69th sale, October 13-18, 1884, W. Elliot Woodward offered this:

> Lot 1221: "Medal of the Golden Wedding of Robert and Louisa Gilmore [*sic*]. Their busts joined; rev., Cupid with torch of Hymen. This medal is from the private collection formed by President Madison, and was purchased by Mr. [Heman] Ely of Charles H. Parsons, of Washington, D.C.... Tin, surface oxidized. Size 24.

## JOHN ALLAN

Born in Kilbernie, Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1777, John Allan emigrated to the United States and secured a position in New York City as a bookkeeper. In his adopted country Allan became an active numismatist by the 1820s and continued his interest for several decades thereafter. As was true of most early collectors of coins, his interests were far-ranging and also included books, antiques, artifacts, and curiosities. His collection of snuff boxes was memorable and was widely admired. In his house on Pearl Street, opposite Centre Street, and later (1837 until his death in 1863) in his home on Vandewater Street he greeted many visitors who shared his enthusiasm. Allan also sold coins to others and is a candidate for being America's first rare coin dealer. He also illustrated various books including *Washington's Life* and Burns's *Poems*.

John Allan designed the New Haven bicentennial medal working with Ithiel Town in 1838.[3] Town was an architect and author of some renown, and with his partner, Alexander J. Davis, drew plans for the Connecticut State Capitol, Hartford's Wadsworth Atheneum, the New Haven City Hall, the capitol buildings of North Carolina and Indiana, and other important structures. Town seems to have been a collector in his own right and offered "four or five hundred coins, medals, &c., in gold, silver, and copper" for sale in New York in 1842.[4]

In 1859, a token was made depicting Allan by New York City engraver George H. Lovett. The subject's name was given as JOHANNES ALLAN, and the obverse illustrated

**John Allan is depicted on the obverse of a 31.1 mm. medalet by George H. Lovett. The obverse inscription has been Latinized: JOHANNES ALLAN, ANTIQUARIUS SCOTUS ("John Allan, Scottish antiquarian") with NATUS (born) February 26, 1777 below.**

**The reverse is dated 1860 and bears the advertising message of John K. Curtis, New York City watchmaker, jeweler, and rare coin dealer. In the late 1850s and early 1860s Curtis published several highly important fixed-priced catalogues.**

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[1] W.S. Lincoln & Son, New Oxford Street, London. The firm had an active connection to the American market, and on December 22, 1870, the company's consignment (Lincoln's ownership was not revealed) crossed the auction block at Leonard & Co., Boston. The arrangements for this 1870 event were quite casual, and relatively few catalogues were distributed. About 1,000 coins were sold. E.L. Mason, Jr., was among those who attended. Later it became known that the material was from W.S. Lincoln & Son, London, and had been shipped to Boston to be sold. Included in the sale were restrikes of the Manly medal said to have been made recently in London. The highest price in the sale was for a "Very Fine" (actually Uncirculated) 1796 50¢ to Mason at $70, followed by a silver Proof set of 1846 for $25 to the same buyer, followed by a New England shilling to Mr. Pratt for $20. Lincoln also supplied choice U.S. coins to American dealers including J. Colvin Randall of Philadelphia. The London firm was a popular place to visit when American numismatists crossed the Atlantic.

[2] *Numisgraphics*, p. 8.

[3] *American Journal of Numismatics*, July 1871, and other sources; the New Haven medal (with inscriptions including THE DESERT SHALL REJOICE / AND BLOSSOM AS THE ROSE) is illustrated in R.W. Julian, *Medals of the United States Mint: The First Century 1792-1892*, p. 250. Two versions exist, one from dies signed by C.C. Wright.

[4] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 81.

him as an antiquarian examining a coin. This die was also combined with an 1860 die featuring the advertisement of Allan's friend and coin supplier, John K. Curtis.

John Allan died in New York City on November 19, 1863, having been inactive in the hobby for the last several years of his life. Coins from his cabinet and books from his library crossed the block at Bangs, Merwin & Co., May 2, 1864. Years later on May 25-27, 1870, his name came up again in the sale room, this time at Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co., on the title page of Edward D. Cogan's *Catalogue of an Exceedingly Interesting and Valuable Collection of Silver Medals of All Nations Together with Rare Crowns, etc., formerly the Silver Cabinet of the Late Mr. John Allan, purchased by the present owner C. G. Newcomb, Esq. some years before Mr. Allan's death.*[1] George Cogan's "Estate of a Well-Known Numismatist" sale of August 16-19, 1883, may have included material that once belonged to Allan.[2]

## PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON

Military and political figures would sometimes collect numismatic items and related memorabilia. Thus, Andrew Jackson, the president who was also known as the Hero of New Orleans (from the War of 1812), had a display of coins that included tokens, medals, and two Proof 1836 Gobrecht silver dollars—one being from among the first pieces struck and the other given to a Jackson family member by Martin Van Buren. On January 27, 1837, John Guest presented Jackson with a small group of coins as a gift. Included were a 1792 silver Washington half dollar and a 1662 Pine Tree silver twopence.[3]

**1836 Gobrecht dollar with Liberty Seated obverse design and flying eagle reverse. President Andrew Jackson was given two examples of this issue, the first silver dollars to be coined for circulation at the Mint in over 30 years.**

A large gold medal presented to Jackson by Congress in commemoration of the Battle of New Orleans was, apparently, admired for a time, but later was sold by a family member to a "prominent coin collector in New York City, and it is now in one of the large collections there." Similarly, an 1826 Erie Canal medal in gold said to be one of just three or four struck in this metal, from dies by Charles Cushing Wright), was once owned by President Jackson, but by 1891 was in the cabinet of G.P. Thruston of Nashville, who by that time also owned both of Jackson's 1836 dollars and his 1792 Washington silver half dollar.[4] However, not all pieces were dispersed. In 1891 an attractive group of medals still remained at Jackson's ancestral home in Tennessee, The Hermitage, and was prized by its caretakers.[5]

## C.C. WRIGHT

Regarding Charles Cushing Wright, it is not widely known that he was a numismatist in addition to being an engraver and die sinker of remarkable talents. In 1831 he gave lectures on classical coins and medals at the National Academy of Design at Clinton Hall in New York City.[6] At the same Academy he mounted an exhibit which included a medal he had made of DeWitt Clinton.

Today Wright is remembered as America's pre-eminent medalist of the period from the mid-1820s until his death in 1854. Any important collection of American medals, whether formed in the nineteenth century or the present era, includes examples of his work. The catalogues of Augustus B. Sage included them as did those of his contemporaries.

Born in the Maine seacoast town of Damariscotta on May 1, 1796, Wright was orphaned at the age of nine months. At age 13 he took as his own first and middle names the name of the man who offered to pay for his education, Charles Cushing. Unfortunately, his benefactor died shortly thereafter, forcing Wright to leave school and sign on as an apprentice with an uncle who was a merchant in nearby Wiscasset, Maine. Difficulties arose with his churlish aunt, and he left his uncle's employ, determined to seek a life of adventure aboard ship, but the Non-Intercourse and Embargo acts restricted ocean commerce, and no appropriate position was found.

Following the declaration of the War of 1812, Wright moved to New York and became the clerk of a sutler[7] ac-

[1] This was the second numismatic auction catalogue with photographic plates issued in the United States; the first was Cogan's June 23-24, 1869, sale of the Mortimer Livingston Mackenzie Collection (cf. George F. Kolbe, letter, September 24, 1997). Newcomb was Colin Gillespie Newcomb (life dates: December 13, 1813 to March 29, 1872), a New York City manufacturer and seller of jewelry.

[2] John W. Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature,* Vol. I, 1982, p. 103.

[3] *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1872. At this time the Guest gift pieces were at the Hermitage in Nashville.

[4] Jackson's gold specimen of the Erie Canal medal later appeared and was illustrated as Lot 823 in Wayte Raymond's sale of the W.W.C. Wilson Collection, November 1925; Raymond included a commentary concerning its presentation to Jackson at a ceremony in 1828.

[5] *American Journal of Numismatics,* October 1892, commentary by G.P. Thruston.

[6] Clinton Hall was built in 1828 and housed the Mercantile Library and other facilities. It was there that Wright gave his presentations. The second and better known Clinton Hall was the erstwhile Astor Place Opera House, which in 1854 had been purchased and renovated by the Clinton Hall Association. In this latter structure, years later a room was used by Messrs. Leavitt & Co. to conduct coin auction sales. In 1858, the American Numismatic Society conducted a meeting in a room used by the American Geographical Society. Other numismatic connections could be mentioned.

[7] Sutlers were federally authorized merchants who were attached to various military units and who followed them in combat. The typical sutler

**Charles Cushing Wright, famous American medalist of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as depicted on a 51.4 mm. medal issued in the 1850s by F.B. Smith & Hartmann, New York City.**

**In 1860 this firm of medalists advertised: "F.B Smith & Hartmann, Medal and General Die Sinkers and Seal Engravers, 122½ Fulton Street, New York. Dies for jewellers, daguerreotype cases, envelopes, valentines, spoon makers, rolls, &c. Seals, brands, marking-plates, hame-stamps. Medals made in gold, silver, bronze, and composition. Embossing-plates, &c."[1]**

**Frederick B. Smith was one of the better known diesinkers and medalists of the mid-nineteenth century and was well known in numismatic circles, being an attendee at collectors' gatherings in New York City.**

companying the 25th Regiment, eventually witnessing action at Little York, Fort George, Stony Creek (where he was slightly wounded by a musket ball), and elsewhere. After the war he settled for a time in Sacketts Harbor, NY, later moving to Utica in the same state, where he became an apprentice of watchmaker and jeweler John Osborn and was introduced to the engraving trade. Osborn relocated to the small town of Homer, NY, and Wright went with him, remaining until the age 21. Meanwhile, he chanced to see and appreciate publications illustrated with engravings by Thomas Scoles. Fascinated, he sought to learn more and secured an encyclopedia which gave a brief account of the engraving process.

At age 21 he moved to Albany, NY, then to New York City, where he engraved plates for printing small cards and papers including those inserted in the backs of watch cases. He then relocated to Savannah, GA, remaining there until the disastrous fire which swept the downtown district on January 11, 1820, after which he went to Charleston, SC. There he achieved further success in the engraving business, mostly cutting plates for printing, but also making some token and medal dies, including a portrait die in steel in 1820, featuring Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Meanwhile, he continued to maintain a business address in Savannah. His partnership with William D. Smith, known as Wright & Smith, did business in both southern cities.

In January 1821 he participated in the founding and became a director of the South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts. In Charleston he married Miss Lavinia St. Simons. The union was not a happy one, and the couple had many difficulties over the years, separated a decade later, only to reunite then to divorce in 1846. Mr. and Mrs. Wright had six children. After his divorce, C.C. Wright represented himself as younger than his real age, which later led to some confused accounts regarding the date of his birth.

In 1823 he moved back to New York City and worked on his own account as well as in a partnership with others. Wright set up a home and studio with his family at 89 Amity Street, close by the premises of engravers and brothers Cyrus Durand (89 Amity Street) and Asher B. Durand (91). In October formed the partnership of Wright & Durand (a.k.a. Durand & Wright) with Asher B. A print of a horse, titled *American Eclipse,* signed by Wright, was published in *color* by Jouillain in the same year and achieved some renown in an era when prints were typically untinted. The firm of Durand & Wright became well known for its banknote and certificate engravings. Separately, the partnership of A. B. & C. Durand & Charles C. Wright & Co., with an office at 39 Canal Street at the corner of Broadway, specialized in banknotes and employed an anti-counterfeiting engraving device (known as Geometric Lathe No. 4) made by Cyrus Durand.[2]

The famous Washington / Lafayette medalet dies of 1824 are the coinage dies attributed to Wright's hand. These dies were used to counterstamp copper cents, silver half dollars, and other coins to commemorate the return to America in that year of Marquis de Lafayette, French hero of the American Revolution.

After that time, one success followed another, and today he is remembered for the 1826 Erie Canal medal (us-

set up business in a field tent and offered for sale such items as clothing, patent medicines and bitters ("medicines" purchased for their high alcoholic content), medals and badges, books, and other things contributing to comfort and the pleasurable passing of idle hours. Several decades later in the Civil War, 1861-1865, certain sutlers issued tokens (which are highly collectible today).

[1] Trow's 1861 Directory (compiled in 1860), advertising in "Commercial Register" section, p. 14.

[2] In contrast to some published numismatic commentaries, C.C. Wright was not a principal in the well-known banknote engraving firm of Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson and related partnerships active in the 1840s and 1850s; that person was *Neziah* Wright. In the banknote business, partnerships changed their structure frequently, often retaining older plates with obsolete names and often failing to notify directory publishers of the new arrangements. Thus, any numismatic directory of such firms can only be approximate as to date.

ing letter punches cut by Richard Trested); several medals of Henry Clay; the large and impressive George Washington / Signing of the Declaration of Independence medal; the Washington Allston (1847), Gilbert Stuart (1848), and John Trumbull (1849) medals he did for the Art Union; the large, ornate, and elegant medals he made for the Mint in connection with the Mexican War of 1848; a medal of Daniel Webster; and the hubs (eagle on rock) for the dies used to strike the $50 octagonal gold coins made under the supervision of Augustus Humbert in San Francisco in 1851, among many other artistic achievements.

Wright was associated in various other partnerships over the years, including Wright & Bale (diecutters and engravers, 1829-1833, successors to the business of the late Richard Trested, for whom James Bale had been an apprentice) and C.C. Wright & Prentiss (1834-1838, engravers on wood and copper and printers, 45 Maiden Lane). Directories list him in 1839 at 19 Platt Street and in 1840 working with David Felt, a stationer, at 34 Wall Street and with a separate studio for seal and diecutting in the Stationers' Hall building at 245 Pearl Street.

In the early 1840s he established C.C. Wright & Co., steel pen manufacturers at 92 Maiden Lane, the "& Co." representing his financial backers Charles Mapes and James J. Mapes. Wright's death occurred on June 7, 1854. His last significant work is believed to have been the medal observing the loss at sea in December 1853 of the *S.S. San Francisco.* A medal depicting Shakespearean actor Edwin Forrest (1806-1872) is said to have been among his last productions. In the final years of his life Wright was a friend of numismatist Charles I. Bushnell, who later commissioned a medal with his portrait.[1]

While cutting dies for artistic medals served to showcase Charles Cushing Wright's talent and no doubt brought a great measure of personal satisfaction, most of his trade consisted of engraving wood and copper plates for tickets, cards, advertising notices, and fiscal documents. The career of Christian Gobrecht was somewhat parallel in this regard, until he became an engraver at the Mint in 1835, succeeding to the chief engravership upon the death of William Kneass in 1836.

## WILLIAM G. STEARNS

William Gordon Stearns was born in Chelmsford, MA, on November 22, 1804, the only son of Asahel Stearns, a Harvard law professor. Entering Harvard in 1820, William graduated in 1824, after which he studied law and earned an LL.B. degree in 1827. He practiced his chosen profession in Boston until 1844, when he took the office of steward at Harvard and helped manage the institution's finances.

**Large and impressive medal struck honoring Major General Zachary Taylor. Struck at the Philadelphia Mint from dies engraved by Charles Cushing Wright. (From James Ross Snowden, *The Washington and National Medals,* 1861, Plate IV)**

[1] This medallic tribute was struck from dies by F.B. Smith & Hartmann. The reverse bore this inscription: THE / EMINENT / AMERICAN / MEDAL DIE SINKER / BORN / MAY 1st 1796 / DIED / June 7th 1854 (cf. Garrett Collection, Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, 1981, Lot 2074). The Bushnell Collection catalogue (Chapman brothers, 1882) lists Wright medals in several metals.

By 1830 Stearns was a coin collector.[1] A letter from him dated March 18, 1840, was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in London, and gave a superficial overview of North American coinage, not reflecting any significant technical knowledge of the subject. Mentioned was a Brasher "gold coin" owned by Robert Gilmore [*sic*] of Baltimore, but Stearns had not seen the coin, knew little about it, and was not even aware of its date.[2] When the Boston Numismatic Society was formed in 1860, he had been collecting for a longer time than any other of its founding members and had assembled "a somewhat extensive cabinet of coins and medals."[3]

In December 1870 Stearns was unduly exposed to cold weather and developed paralysis, which deprived him of certain mental and physical faculties, causing him to suffer greatly until his death, which occurred on January 21, 1872. Upon his passing he was described as a modest man, "without brilliant gifts," but who had a retiring disposition and a warm and generous heart.[4]

## DR. CHARLES SPIER

Around the year 1823, Charles Spier[5] may have begun his collection of rare coins. On the other hand, perhaps he did not. And then there is the question as to whether he ever had *certain* rare coins. Suffice it to say, here is a curious figure in the history of American numismatics. Available literature gives contradictory information and mixed reviews. As good a place as any to begin a discussion of Spier is with the following article reprinted in the *Gold Hill Daily News*, Gold Hill, NV, January 9, 1873, which informs us that by that time Spier had been collecting for over 50 years, or since before 1823.[6] Moreover, he was the world's leading numismatist. The original account appeared in Visalia, CA:

### Dr. Charles Spier, Numismatist
### A Coin Lunatic

(From the *Visalia Delta*) It may not be generally known that Dr Charles Spier, of this place, is the oldest living and most successful numismatist in the world. He has been engaged in the collection of coins for over 50 years, and has now over 14,000 pieces, representing every species of coin ever produced in any year or under any dominion of any sovereign or government from the days of Semiramis and the Pharaohs down to the present time. His collection is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

He has over 10,000 of his pieces in the vaults of the Bank of California and his collection is pronounced the best and most valuable in existence, not excepting those of Queen Victoria and the Sultan of Turkey, which are particularly extensive and valuable.

A few days ago we examined 4,000 of the pieces which he keeps here. They proved a most interesting study. Coins of the ancient Jewish Kingdoms, of the various Kings, Consuls and Emperors of Rome; of Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Nineveh, Babylon, China, Palmyra, Egypt, Japan, etc., with specimens of every year's coinage in all Christian lands from the time of Constantine till now, were exhibited in prodigal profusion. The Doctor has many coins which would sell for many thousands of dollars each. His collection has been the work of a very extended lifetime. He has traveled nearly all over the world and is constantly receiving new additions to his pieces from Europe and the East. He has gold and silver coins from the size of a very large tea cup down to a pea. We wish we had the space to particularly describe some of them.

The Doctor, who is in easy circumstances and greatly advanced in years, remains in Visalia on account of the excellence of the climate. His collection is very interesting to any one appreciating the mementos of antiquity.

This marvelous collection passed to the Society of California Pioneers, which in 1877 published the *Catalogue of Gold, Silver, Copper, Brass, Bronze and Porcelain Coins and Medals, Known for Many Years as the Dr. Spiers Collection, San Francisco.*

The Spier cabinet was mentioned in April 1887 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*. John A. Nexsen, in a study of known specimens of the 1804 dollar, commented that Spier had obtained an 1804 dollar "about the year 1835" and that it was currently in the Mint at San Francisco for safekeeping, along with other coins belonging to the Society of California Pioneers.

In April 1905 the *American Journal of Numismatics* offered an evaluation of the Spier 1804 dollar:

> The piece has a plain edge, and weighs 46 grains less than the proper weight of the early American dollars. Its composition is a combination of tin and copper, the formerly largely predominating, and it is plated with copper.

Soon adding further insult to the coin's diminished reputation were comments by Farran Zerbe in the May and August 1905 issues of *The Numismatist*. Not only was the coin considered to be a fake, but a catalogue accompanying the collection, written by Dr. Spier, "and given the visitor to identify the coins, is a monument to numismatic ignorance."

What Spier's numismatic activities may have been circa 1823 are not known. By 1846 he was a medical student in

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[1] *American Journal of Numismatics*, July 1874; account of Jeremiah Colburn.

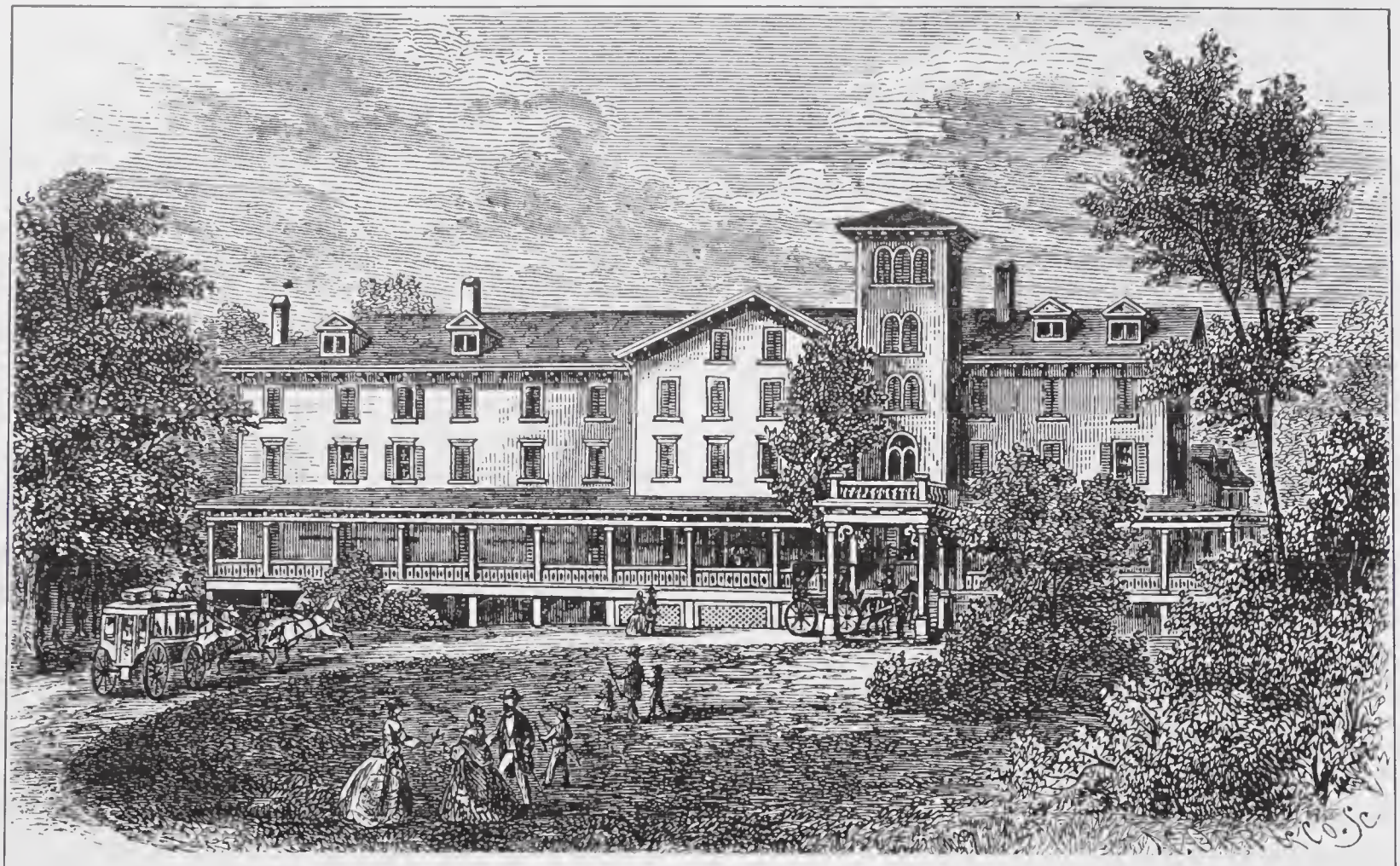
[2] *American Journal of Numismatics*, October 1872; Stearns' article appeared in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III, July 1840 to January 1841, pp. 123-125; also Joel J. Orosz, "Robert Gilmor, Jr. and the Cradle Age of American Numismatics," *The Numismatist*, May 1990. The 1840 letter was addressed to a Mr. Bowditch in England.

[3] Dr. Winslow Lewis in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, June 1866.

[4] *American Journal of Numismatics*, April 1872.

[5] Also spelled as Spiers in various notices.

[6] Sources include: Robert W. Mercer, *The Numismatic Directory*, 1881, p. 36; the *American Journal of Numismatics*, April 1905; *The Numismatist*, May and August 1905; various W.E. Woodward catalogues. Gold Hill-Visalia citation furnished by Wayne Homren (article reprinted from the *Visalia Delta*).



Michael Moore, a numismatist who began his interest in coins in 1822 when he lived in New York City, later moved to Trenton Falls, NY, and became proprietor of The Rural Resort, shown above. This hotel was widely advertised in its time and was a popular place to get away from the heat and stress of city life, particularly in the summer. A newspaper account told of Moore and his establishment:

"The first civilized being who seemed to appreciate this beautiful spot was John Sherman, grandson of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and father of Mrs. Moore, the wife of the present proprietor.... There is a pleasant domestic romance connected with the proprietor, Mr. Moore:

"Some years ago, when Mr. Moore was on a visit to the Rural Resort, then kept by Mr. Sherman, he was so severely injured by a fall that his life was despaired of. He was, of course, taken care of by his humane and courteous host, and so gently nursed by the beautiful and accomplished daughter of that gentleman, that when he regained his health he found that he had lost his own heart, or rather exchanged it for another's. The result was that Miss Sherman became Mrs. Moore, and Mr. Moore in due time became the proprietor of the romantic Falls as well as the respected host of that popular and commodious hotel, The Rural Resort."

(*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* June 21, 1862)

Philadelphia. Irrespective of the depth, breadth, and value of the Spier Collection—which did, indeed, include some fine things including a rare Kohler $50 gold ingot—its owner has never been considered for a niche in the Pantheon of numismatic greats. Most historians have dismissed him as a charlatan and buffoon.

## Other Early Numismatists

Michael Moore began collecting coins in 1822 when he lived in New York City and chanced to make the acquaintance of John Allan.[1] His cabinet of coins and medals grew for a decade, until 1832 when James Thomson, who lived near Rhinebeck, NY, is said to have paid a handsome sum for the collection. The proceeds were applied by Moore toward the purchase of a large estate in Trenton Falls, NY, a town to which he had moved in 1828. In that community Moore later served as postmaster, married a great-granddaughter of Roger Sherman (a signer of the Declaration of Independence), and operated a hotel known as The Rural Resort, which became very well known in its time as a caravansary for New Yorkers who sought to escape the city's heat in the summer. The retreat offered woodland walks, multiple waterfalls, rocky gorges, and other natural attractions. Meanwhile, he casually acquired coins here and there and may have been a bidder in the Peter Flandin Collection sale in 1855. In 1861 his interest in numismatics was rekindled with a passion after watching his war-injured (in Pope's Campaign) son enjoy collecting one-cent pieces and medals. By June 1868, Joseph N.T. Levick reported that the rebuilt Moore collection was "one of the best in the country." Moore also collected

[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* June 1868, April 1874, and July 1888.

books and paintings and enjoyed astronomy through the use of three telescopes.[1]

Philip Hone, the mayor of New York City for one term, 1825-1826, was an avid coin collector in that era and assembled an important cabinet.[2] No doubt he counted among his friends and suppliers John Allan. The sale of the Hone Collection was conducted by New York City auctioneer E.H. Ludlow on April 28, 1852. A 26-page listing offered paintings, statuary, medals, and other items and described 292 lots, of which coins and medals realized $837.88, and numismatic books $166.50. A much larger sum was realized for paintings, $5,910.00.[3] The Hone event is important historically as the first significant auction offering of numismatic items in Manhattan.[4] For years thereafter, the three focal points of rare coin auction sales would be Philadelphia (which had the early lead), New York City (which eventually became dominant), and, a distant third, Boston. Baltimore was an also-ran.

Robert E. Bach, of Brooklyn, NY, was collecting coins by the 1820s, and in 1830 purchased a wooden cabinet in London to house them. After his death, his coins and storage cabinet were auctioned by W.E. Woodward.[5]

The collection of Benjamin H. Watkins is worthy of notice, if only in passing. On June 12-13, 1828, in Salem, MA, John Nichols auctioned 350 lots of coins, books, engravings, and other items, including two New England (NE) shillings, a Massachusetts silver threepence, and two silver twopence.[6] The 17-year-old son of the auctioneer, John H. Nichols, prepared the listing and at the sale was a buyer of some of the coins, planting the seed for his own numismatic interest that was to endure for decades thereafter.

**The New England silver shilling or 12 pence, bearing on one side the simple notation NE and on the other, XII, is among the first coins to be struck in what is now the United States. Pieces were first made in 1652. The simple design invited counterfeiting, and soon the motif was changed to include inscriptions and a tree design.**

**In 1839, Rufus Tyler, coiner at the New Orleans Mint, presented numismatist Alexander D. Bache with a Proof specimen of the 1838-O half dollar, one of just 20 struck. In time, the issue became one of the most famous of all American silver rarities. (Shown is the James Bennett Pryor specimen of the 1838-O, auctioned in 1996)**

A descendant of Benjamin Franklin, Alexander D. Bache began collecting coins in 1829.[7] In 1839, Rufus Tyler,[8] coiner at the New Orleans Mint, presented Bache with a Proof striking of the 1838-O half dollar, the first coin of that denomination struck there. Although Bache

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[1] Astronomy and numismatics were shared interests by several prominent figures on the numismatic scene, perhaps commencing with David Rittenhouse, the first director of the Philadelphia Mint. Lyman Wilder, a prominent numismatist who lived in Hoosick Falls, NY, in the nineteenth century, was an avid amateur astronomer; his private museum housed in a special octagonal building was a notable attraction. One of the most elusive and desirable tokens in the Civil War series is a token bearing the imprint of G.R. Bowman of Hagerstown, MD, and depicting on the reverse a telescope with the inscription TO OBSERVATORY AND TELESCOPE (token attributed as Fuld MD-560-A-1b). In the twentieth century, Ambrose Swasey, a Cleveland industrialist (Warner & Swasey) and maker of large telescopes, assembled an impressive cabinet, some contents of which passed to Ambassador and Mrs. R. Henry Norweb of the same city. Other connections linking astronomy and numismatics could be mentioned.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1874.

[3] George Parish, Jr., *American Journal of Numismatics,* August 1866. In the April 1884 sale of his own collection, Lot 3312, W. Elliot Woodward stated that "only two or three copies are known" of the Hone sale catalogue. The manuscript catalogue of this collection survived and was exhibited by Elisha Y. Ten Eyck at the April 9, 1868, meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. "They [the coins and medals] were gathered together at a time when a collection of this sort, or of any sort, was an extremely unusual thing; and they were sold and dispersed after their proprietor's death, which occurred in May 1851. The printed catalogue of this collection is one of the rarest known. It is valued at $10 by Mr. Woodward, according to whom only three are ascertained to exist."

[4] Years later Hone's diary was published in two volumes and gave detailed insights on the city during the era 1828-1851, but did not discuss numismatics, even in passing. Hone lived at 235 Broadway opposite the Park, moving to the corner of Great Jones Street and Broadway in October 1837 (the *New York Tribune,* April 18, 1868, contained a description of the residence). Hone was president of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company. Today, Honesdale, PA, bears his name, although he had no connection with the town, and there is no record of his ever having visited there.

[5] Sale conducted December 19, 1865, and the next several days. The wooden cabinet appeared as Lot 2678 in the catalogue.

[6] George Parish, Jr., *American Journal of Numismatics,* August 1866; also, Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, pp. 5, 85. In 1876 when he compiled his work, this was the earliest American coin sale Attinelli could find.

[7] Sources include Woodward's catalogue of Bache's coins, April 19-22, 1865 (Lot 1870 was a manuscript inventory of the collection); Édouard Frossard's sale of the William Friesner Collection, 1894, Lot 589 (Bache's 1838-O half dollar).

[8] Rufus Tyler was appointed coiner at the New Orleans Mint in March 1837 (the year before the facility opened), and served until his death in 1839, after which he was succeeded in the post by Philos B. Tyler. Earlier in the 1830s, Rufus Tyler was on the staff of Merrick & Agnew, Philadelphia makers of machinery, who supplied certain equipment to the Philadelphia Mint, including presses.

seems to have been active in his time, little is known concerning the sources of his other purchases. Years later in 1865 his collection, long in storage, was auctioned by W. Elliot Woodward.

In the 1830s, James Hall and Jacob Wolle "bought the cabinet of medals and coins belonging to Bishop Hoffel, of Bethlehem [PA], who had made up the collection in Germany, and divided it among themselves. Hoffel left this country in 1836, on a visit to the Moravian congregations in the West Indies; from there he went to Herrnhut, in Saxony, where he died."[1]

Hon. Henry A Muhlenberg, of Reading, PA, had a collection as early as 1835 or 1836. After his decease, it was sold by Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York, June 9 and 11, 1863.[2] Muhlenberg also traded coins with the Mint Cabinet in the 1840s.

In the 1840s, continuing through the 1850s, numismatist John McAllister was quite interested in the history of the Mint and interviewed Adam Eckfeldt and other officials. Unfortunately, he never published his findings.

Commodore Matthew C. Perry, whose fame lies with the opening of Japan to foreign commerce in the mid-1850s,[3] collected not only coins of Japan, but also had a highly important cabinet of Hard Times tokens of the 1837 and a lovely 1836 Gobrecht silver dollar, among other prized possessions. His date set of copper cents may have included many pieces taken from circulation. Perry's collection was an eclectic one, and probably was formed beginning in the late 1830s or 1840s. In 1853-1854 during his visit to Japan, Perry added many pieces from that country. Upon his death on March 4, 1858, his collection passed to his daughter, Caroline Perry Belmont, who married famous American financier August Belmont.[4]

The launching of the *American Journal of Numismatics* in May 1866 furnished the venue for many reminiscences. *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* which began publication soon thereafter, offered another platform. Various collectors each had their own versions of numismatic history, including this commentary in 1867 by Robert Coulton Davis, Philadelphia druggist and numismatic scholar:

> The first sale of coins [in the United States] was made at Moses Thompson's Auction Store, at the N.E. corner 3rd and Chestnut St., Philada., about 30 years ago, and purchased by the late John Rodman Coxe, M.D., professor in the University of Pennsylvania. They were principally copper pieces.[5]

## THE TAMMANY MUSEUM

In New York City, Gardiner Baker (?-1798), proprietor of the Tammany Museum, had dozens of coins on display, but was the victim of two thefts. The author has encountered no coins today which can be specifically traced to this pioneering exhibit (certain items of which later passed to P.T. Barnum), nor has an early description of the coins been located. Historian Walter Barrett described the museum:[6]

> The American Museum [was] started under the patronage of the Tammany Society. Gardiner Baker was keeper of it. The trustees were appointed by Tammany Hall. It afterwards became Gardner's [*sic*] Museum. Baker had a museum of wax work in 1793, that he kept in the upper part of the Exchange in Broad Street. Among his curiosities were transparent paintings, a patent steam duck, a male and female outang [orangutan], twenty wax figures as large as life, and two mandarins from the East Indies.
>
> The museum room was elegantly painted, exhibiting many of the most curious and singular articles, birds and plants in their proper colors. The arch had a fine effect, appeared like the sky, with clouds interspersed, and a thunderstorm raging. It was open three nights in the week, from candle light until nine o'clock. Tickets, two shillings. Children, one shilling.
>
> In addition he had 600 birds and 2,000 insects, a ship of fourteen guns, completely rigged, and made entirely of glass; a musical clock which played five different instruments, the harpsichord, piano-forte, two flutes, and an organ, and cost $800. The last was an additional Museum. Admittance into it was three shillings, and into both Museums four shillings.

This Tammany Museum was started by the Tammany Society in June 1790. It tried to collect together everything relating to the history of this country, and especially all literary publications concerning the civil, political, or religious affairs of America, whether ancient or modern, whether published in this or any other country, American publications of a literary nature, gazettes, magazines, or other periodical pieces, and likewise every other production of nature or art. John Pintard was its secretary, and

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[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* July 1874; per Jeremiah Colburn.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* July 1874; direct quote from Jeremiah Colburn. The 1863 offering was catalogued by W.H. Strobridge.

[3] Born in Newport, RI, April 10, 1794, Matthew Calbraith Perry spent the first 15 years of life in that town, and in 1809 entered the United States Navy as a midshipman. His career became famous, and today his name is figures prominently in any account of this branch of the American military service. On November 24, 1852, Perry sailed from Norfolk, VA, in command of the steamer, *Mississippi.* In 1853 he arrived in Japan, and in due course was received by representatives of the emperor, and engaged in a combination of threats and diplomacy which served to open Japanese trade to the western world, quite possibly changing dramatically the course of history as we know it.

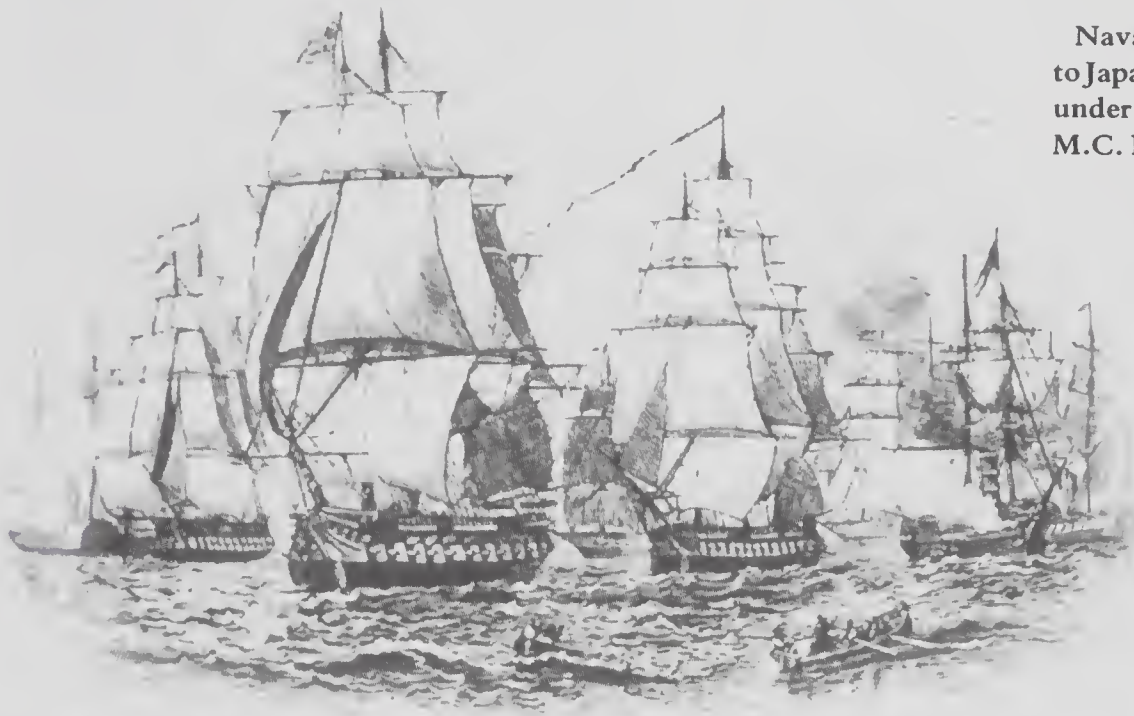
[4] The holding was passed down from generation to generation of the Belmont family until 1994, at which time it was sold to Elliot Goldman of the Allstate Coin Company in Tucson, AZ, and was consigned to Bowers and Merena for public sale in January 1995.

[5] Davis, letter to *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* May 1867.

[6] Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City,* Vol. V, 1885, pp. 229-232, gives many details of the Tammany Museum. Additional information from Dr. Joel J. Orosz, letter, July 12, 1997. The Tammany Museum was later called the American Museum, a.k.a. Barnum's Museum (see Chapter 2). The Tammany Society was also called the Columbian Order. In 1808, the museum was known as Baker's American

# *The Commodore Matthew C. Perry Collection*

From the 1830s to the 1850s American naval hero Commodore Perry was an ardent numismatist. Shown here are some pieces from his cabinet. (Auctioned by Bowers and Merena in 1995)



Naval expedition to Japan in the 1850s under Commodore M.C. Perry.

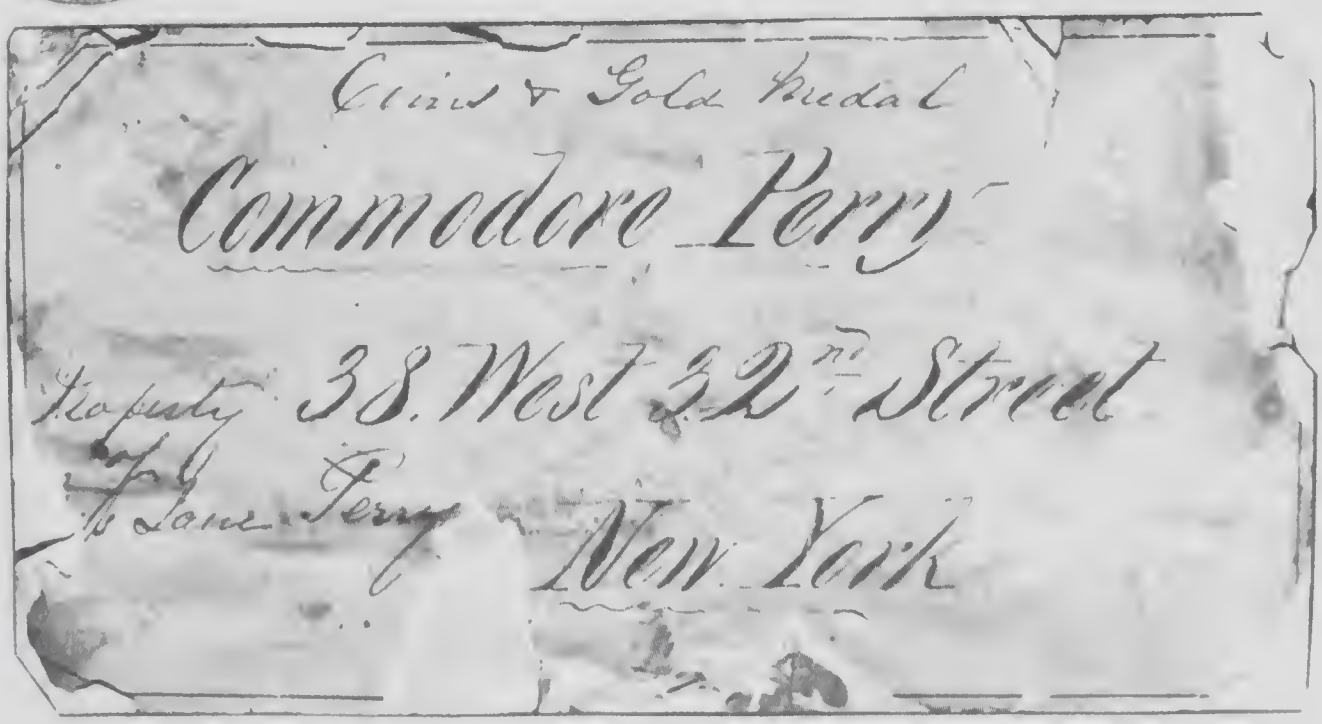
1652 Massachusetts Pine Tree silver sixpence.

1787 Copper "cent" struck under contract for the state of Connecticut. Many different varieties of Connecticut coppers were made from 1785 to 1788.

1787 Fugio copper cent struck under private contract for the United States government. The design is somewhat similar to that used earlier on the 1776 Continental dollar.

Hard Times token, variety Low-51, depicting Andrew Jackson emerging from a safe or strongbox. The jackass on the reverse is inscribed "LL.D.," a satire on the Doctorate of Letters that Harvard awarded to Jackson, who was not a literate man.

1834 copper cent in exceptionally outstanding condition, gem Mint State.




Paper label from the wooden box that held the Perry Collection for over a century after his death in 1858.

doubtless originated the idea.[1] The Tammany Society evidently became disgusted with the Museum business, for the Corporation had generously granted the use of the Exchange in Broad Street for the Museum; yet, I find that on June 25th, 1795, the Society passed a resolution:

> That Gardiner Baker has great merit, in his extraordinary exertions for the promotion and extension of his Museum. He appears neither to have spared labor or expense in his endeavors to accomplish the original object of the founders of this institution, and gratifying the curious. That the members of his Society relinquish and assign all their right in the Museum to Gardiner Baker, upon the following conditions: That the same shall forever hereafter continue to be known by the name of the Tammany Museum, in honor of the original founders and patrons; that Gardiner Baker shall continue the Museum one and indivisible, which shall be kept together in some convenient place within the city of New York, and that each member of the Tammany Society shall, with their wives and children, forever hereafter have free access to the said museum...."
>
> Gardiner Baker kept it up for years. He then sold out to Scudder, who kept it in the old City Hall, free of expense. Then it was sold [in 1842] to Barnum, who calls it by the old name of American Museum, but not as he should do, "The Tammany Museum," as he is obliged to do by the terms of sale....[2]

## OTHER MUSEUM AND LIBRARY COLLECTIONS

By 1764 the Library Company of Philadelphia had a valuable collection of ancient coins and medals, some of which were the gift of Thomas Penn of England.[3] Quite possibly, this was the first American numismatic cabinet of importance. Later, the Library became the repository for many important papers connected with the Mint, including documents and sketches relating to Chief Engraver William Kneass and artist Thomas Sully.

Founded in Salem, MA, in 1799 and incorporated in 1801, the East India Marine Society included prominent seamen, merchants, and traders among its members. Its library and collections were augmented by gifts from all over the world. In 1821 a catalogue printed by W. Palfrey described the institution's holdings, including some numismatic items.[4] In 1823, Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin presented a case of 111 medals to the Society, and in 1846 John Pickering donated a collection of ancient coins.[5] Later, the collections of the East India Society and the Essex Institute of the same city were merged.

Circa 1827 the Harmonists, a communal share-the-work, share-the-benefits group that established Economy Village near Pittsburgh, PA, set up a beautiful museum of art, sculpture, and historical artifacts. The Cabinet of Curiosities in the museum included many important coins. In 1846 many of the coins were stolen, and the others later disappeared. Today none of them can be traced, nor do any specific descriptions of them survive.[6]

On July 11, 1842, N.A. Thompson & Co., Boston auctioneers, offered via catalogue a listing of items to be sold from Harrington's Museum. Offered were rare coins and Continental paper notes.[7]

The New York State Library had eight medals in its collection by 1846. After this time, the holdings grew apace, and by 1853, when Richard W. Davids, of Philadelphia, described its holdings, 58 pages were required in the catalogue.[8] Davids, a nephew of numismatist Jacob G. Morris, had been interested in coins since at least the early 1840s.[9]

Many other libraries, historical societies, and museums gathered and displayed selections of coins and medals.

## THE MINT CABINET

By any measure the pre-eminent American museum holding of rare coins during the nineteenth century was the Mint Cabinet, later called the Mint Collection and, today, known as the National Coin Collection. Beginning about 1824, Adam Eckfeldt and possibly others at the Philadelphia Mint started saving specimens of current coinage,

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Museum. After he sold it to John Scudder, it was moved to the third story of the old City Hall (which later became the subject of a token issued by Augustus B. Sage).

[1] Pintard is numismatically noticed in other connections, including through a medal by Frederick B. Smith (of Smith & Hartmann and other affiliations), bearing his portrait on the obverse, with two different styles of reverse, one of which depicts the home of the New-York Historical Society and the other of which gives his life dates. Barrett, in Vol. II of his work, pp. 224-225, stated that a "large square block of crystal" was *loaned* by Pintard to Dr.[*sic*] Scudder, who then sold it to P.T. Barnum, who took it to his elegant mansion, Iranistan, in Bridgeport, CT. Iranistan later burned to the ground.

[2] Barrett went on to suggest that the Tammany Society should take back the exhibits from Barnum if he did not change the museum's name. Various other accounts of the museum's history exist; *e.g.*, Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum*, 1980, p. 98, which states that the Tammany Society was disgusted with Baker's enthusiastic display in 1794 of a guillotine complete with a wax figure with severed head; Sellers stated that "in 1795 the New York group had thrown up its hands, and, in settlement of unpaid wages, let Baker have the whole exhibition."

[3] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p.75.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[5] *American Journal of Numismatics*, January 1868.

[6] Information concerning the Cabinet of Curiosities is from Q. David Bowers, *American Coin Hoards and Treasures*, which also details the later (1870s) Economite Hoard of silver coins found there, and its dispersal.

[7] Cited by W. Elliot Woodward in the sale of his collection of catalogues, October 13-18, 1884, Lot 3306.

[8] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 82.

[9] In 1858, when the Philadelphia Numismatic Society was founded, some meetings of the group were held in Davids' home.

The Philadelphia Mint, erected in 1792, as shown in an 1854 photograph, by which time the structure had been used for other purposes for over 20 years. From 1793 until 1832, this was the only federal coinage facility. Copper half cents and cents were first struck there in 1793, followed by the first silver coinage (half dollars and silver dollars) in 1794, and the first gold coinage ($5 and $10 pieces) in 1795. It was in this building, circa 1824, that Adam Eckfeldt began saving examples of current coinage for reference and for exchange with interested collectors. Later, in another structure, the Second Mint Building, the Mint Cabinet was officially formed in 1838. (*American Journal of Numismatics,* November 1868)

according to a later reminiscence by Edward D. Cogan, who must have heard this from some Mint official.[1] A supply of copper cents, medals, and other items was kept on hand for sale or exchange to interested visitors and collectors. In addition, the Mint willingly produced restrikes of earlier issues upon request—such as from Baltimore numismatist Robert Gilmor—if appropriate old dies were on hand. Gilmor claimed to have furnished the original encouragement to Eckfeldt to mount a display of the institution's own coinage.

In June 1838 the Mint Cabinet was formally organized, and on March 3, 1839, Congress recognized the growing collection and voted an annual appropriation for its maintenance. Among the earliest visitors to the display was Alexandre Vattemare, of France, of whom more will be related. Stopping by in 1838, he observed that silver dollars on hand did *not* include a specimen dated 1804, which was later to be recognized as a rarity.[2] By the early 1840s, Jacob Reese Eckfeldt and William E. Dubois superintended the pieces on display. In 1846 a 138-page catalogue of the holdings was written by Dubois and published as *Pledges of History: A Brief Account of the Collection of Coins Belonging to the Mint of the United States.* In the second edition of this work, 1851, the Mint display was described as follows:

> The suite of apartments in the Mint appropriated to the exhibition of coins, ores, and national medals occupies the front of the building in the second story, and measures 16 feet wide by 54 feet long. Originally there were three rooms, connecting with each other by folding-doors; the removal of these has made one large saloon, with recesses, very commodious and suitable for the use to which it is applied.
>
> The eastern and western rooms are of uniform size and construction; the central one has a dome and skylight, supported by four columns; with a corresponding window in its floor (protected by a railing) to light the hall of the entrance below. The ancient coins are displayed in eight cases, mitred in pairs, and placed erect against the walls in the wide doorways and the middle room. The modern coins are variously arranged; part (including all those of the United States) being in a nearly level case which surrounds the railing above mentioned; and part being in upright cases, disposed along the walls of the middle and west rooms. The ores, minerals, and metallic alloys are placed in the west room;[3] in the eastern are shown the national and other medals, and the fine beams used for the adjustment of weights. The middle room also contains portraits of the directors of the Mint, beginning with Rittenhouse, the first director. All the cases are fronted with glass, and, besides allowing an inspection of every specimen, present an agreeable *coup d'oeil* on entering the room, especially by the middle door.
>
> Visitors are admitted at prescribed hours, if attended by an officer or conductor of the institution. The collection was commenced in June 1838. Long before that date, however. Adam Eckfeldt, formerly chief coiner, led as well by his own taste as by the expectation that a conservatory would some day be established, took pains to preserve master-coins[4] of the different annual issues of the Mint, and to retain some of the finest foreign specimens, as they appeared in deposit for recoinage. As soon as a special annual appropriation was instituted for this object by Congress (which was as soon as it was asked), the collection took a permanent form, and from the nucleus above mentioned, has gone on in a continual course of augmentation ever since. It is now nearly as large as we expect or wish to have it, excepting, however, that specimens of new coinage, domestic or foreign, must be added as they appear. For effecting this purpose we have had singular facilities. A great majority of the coins—almost all of those not over 300 years old—have been culled from deposits, and consequently have cost us no more than their bullion value. They are, moreover, the choicest of their kind; and perhaps there are few cabinets where so large a proportion of the pieces are in so fine preservation, as well the ancient as the modern. We have also the advantage of the correspondence and aid of gentlemen abroad, some of them officially related to our government, and all of them experienced in this business, and disposed to respond to our wishes....
>
> At the present time the aggregate of specimens is about 650 in gold, 2,100 in silver, 1,200 in billon [an alloy of silver and copper, the latter predominant], brass, copper, &c.; in all 3,950. Of these, the ancient Greek and Roman number 82 in gold, 503 in silver, and 480 in other metals; in all, 1,065. Compared with the numismatic cabinets of Europe, our collection is indeed but a dwarf in size, and may stand second, in that respect, to some in this country. But it was not our purpose to amass an immense store of coins, the very multitude of which might deter from its examination. We are rather willing to be the first to set an example of moderation in a pursuit which has its temptations to extravagance and excess.

The first branch mints were established by 1838, in which year New Orleans, LA, Charlotte, NC, and Dahlonega, GA, facilities were opened for the striking of coins. To differentiate the pieces from those of the "mother mint," Philadelphia, their productions were given O, C, and D mintmarks. For the next several decades, the numismatic community, including the curators of the Mint Cabinet, would generally ignore mintmarks. It was not until 1893, when Augustus G. Heaton published his monograph, *Mint Marks,* that widespread serious attention was paid to them.

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[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1868. Cogan had no first-hand knowledge of the activities of the Mint in the 1820s and 1830s, for he did not become involved in numismatics until the late 1850s.

[2] Walter Breen, *The Numismatist,* March 1951.

[3] It is to be remembered that continuing supplies of precious metals were essential to the Mint's operation. Mint facilities were employed often in the assay of native metal and ore. As branch mints were established, more often than not they were sited near sources of gold or silver.

[4] Term used for what would later be called Proof coins.

## NUMISMATIC BOOKS PUBLISHED

Beginning in 1839, the long-felt need for authoritative books on American numismatics began to be filled. The initial volume of note was Joseph Barlow Felt's opus published this year, *An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency,* an impressive 248 pages in length (first edition), the first book with an American imprint to treat in detail a numismatic subject. The work was not intended for collectors but, as the title indicates, dealt with the history of money and media of exchange of the Massachusetts colony. Nevertheless, it was highly valuable and informative to numismatists. Legislation and information about the well-known silver coins minted beginning in 1652 and of various paper money were presented in a time-line sequence. A later edition of the book was 259 pages in length and included three plates (one of which illustrated the curious 1652-dated Good Samaritan shilling) and an index. Nearly all of the information presented by Felt in 1839 is relevant and highly useful today.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

MASSACHUSETTS CURRENCY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE subjects of history are various as the deeds and relations of man. Their interest proceeds from causes, artificial as well as real. Some of them hold a pre-eminence in adaptedness to call up the deep thoughts of genius and give wing to the lofty aspirations of poetry and eloquence. Others of them sustain an humbler rank. Though needful to be adduced, that there be no lack of symmetry in the representation of a Commonwealth, yet they allow no extensive scope to the efforts of intellect and to the ornaments of imagination. To the latter class, belongs the topic of the succeeding pages. However relating to objects which exert almost a magical influence over the desires, toils and attachments of society, still, in itself considered, it is far from possessing the fabled power of Midas, who made gold of every thing he touched.

The term *currency*, has been variously defined. Hume thus explains it,—"The instrument which men have agreed upon to facilitate the exchange of one commodity for another." This appears to be defective. It is more applicable to modern practice than to former. Commodities were themselves anciently sold one for another, and so served all the purpose of the more precious metals. Coin is to money as species to a genus. The latter is any substance to which public authority has assigned a fixed

2

**First text page of an important early numismatic book, *An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency,* by Joseph B. Felt, 1839.**

On February 24, 1859, Felt, of Boston, was elected an honorary member of the American Numismatic Society in view of his 1839 study. However, the author has located no record that Felt formed a significant cabinet of coins.

## ECKFELT AND DUBOIS

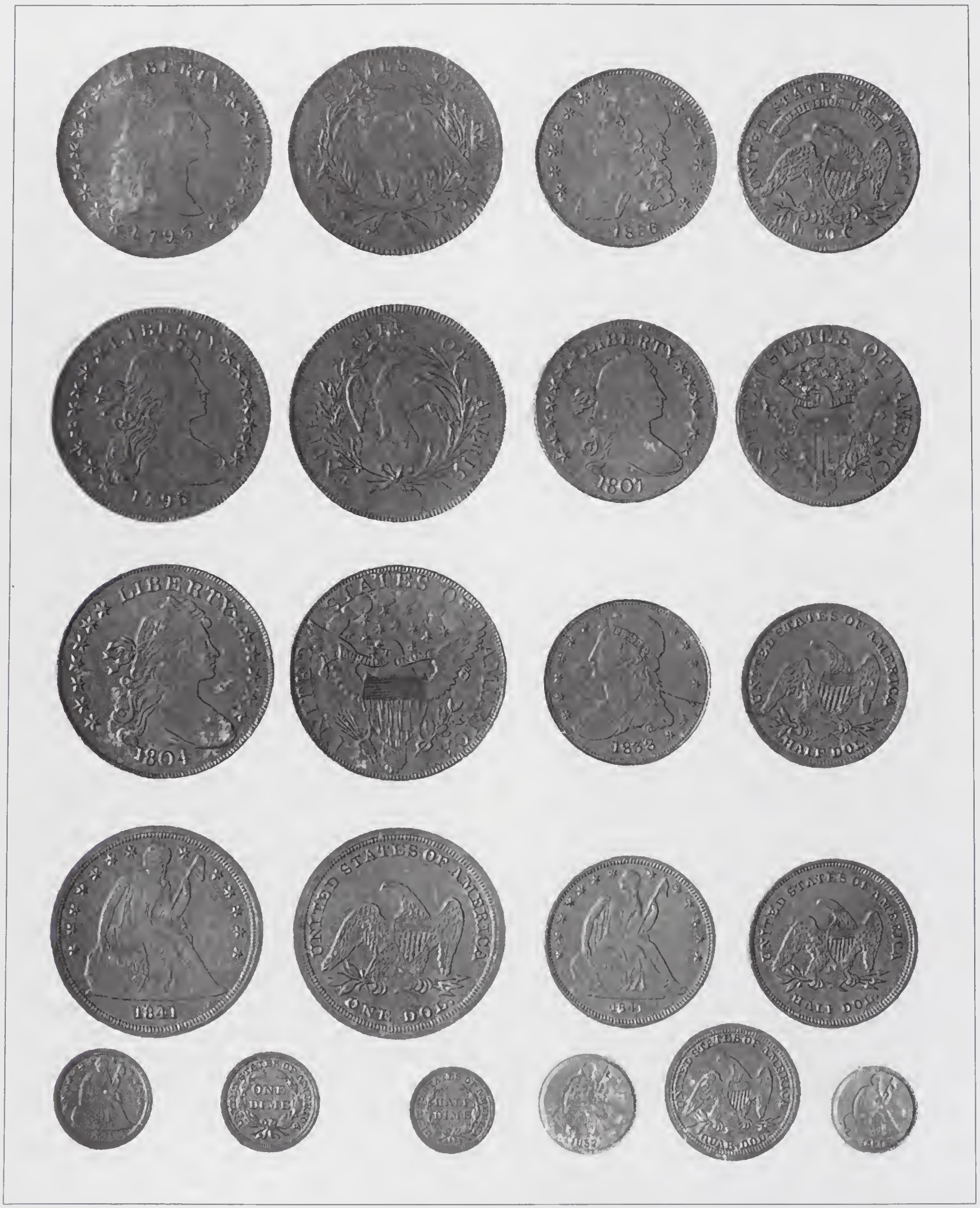
The next book of consequence appeared in 1842 under the imprint of the Assay Office of the U.S. Mint. This handsome quarto volume was titled *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations, Struck Within the Past Century* and became known among collectors as the "Assay Manual." Years later this book was to play a major role in the career of Augustus B. Sage.

The authors of the *Assay Manual,* Jacob Reese Eckfeldt and William Ewing Dubois, were officers at the Mint and had charge of the Mint Cabinet. Engravings to illustrate the work were done by Joseph Saxton's medal-ruling machine, a pantograph device which employed a stylus to trace over the surface of a coin or medal and translate the three-dimensional object to a two-dimensional representation.[1]

While the *Assay Manual* was not intended as a numismatic volume, it did have certain information of interest to collectors, but nothing in the way of rarity or value data. Probably, most copies went to historical libraries and to bullion and exchange dealers. In 1849 and 1851 second and third editions were published, with some supplementary material.[2] Today the 1842 book is best remembered for its illustration of an 1804-dated silver dollar, the existence of which had not been known to collectors earlier. This prompted the aforementioned Matthew A. Stickney to visit the Mint on May 9, 1843 and obtain an example of an 1804 dollar for his own collection by trading several other coins for it.

For many years William E. Dubois was the spokesperson for the Mint on numismatic subjects such as authenticity, minting procedures, quantities issued of certain coins and under what circumstances, etc., a stature reinforced in 1846 with the publication of his earlier-mentioned *Pledges of History,* describing the Mint Cabinet. He was widely respected in his time by many in the hobby, and, years later, his commentaries appeared in the *American Journal of Numismatics.* On March 28, 1868, Dubois was elected to honorary membership in the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. However, despite his reputation at that long-ago time, modern-day historians believe he was living a lie—a numismatic idol with clay feet. Walter H. Breen, Don Taxay, Eric P. Newman, and others have revealed his deliberate falsifications, including contrived "facts" about the 1804 silver dollar. This is not a completely new exposé of Dubois, for in the nineteenth century, W. Elliot Woodward, for one, condemned the highly questionable practices of the Mint, of which Dubois was a key figure.

[1] The first successful medal-ruling machine seems to have devised been by Christian Gobrecht in 1817, although some later inventors claimed priority.
[2] For details see Charles E. Davis, *American Numismatic Literature,* 1992, pp. 71-72; this same Davis book is a very useful guide to formats, editions, and present-day rarity of other volumes discussed in the present work.




American silver coins as illustrated on Plate II of *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations,* Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. Dubois, 1842. In the third row is an 1804 silver dollar, a coin not previously known to numismatists. Illustrations were made by a medal-ruling machine which traced over the actual coins and translated the designs to two dimensions. This book was to play a major part in the life of Augustus B. Sage years later in 1857.

## RIDDELL IN NEW ORLEANS

In 1845 the name of J(ohn) L(eonard) Riddell, melter and refiner at the New Orleans Mint, appeared on the title page of the 371-page octavo book, *Monograph of the Silver Dollar, Good and Bad, Illustrated with Fac-Simile Figures.* Among the pieces shown, said to have been made by printing plates taken indirectly from the coins themselves, were 425 dollar-size and 87 half dollar-size coins of the United States and various world countries, genuine pieces as well as counterfeits. Probably, the main market intended for this book consisted of dealers in bullion, who might have found it useful to detect counterfeits. Although this is not a numismatic text in any sense and probably was not included in many collectors' libraries in its era, it is remarkable for its large number of illustrations. *Inter alia* some interesting historical information can be found.

**The New Orleans Mint, established in 1838, produced coins until 1861 and again from 1879 to 1909.**

DOLLARS OF THE UNITED STATES.

No. 2. *Dollar of the United States.*
Weight, $*1.010=416.62 grs.=27 grms.
Fineness, 893—1000ths. Hort.
Value, $1.002=4*s*. 1.4*d*.=5.35 fr.

No. 3. *Dollar of the United States.*
Weight, $*1.010=416.62 grs.=27 grms.
Fineness, 892—1000ths. Hort.
Value, $1.001=4*s*. 1.3*d*.=5.34 fr.

No. 4. *Dollar of the United States.*
Weight, $*1.010=416.62 grs.=27 grms.
Fineness, 892—1000ths.
Value, $1.001=4*s*. 1.3*d*.=5.34 fr.
Only 1000 of these dollars were stamped; they are, therefore, rarely met with

**A page from John Leonard Riddell's 1845 book, *Monograph of the Silver Dollar, Good and Bad, Illustrated with Fac-Simile Figures.* Shown are silver dollars dated 1796, 1801, and 1836. Riddell was melter and refiner at the New Orleans Mint at the time. (Reduced illustration)**

Riddell, an accomplished chemist and naturalist, had a checkered career in New Orleans. A review of Mint correspondence reveals that he was the subject of several serious charges by his employees and printed in the local press. Alleged wrongdoing included personally withholding for his own benefit part of the salary of certain workers (denied by Riddell), shortfalls in the amount of gold and silver bullion on hand (charges proved false by audit), and the severe beating of Dr. John McCarthy, an employee (Riddell was convicted of assault and battery).

Riddell was also charged with incompetence in the production of gold ingots for coinage, which were said to be too brittle for use. The public had lost confidence in the New Orleans Mint, and few gold coins were being struck, according to contemporary accounts. He expressed puzzlement at the allegations, which were bandied back and forth in correspondence with the Treasury Department in Washington, and denied most of them. Certain procedures were a learning experience for just about everyone, as the facilities had been operating only for a short time, and Riddell and certain others had never worked in a minting facility before. "With the exception of the assayer, we are all equally new and inexperienced," he commented to Secretary of the Treasury Levi Woodbury on July 14, 1840.[1] It seems that most of the problem was due to personality conflicts among the New Orleans Mint officers and a lack of finesse on Riddell's part.

Among his correspondence files is a letter he wrote on May 21, 1841 to J.M. Kennedy, superintendent of the New Orleans Mint, in which he stated that "the employment of slave labor in the melting department of the Mint has, for a considerable time, been a subject of reflection with me, and I am convinced that its partial introduction is practicable and would be attended with good results." Riddell stated that money could be saved by paying slaves less for their wages and nothing at all for overtime work. Moreover, slaves could work "over hot furnaces far better than

[1] Certain information is from *John Leonard Riddell,* a 1977 study by Karlem Reiss, especially pp. 82-104. Riddell's life dates: February 20, 1807-October 7, 1865.

whites [who] may generally wish to leave during the summer." The slaves would be furnished with clothing without pockets, to prevent thievery, and would be monitored by a foreman. "All this would be impracticable with white laborers. They will not submit to these restrictions, nor is it to be asked of them." Further, "I am informed that for some time past the melter and refiner of the Dahlonega Mint has employed slaves as laborers."

Riddell remained in the post until a letter dated December 4, 1848, from Secretary of the Treasury Robert J. Walker was made effective. The message was simple and straightforward:

> I am directed by the President of the United States to inform you that your services are no longer required as melter and refiner in the Branch of the Mint of the United States at N. Orleans and that your are removed from that office.

Years later Riddell served as the postmaster of the Confederate States of America. He was also associated with the 1861 C.S.A. half dollar struck at the New Orleans Mint during the brief period when the city and its facilities were in the hands of the rebels. After Admiral David Farragut retook New Orleans for the Union in spring 1862, Riddell hastened to proclaim his everlasting loyalty to the North, so effusively that some later suggested, apparently without factual evidence, that he had been a Union spy all along. In the 1864 presidential election he was pro-McClellan and anti-Lincoln, a stance which did him no good after Lincoln secured victory.

On October 2, 1865, many months after the Civil War had ended and slaves were beginning to enjoy their freedom, Riddell presided over the Louisiana State Democratic Convention. In subsequent articles, the local papers related that he had tried to rekindle the hatred of the former period, with such remarks as:

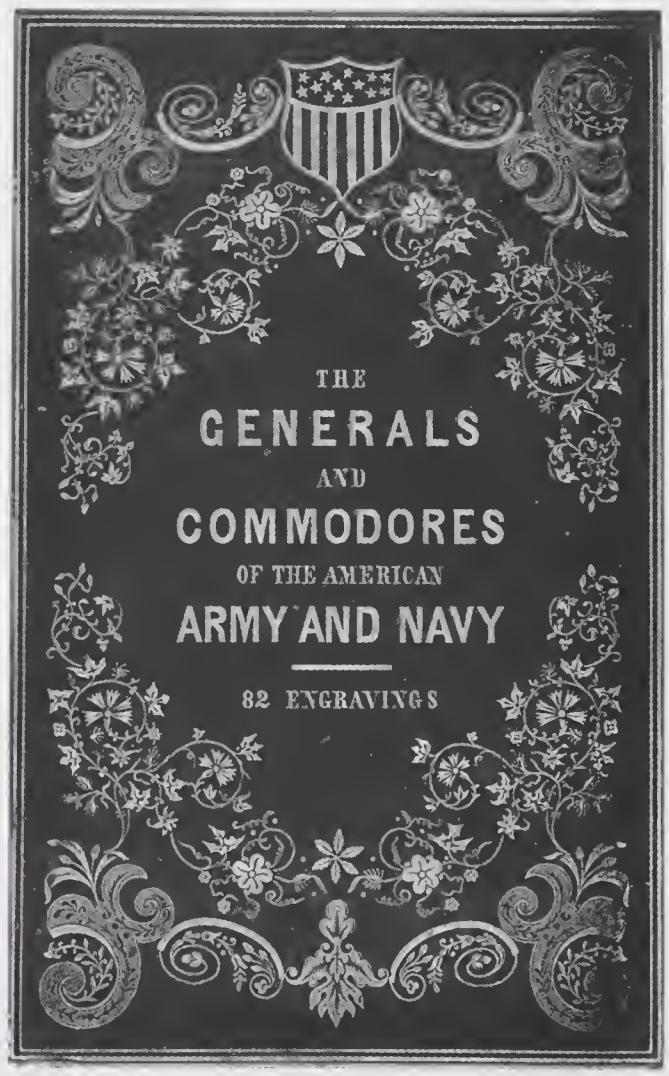
> The principal cause of the war was the Negro. Certain members of the radical faction are trying to foist him on us as a citizen. The Negro has never reached the status of the Caucasian.... I am not willing to meet him as an equal, socially or at the ballot box.[1]

In failing health for some time, Riddell died a few days later on October 7.

## THOMAS WYATT

In 1848 Philadelphia publishers Carey & Hart issued Thomas Wyatt's 315-page, extensively illustrated book, *Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores, and Other Commanders, Who Distinguished Themselves in the American Army and Navy During the War of the Revolution.* Fourteen plates were prepared by bank-note engraver W.L. Ormsby, using a medal-ruling machine. Biographies of 42 heroes were given by the author. Wyatt achieved justified acclaim for his work and was considered an authority. He caused cast and electrotype copies to be made of certain of these medals, and offered them for sale as such.[2] However, it seems to have been the case that at other times he was not above selling copies as *genuine,* including to Boston numismatist Winslow Lewis, M.D., whom we will encounter later in the present text in connection with Augustus B. Sage. Adding further tarnish to his reputation is an incident in which he struck (or had someone else do the striking) copies of certain early Massachusetts silver coins and passed them off as new discoveries from a long-buried hoard supposedly unearthed in Chelsea, near Boston. Notwithstanding Wyatt's improprieties, his 1848 book had significant worth to collectors and historians. It is relevant to note that in the summer of 1858 the newly-formed library of the American Numismatic Society included but *one* book about United States numismatics: the Wyatt volume. From this seed grew the largest numismatic library in our country.

Although the various books by Felt, Eckfeldt, Dubois, Riddell, and Wyatt each described many numismatic coins, none gave any information about rarity, value, grading, or other aspects of importance to serious collectors.




**Gold-embossed red cover of Thomas Wyatt's 1848 book on Revolutionary War medals, a superbly prepared and illustrated volume that remained the standard text on the subject for many years. (Reduced illustration)**

[1] New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* October 3, 1865.

[2] In the nineteenth century it was considered perfectly acceptable to buy, sell, and trade copies of coins and medals. Such were listed from time to time, and identified as such, in the catalogues of all major dealers and auction houses.

# CHAPTER 2

# *Numismatics in America: Years of Growth*

*(the 1850s)*

## IN SAGE'S OWN TIME

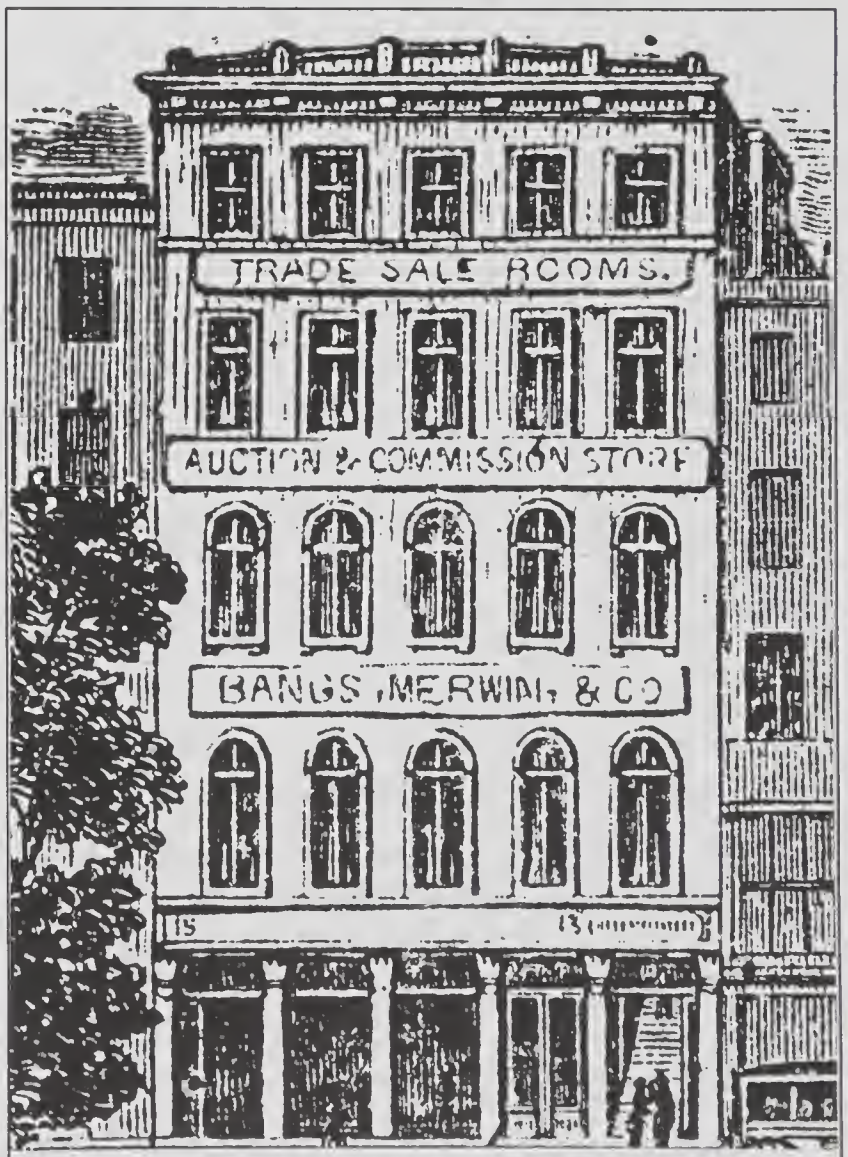
Augustus B. Sage grew up in the 1850s and during the decade became a numismatist. Undoubtedly, he was familiar with many if not most of the names discussed in the present chapter. Certain collectors known to have had a closer connection with Sage or who are related to Sage's activities are mentioned in later chapters. Meanwhile, the following pages round out the scene for the 10 years in which the coin hobby experienced more growth than during the preceding 100 years.

## IN THE SALE ROOM

In the previous decade of the 1840s it was not unusual for auctions and street sales in New York City to include coins and medals. Likely as not, such pieces were catalogued very lightly, or simply offered along with other items of the day. Few authoritative numismatic records survive concerning such events. On April 22-23, 1848, a catalogued sale of books, maps, and medals of the late D.B. Worden, of Paris, which had become the property of the State of New York, crossed the block under the hammer of Horatio Hill who did business at 169 Broadway. Numismatic items included Libertas Americana and John Paul Jones medals and a 1797 Washington medal.[1] However, a collection of auction notices and catalogues before 1850 would contain little of numismatic research value.

In contrast, the 1850s saw the rise of the auction sale as a major venue for the dispersal of coin cabinets, and several important catalogues were created, although most coins continued to be sold via letter sheets or simple listings. While the glory days of auctions were still years away, several notable collections crossed the block.

Even more frequent than specialized coin sales were offerings of books, art, antiques, and other items which included a few coins or medals, the numismatic items being of only passing interest. Examples are the two catalogues prepared for the Jonathan M. Wainwright collection of curiosities, artifacts, and other items, dated November 22 and December 6, 1854. The auctions were held in New York




**The premises of Bangs, Merwin, & Company (earlier known as Bangs, Brother & Co.) at 13 Park Row, New York City, 1859. In this venue, three collections catalogued by Augustus B. Sage crossed the auction block.**

[1] Cf. catalogue offered as Lot 3307, W.E. Woodward's sale of October 13-18, 1884 (Woodward's own collection). Also, Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 7.

City under the auspices of Lyman & Co. The first catalogue, of 38 pages, described 1,280 lots of Wainwright's material, while the second, 16 pages, described 531 lots. The two catalogues of this sale have never been considered to be of importance from a numismatic viewpoint, nor did Lyman & Co. ever become important in the annals of our hobby.[1]

An interesting *non-auction* of the period was the offering of the collection of Louis Borg by Bangs Bro. & Co., April 17, 1856. Apparently, the seller had second thoughts, and the event was canceled.[2]

## THE ROPER SALE (1851)

The first American numismatic auction sale of importance featured the cabinet of Dr. Lewis Roper of Philadelphia. Roper was active in numismatics in the 1840s and was one of the collectors known to Mint officials Eckfeldt and Dubois. After his death his properties were auctioned on February 20, 1851, under title of *Executors' Sale. Valuable Collection of Gold and Silver Coins and Medals, Etc., Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Rare and Valuable Coins, Medals, Autographs, Mahogany Coins Case, Etc., Late of Doctor Lewis Roper, deceased.* Years later, historian Emmanuel J. Attinelli commented: "This is, it is believed, the first coin sale in this country in which sufficient interest was manifested by numismatists to take note of the prices paid for coins, and who were the purchasers." The Roper Collection was an exception to the broadside rule, and was presented in a 24-page catalogue describing 698 lots, the last 45 of which were autographs. The realization was $1,172.47, the first American coin sale definitely known to have crossed the $1,000 level.[3]

The Roper Collection sale took place in the auction room of Moses Thomas & Son, Philadelphia, a popular venue for the sale of antiques, books, and other items. Even in large cities there was not enough business in any single category to sustain an rare coin auction house or an art auction gallery, but, cumulatively, old objects, estate items, paintings, and collections afforded the opportunity for a good business. Thomas, like other auctioneers of the era, advertised forthcoming events by means of newspaper notices. The sales themselves were usually described on single sheets of paper, some large enough to be called broadsides, which gave lot numbers and sparse information. Bidders were expected to examine the items in person before buying. The concept of bidding by mail was unknown, although numismatists who lived at a distance could place their orders with favorite dealers or collector friends who attended the sale. All sales were cash and carry, no guarantees of authenticity, no returns permitted.

At the Roper sale, an Uncirculated 1793 Chain cent, two 1836 Gobrecht silver dollars, and an 1838 Gobrecht dollar were sold to Boston numismatist Ammi Brown.[4] In 1854 Brown purchased some "1650" dated Pine Tree shillings from a man named Getchell, from Fisherville (or Boscawen, both names are given) near Concord, NH; Getchell also sold at least one coin to William Prescott, M.D., of Concord.[5] Prescott had a fine cabinet of coins and a large numismatic library.

Brown added to his collection during the decade, including at the Flandin sale in 1855, but later sold his cabinet and shelf of coin books to Henry Mason Brooks, a Salem, MA, collector, who in turn sold most of the coins to Joseph Finotti, a Catholic priest.[6] In 1863, many of the Finotti coins, with pedigrees to the Brooks and Brown collections, were auctioned by W.E. Woodward.[7] In the

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[1] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 10, does not give prices realized. He noted that the second catalogue included three lots each described "Old Roman Coin."

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 11. Interestingly, the scenario had a rerun, as related in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* December 1867: "M. Louis Borg, Vice-Consul of France, being about to depart for Europe, and possessing sundry articles of *virtu,* among which was a cabinet of coins and medals, bethought himself how to get rid of this last rather unmerchantable property. He advertised his cabinet therefore in the *Herald* as obtainable at the price of $5,000. Probably no takers came forward, although, as we understood, while M. Borg was willing to take $3,000 for the collection, he considered it to be actually worth $6,000. Finally it was announced for public sale, with the paintings, statuary, and other art-treasures of its owner, on Tuesday, Nov. 12, and the following days. We found the medals to consist chiefly of his impressions, in fine condition, from the Napoleon and other dies which are kept at the Musée Monétaire.... The most attractive lot in it was No. 1000, 'New Hampshire, five cent token, copper, 1809.' There was much interest felt in this, as yet unheard of, piece, and it was anxiously called for and examined; but it turned out to be one of Jerome Bonaparte's Westphalia coppers, on which the monogram of H.N., standing for Hieronymus Napoleon, had been mistaken for N.H., and supposed to denote New Hampshire! It was the opinion of experts that the coins and medals together were worth but $1,500 at the very utmost. On Thursday evening, accordingly, when bids were solicited for the entire cabinet, none were offered; and we were informed that it was the intention of the proprietor, in his desire to keep the Collection unbroken, to present it to the N.Y. Historical Society...." In 1853, when Borg was actively collecting, he was in residence at the consulate at 83 Walker Street, New York City.

[3] Attinelli, p. 8. The sale of Professor Daniel E. Groux's coins and medals in Boston, 1848, may have realized as much or more, but no records of prices have been located.

[4] *The Numismatist,* June 1949, commentary (here lightly edited) by Raymond H. Williamson: "At this sale, an Uncirculated 'Chain' cent of 1793 was knocked down to Brown for his first bid of 10 cents."

[5] Cf. commentary by W. Elliot Woodward in his sale of October 13-18, 1884, Lot 347. On November 1-2, 1881, Woodward offered *W. Elliot Woodward's Forty-Third Sale. Books & a Few Coins. Dr. Ralston's Library.* The sale also included books from the library of the Prescott's estate.

[6] *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1869. True to the style of many collectors, Brown remained active in the hobby for years thereafter. In 1869 he lived at 31 Boylston Street, Boston. He was an active member of the Boston Numismatic Society until his resignation in the early 1880s. Henry Mason Brooks is discussed in Appendix I.

[7] From April 28 to May 1, 1863, Woodward held a sale featuring these names on the catalogue cover; the coins had been purchased by Woodward earlier: Henry M. Brooks, Esq., Jeremiah Colburn, Esq., Rev. J.M. Finotti, Dr. Edward M. Field, and Dr. Augustine Shurtleff.

1850s, as in the present era, sometimes a rare coin would appear in several different collections and auctions within a period of just a few years. On other occasions, coins would remain in the same cabinet for many decades.

## THE FLANDIN SALE (1855)

In the 1820s, Peter (a.k.a. Pierre) Flandin was an active numismatist in New York City.[1] Apparently, his interest continued for many years thereafter. Finally, he tired of the pursuit, and on June 6, 1855, his collection was auctioned by Bangs, Brother & Co., of the same city, the first truly notable numismatic sale held by what would become in various forms a very long-lived auction house.[2] The Flandin Collection offering comprised 230 lots containing a total of 1,195 pieces, and sold for the aggregate sum of $736.02.[3] The owner's name was not mentioned on the title page of the listing titled *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of American and Foreign Coins and Medals in Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze.*

In the absence of having a staff numismatist, Bangs, Brother & Co. probably called upon someone in the New York City area to do the cataloguing. Charles I. Bushnell is a possibility in this regard. It is known that Bushnell attended and bought in the sale and owned the dies for at least one item sold, Lot 159 (described as "Medal given by the City of New York to the Mexican Volunteers").[4] Moreover, years later the sale of Bushnell's own library by the Chapman brothers, 1882, offered what seems to be an exceptional suite of Flandin items including a catalogue with an autograph letter and press clippings inserted, and an advertising broadside, described as: "1855, June 6. Flandin collection. A.L.S. and cuttings inserted; also broadside of sale, Feby. 15, 1856. Both priced and named.[5] Very rare." These items realized $1.60.

Alternatively, the descriptions may have been taken from Flandin's own records. Very little is known about Flandin apart from the record of his numismatic holdings as expressed in the 1855 catalogue. A complete list of buyers, as recorded by those in attendance at the Flandin sale, includes these surnames and initials:[6]

Messrs. G.B., Boardman, Borg,[7] Burtus, Bushnell, E.B.C., Carlyle,[8] "Cash" (unregistered bidder required to pay cash), Chilton, Clayton, Creighton, Curtis, Dunn, P.F. (Flandin himself?), Gsell,[9] Howard, Jeroloman,[10] Moore,[11] Prints [or Prince],[12] Riley, and Walker. Ammi Brown was also a buyer at the sale, possibly through an agent or under another name.

Of the 19 successful bidders (not including cash buyers), Charles I. Bushnell and James R. Chilton would be advertised as subjects in 1859 in Sage's Numismatic Gallery token series. John K. Curtis is the only one of the buyers immediately recognizable as a dealer. Thomas Riley operated the Fifth Ward Museum Hotel, New York City; his collection was catalogued by Curtis and auctioned years later, January 13, 1864, by A.J. Bleecker & Co. in the same city. Among the artifacts on view at his museum were the remains of a marble statue of William Pitt and, seemingly, a small part of a statue of King George III.[13]

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Rev. Joseph M. Finotti (life dates: September 21, 1827 to January 10, 1879) came to America from his native Italy in 1845, and in 1847 became a priest in Boston, later assuming charge of the Roman Catholic Church in the fashionable district of Brookline.

[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1874; notes his activity as taking place circa 1822-1827 and possibly other times as well.

[2] The Bangs name is associated with New York City coin sales at least since 1841 (cf. Attinelli, p. 6) with the sale of one coin lot as part of an auction, March 17, 1841, by Bangs, Richards & Platt. Circa 1853-1856 the trade style was Bangs Brother [or Bro.] & Co., changing to Bangs, Merwin & Co. in the latter year. In the 1880s the firm was generally known as Messrs. Bangs & Co. Later it was succeeded by Merwin-Clayton Sales Co., which never became numismatically important. Still later the company became a part of the Anderson-American Art Association (with whom coin dealer Wayte Raymond did a great deal of business), which evolved into Parke-Bernet Galleries, later Sotheby Parke-Bernet, presently trading as Sotheby's.

[3] George Parish, Jr., *American Journal of Numismatics,* August 1866. Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, stated the offering brought $733.62 and, further: "This catalogue was, I believe, also issued with date of April 28."

[4] Suggestion and information from Karl Moulton, letter, May 19, 1997.

[5] How *both* could be priced and named is not known to the present writer. Presumably, the broadside was an advertisement for the forthcoming sale, not a separate earlier itemized listing of coins for sale.

[6] From the priced and named copies in the libraries of John W. Adams, Dan Hamelberg, Joel J. Orosz, and P. Scott Rubin (Rubin's was named and priced by F.A. Paddock; however, Paddock does not seem to have been a buyer, at least not under his own name); cross-checked with each other.

[7] Borgh in the copy in the library of Joel J. Orosz. The reference is to Louis Borg, a collector of the era whose cabinet was later offered at auction by Bangs, Brother & Co., April 17, 1856, but was withdrawn (see earlier commentary in the present chapter).

[8] "Carlisle" in some entries.

[9] Charles Gsell. Marked "G'sell" in the Orosz library copy.

[10] Jeroloman in the Adams and Hamelberg copies, and probably correct as such; Jeroliman in the Rubin copy.

[11] Possibly Michael Moore, who was proprietor of The Rural Retreat resort hotel in Trenton Falls, NY (who is noticed in Chapter 1).

[12] "Prints" in at least three known priced and named copies. However, it is "Prince" in the Orosz library copy; Prince seems more logical.

[13] For details see Benson J. Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, pp. 472-472, and Vol. II, p. 583 (there illustrated; shown is the statue of Pitt from about his waist, down to his feet, founded on a square pedestal). Lossing also mentions the statue of King George III, but not in any connection with the Fifth Ward Museum Hotel. The 1864 auction offering, 32 pages in length and comprising 1,067 lots, was titled *Catalogue of the Celebrated, Valuable and Rare Collection of Coins, Medals, Autographs, Continental Paper Money of the Late Mr. Thomas Riley of the Fifth Ward Museum Hotel, New York.* Concerning the statues, a statue of William Pitt, in marble, and King George III, in lead, were both erected in New York City in pre-Revolutionary times. While Lossing notes that the *Pitt* statue went to Rileys hotel, Charles I. Bushnell, in his notes to Journal

CATALOGUE

OF

A VALUABLE COLLECTION

OF

American and Foreign

COINS AND MEDALS,

IN GOLD, SILVER, COPPER & BRONZE,

TO BE SOLD AT AUCTION, ON

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON,

JUNE 6TH, 1855,

COMMENCING

AT 4 O'CLOCK,

BY BANGS, BROTHER & CO.

TRADE SALE ROOMS, No. 13 PARK ROW.

BAKER, GODWIN & CO., PRINTERS, COR. NASSAU & SPRUCE STS., NEW YORK.

Cover of the Peter Flandin Collection catalogue sold in New York City on June 6, 1855. The auction house of Bangs, Brother & Co. was best known for its book sales, but other events included art, antiques, coins, and other items.

## AMERICAN COPPER COINS.

| | Lot. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 56 | 173. | Three Massachusetts cents, different dies, 3 pieces, *fine.* | Bushnell |
| 126 | 174. | Seven Connecticut do. do, 7 do. | Walker |
| 160 | 175. | Four Vermont do. do. one with the sun rising behind the hills, *very rare*, 4 pieces, *fine.* | Bushnell |
| 94 | 176. | Three New Jersey cents, all different, 3 pieces, *fine.* | Moore |
| 100 | 177. | Four Nova Constellatio pieces, *very fine, all different.* 4 pieces. | Bushnell |
| 906 | 178. | Four Washington Tokens, three with date 1783, one 1795, *all very fine and scarce.* | Moore |
| 550 | 179. | THE WASHINGTON CENT, in extremely fine and perfect condition, and excessively rare; *this one is dated* 1791, *and has on the reverse a small eagle with stars and clouds above its head, the scarcest one of the two, in morocco case.* | Howard |
| 275 | 180. | WASHINGTON CENT of 1793, reverse a ship, &c., obverse same as the preceding, *very fine and very rare.* | Walker |
| 400 | 181. | The Liberty and Security piece of Washington, on the edge the inscription, "An Asylum for the Oppressed of all Nations," *very fine and rare.* | Walker |
| 158 | 182. | James 2d tin money, struck for the Colonies, *rare.* | Cash |
| 500 | 183. | Rosa Americana coins, 1722 and 1723; two pennies, two half-pennies, and farthing, the farthing and one penny very fine, *very rare.* 5 pieces. | Bushnell |
| 300 | 184. | Two 1793 cents, one with 13 links of a chain; and a cent of 1795, equal to a proof, *very rare.* 3 pieces. | Walker |
| 250 | 185. | George 3d halfpenny, struck for Virginia; *a magnificent proof, with broad rim, very rare in this State.* | Bushnell |
| 150 | 186. | George 3d Virginia piece, same as preceding, *in very fine order, and rare.* | Bushnell |
| 300 | 187. | The New York Token of Talbot, Allum, and Lee, two dates 1794 and 1795, this last die very rare, *both extremely fine.* 2 pieces. | Walker |
| 36 | 188. | The rare New York Jewelers' Token of 1789, this is the first token struck in this country, *very fine.* | Walker |
| 125 | 189. | 20 various American cents, *some very fine, all good.* | Moore |
| 24 | 190. | 8 various half cents, *fine.* | Curtis |
| 60 | 191. | 20 various American tokens, *all fine.* | Kiley |

**A page from the Flandin catalogue. The prices realized are shown in ink in the left column, while the surnames of buyers are in the right. The cataloguer of the Flandin Collection sale is unknown, but may have been New York City numismatist Charles I. Bushnell. (John W. Adams Library)**

## THE KLINE SALE (1855)

The collection of J.W. Kline (as often cited) or, alternatively, A.C. Kline (as sometimes cited including by Attinelli) crossed the block at Bangs, Brother & Co., New York City, on June 12, 1855, just six days after the Flandin Collection was sold in the same room. The 92-page catalogue did not mention the owner's name. The listing offered 1,712 numbered lots, to which were appended two addenda of 137 and 5 lots each. The realization totaled $1,753 for the main catalogue plus $299.14 and $10.37 for the addenda. This became the first American coin auction sale, including addenda, to cross the $2,000 level.

J.W. Kline and his wife, both from Philadelphia, were heavily involved in the rare coin field and, later, became prominent in philately.[1] After the Kline sale the auction field was bereft of significant numismatic offerings for several years.

## OTHER SALES

Following a relatively quiet time on the coin auction scene from 1856 through 1858, the year 1859 saw vigorous activity. Not only did our title subject, Augustus B. Sage, conduct three notable sales, several auctions by others attracted attention as well.

The sale at Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York City, of the William Leggett Bramhall Collection, May 4-5, 1859, comprised 595 lots that realized $352.65.[2] Bramhall, a youthful friend of Augustus B. Sage, offered duplicates and unwanted pieces for sale, probably to raise funds to pursue his other numismatic specialties including the distribution of new tokens and medals bearing his own designs.[3]

In the Bangs, Merwin & Co. sale room, June 21-23, 1859, a large collection catalogued by John K. Curtis crossed the block.

W.C. Tripler's collection was purchased *en bloc* by Edward D. Cogan, who conducted an auction of the pieces in his Philadelphia store on October 28, 1859. The sale included 183 lots which realized a total of $403.29.

A group of coins sold by Joseph N.T. Levick to Cogan and catalogued by the latter was sold at Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York City, on December 19-20, 1859. A 32-page catalogue described 976 lots which are said to have brought $1,435.93. Over a period of years Levick's name appeared on several different auctions as he used this venue to dispose of duplicates as well as specialties in which his interest had waned.

## NEW BOOKS

The decade of the 1850s saw several important additions to the fund of literature on American numismatics.

In 1850 Messrs. Eckfeldt and Dubois published a small book of 61 pages, *New Varieties of Gold and Silver Coins, Counterfeit Coins, Bullion with Mint Values.* This was intended for use by bullion and exchange brokers and gave exchange rates for various silver and gold coins. Further, it furnished a useful supplement to the 1842 *Assay Manual* by the same authors. Included was information on gold coins privately minted in California.

This work was also issued in modified form in 1851 and 1852, these two later versions also including a reprint of the text of Dubois' 1846 *Pledges of History* work, the latter being out of print at the time. As is true of the 1842 book by the same authors, the 1850 volume and its two later editions were distributed in fairly large quantities. Some had tiny samples of California gold flakes mounted on an inside page, an interesting promotional idea.

*The Documentary History of the State of New York,* by E.B. O'Callaghan, M.D., published in four volumes in 1850 by Weed, Parsons & Co., Albany, NY, included some information on numismatics. Chapter XXIII, "Medals and Coins," featured three plates of coins engraved and separately printed by J.E. Gavit. The first two plates illustrated specimens in the Albany Institute and the New York State Library, while the coins on the third "are from a collection made by Mr. Vattemare for the French government, and

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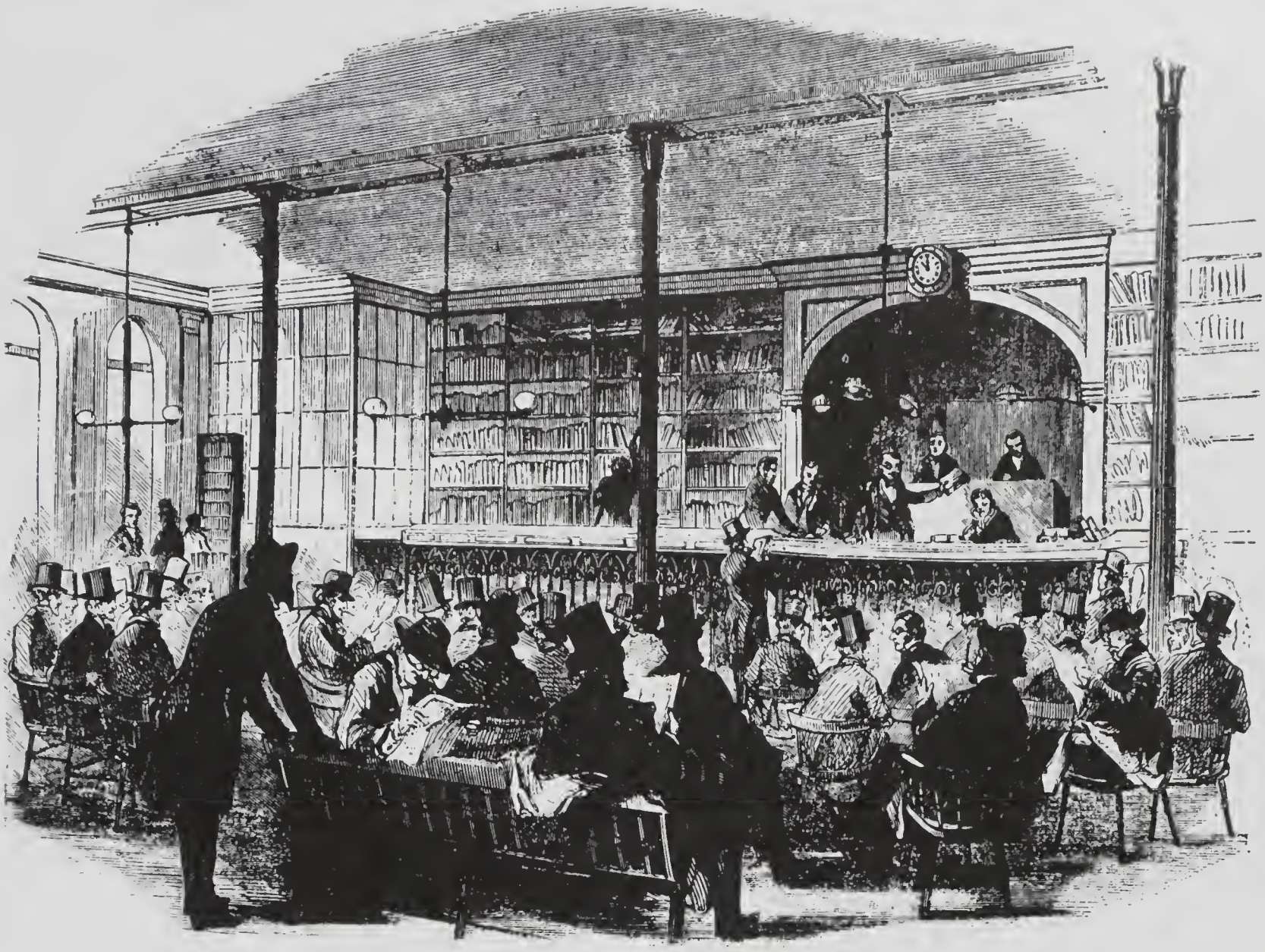
of Solomon Nash, a Soldier of the Revolution, 1776-1777, published by Bushnell in 1861 and 1864, had the following to say (pp. 55-57): The equestrian statue of King George IIIwas erected on the 21st day of August 1770. The statue was made of lead and richly ornamented to resemble gold, and was the workmanship of Wilton, a celebrated statuary of London. It stood until July 10, 1776, when it was pulled down by the Liberty boys and converted into bullets. A portion of the statue was taken to Litchfield, Conn., as a place of safety. A piece of the statue, forming the saddle cloth and circingle, was carried to Norwalk, about 45 miles up the Sound. When Gov. Tryon was on his marauding expedition through Conn., it was moved with the military stores to Wilton, some six miles from the coast, and deposited at a place called Raymonds Corner. On the enemy approaching that place, the inhabitants threw this fragment of the statueinto a swamp in the woods. There the lead lay until the winter of 1832-33, when it was discovered by a boy named Comstock, who was crossing the frozen swampand recognized by a Mr. Belden, a Revolutionary pensioner, residing in Wilton. The relic was in the possession of the uncle of the finder until the year 1844, when it was purchased by a gentleman of New York, who subsequently disposed of it to the late Thomas Riley, Esq., the proprietor of the Fifth Ward Hotel, where it may still be seen. There are still many tracings of the original gilding, and the fringe of the saddle cloth is distinctly perceptible. As the remains described were of different character (man, horse) and substance (marble, lead), it does not seem that the two could be easily confused. Perhaps Riley had remains from both statues. The *Token and Medal Society Journal,* June 1978, Rileys Fifth Ward Museum Hotel, by Werner G. Mayer, includes an old print whowing the four-story establishment on the west corner of West Broadway and Franklin Street. In front is shown a headless statue (which after Rileys death in 1858 was acquired by the New-York Historical Society).

[1] In 1876, Kline issued an advertising token struck by Lingg & Bro. of the same city, as part of an extensive series of mulings and numismatic delicacies, some of which featured a modern version (by Massachusetts diesinker and numismatist James A. Bolen) of the famous Libertas Americana motif. *The Curious Case of the Coin Collectors Kline,* by Dr. Joel J. Orosz, 1997, discusses A.C. and J.W. Kline.

[2] Two addenda of 111 (sold at 7 p.m., May 6, 1859) and 26 lots respectively yielded $86.17 and $6.12.

[3] Biographical notes concerning Bramhall appear in Chapter 7.



**An auction in progress in the New York sales room of Bangs Brother & Company, Park Row, as shown in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* April 5, 1856. During Augustus Sage's era this was a popular gathering spot for numismatists who attended several sales each year. Note the absence of women among the bidders. Illumination of the room was by gaslight. Not shown are the cuspidors that were provided near the seats for cigar and pipe smokers. (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* April 5, 1856)**

**Before the sale, coins and other items were displayed on tables. The auction itself was apt to be a noisy, smoke-filled event, with cries from the auctioneer at the front desk, with verbal comments and opinions expressed gratuitously by those in attendance. Upon the sale of a coin, the auctioneer would cry the name of the purchaser, "Sold to Moore!" or whomever.**

are supposed to be specimens of the earliest copper currency in the state" and the Albany Institute.[1] Dr. O'Callaghan is further noticed below, under the discussion of Daniel Groux.

*Hodges' Coin Chart Manual* was published in several title variations and over a period of years, in New York City. The 1856 edition comprised 50 octavo-size pages of coin illustrations, mostly gold and silver issues of various foreign countries. This work and others like it were often issued as supplements to counterfeit detectors for the paper notes of various private banks. Containing little in the way of numismatic information, the *Coin Chart Manual* was sold in large quantities to the general public and to banks and exchange offices in an era in which transactions were just as apt to be conducted with Mexican two-real pieces as with American silver quarters. In the 1850s many coin collectors were aware of such guides and, perhaps, owned a few, but they were not central to numismatic study.

[1] The following are illustrated and described in the work: Plate I: Libertas Americana medal; 1783 Washington UNITY STATES OF AMERICA copper cent. The latter is identified as "a rare Copper cent, struck soon after the Treaty of peace." [Today the UNITY STATES cents are believed to have been struck after 1800, copying the reverse of a U.S. cent of the period, but with an evasive spelling of UNITY rather than UNITED, perhaps to circumvent charges of counterfeiting] Plate II: Rosa Americana coinage there called the farthing (1722), half penny (two varieties, each dated 1722), and penny (1723). [Today known as the half penny, penny, and twopence respectively. These and a few other engravings were subsequently used by Hickcox, 1858.] Plate III: 1787 Nova Eborac copper, reverse with seated figure facing left. LIBER NATUS LIBERTATUM DEFENDO copper with New York arms and 1787 EXCELSIOR reverse. 1786 NON VI VIRTUTE VICI copper, obverse portrait a "bust intended for that of General Washington," and, on the reverse, NEO-EBORACENSIS and a seated figure. LIBER NATUS LIBERTATUM DEFENDO copper with reverse depicting an eagle perched on a globe with the legend NEO EBORACENSIS / EXCELSIOR. 1794 Talbot, Allum & Lee cent, variety with NEW YORK.

## VATTEMARE, THE MAGICIAN

In the period from the 1830s to the 1850s Alexandre Vattemare,[1] a Frenchman, visited and traveled extensively in America at least twice, 1838-1841 and 1847-1850. He also may have toured the country in 1854. He came upon the numismatic scene in the form of a mini-tornado of frenetic activity. While on this side of the Atlantic he proposed (on two different occasions) a system of decimal coinage to Congress, helped found the Boston Public Library, visited the Mint several times (and obtained certain specimen Proof sets there), called upon collectors in the eastern states, and took copious notes about what he saw and heard.

Vattemare must have been a rather interesting individual, for he was known as a performer on stage of legerdemain and magic, as an actor who could perform as many as 40 different parts in the same play (certain plays were especially written to showcase this talent), and for his oratory prowess.

Upon visiting Matthew A. Stickney, the well-known Salem, MA, collector, Vattemare was watched very closely by his host, who was somewhat fearful that by sleight-of-hand he might purloin his prized 1804 silver dollar! In a more positive vein, on a trip to Albany in 1850 he had come upon a room "knee-deep" in old historical documents of New York state, reminiscences of colonists, etc., these papers being considered waste to be used for cushioning for shipping newly-published four volume sets of *The Documentary History of New York.* He recognized the immense value of these papers and was instrumental in having them preserved by the archives of the state and catalogued by Dr. E.B. O'Callaghan, who had prepared the aforementioned *Documentary History.*[2]

**Matthew A. Stickney's specimen of the famous 1804 silver dollar. This is the same coin shown to Alexander Vattemare during the Frenchman's visit to Stickney in Salem, MA. (Louis E. Eliasberg, Sr., Collection)**

## THE GROUX DREAM

One of the more curious accounts in the annals of American numismatics relates to Professor Daniel E. Groux and his three-volume set of books that was to be issued beginning in 1856, but was never published. Had it been, the progress of the coin hobby in the United States might have been significantly different from the chronicle we know today. As the planned trilogy was a will-o'-the-wisp, perhaps a discussion of it should not be included here. However, the story of Groux seems relevant to the numismatic state of the art in the 1850s.

No doubt the activities of his fellow countryman Alexandre Vattemare inspired Professor Groux, who had come to America from France in 1844 to engage in numismatic exploration on his own account. He became active on the American coin scene at an early date, as reflected by a four-page account of Groux's Museum of Antiquities in Boston inserted in a sale of ancient Greek and Roman coins, medals, and other items auctioned in Philadelphia by Moses Thomas & Son, June 22, 1846.[3] This was followed on May 24, 1848, by an immense offering of 1,026 medals housed in 20 cases and 1,333 coins in 14 cases, auctioned by Leonard & Cunningham, Boston. Whether all of the pieces sold and the realization thereof challenged that of the 1851 Roper Collection sale (the first sale definitely known to have crossed the $1,000 mark) is not known.

Even at an early date, certain of Groux's enterprises were not as grand as the promoter hoped. In W.E. Woodward's sale of October 13-28, 1884, the cataloguer offered this item among other numismatic publications:[4]

> Lot 3311: [Catalogue of] Rare and Valuable Gold, Silver and Copper Coins, Medals, etc., Leonard & Cunningham, April 12, 1851. Sale for Account of Daniel E. Groux, with the original return by the Auctioneer, whereby it appears that the net return of this sale was $19.66.

Professor Groux kept busy on many other fronts. In 1851 he published a circular describing a Franklin medallion for sale and wrote the *Descriptive Catalogue of Coins, Greek and Roman Medals Belonging to the Historical Society of Maryland.*[5] In 1853 in Washington, DC, he exhibited medals under the auspices of the Metropolitan Mechanics Institute, part of a series of displays he mounted in various eastern cities.

In May 1856 the Mercantile Library Association, Boston, furnished the venue for a large display of coins, med-

[1] Nicholas Marie Alexandre Vattemare (1796-1864) was born in and died in Paris. Apparently, his surname was pronounced "Vatimar," as this is how Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson spelled it in his 1859 *American Numismatical Manual.*

[2] In 1869, Vattemare sold certain of his collections including autographs to the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg, Russia. Anecdotes concerning Vattemare are adapted in part from "The Vattemare Collection," *American Antiquarian,* January 1872, pp. 126-127.

[3] Cf. Lot 3308, W.E. Woodward's sale of April 1884 (Woodward's own library).

[4] Woodward possessed Groux's personal correspondence and records. The date of the 1851 sale is quoted as April 22, 1851 in most other references.

[5] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 8.

PROSPECTUS

OF

AN IMPORTANT WORK IN THREE VOLUMES,

TO BE CALLED

NUMISMATICAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

COMPRISING A FULL DESCRIPTION OF ITS

MEDALS & COINS,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR TIMES.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY PROFESSOR DANIEL E. GROUX.

PRESS OF THE
FRANKLIN PRINTING HOUSE
Corner of Franklin and Hawley Streets,
BOSTON.

**What might have been, but wasn't. The cover of the impressive prospectus for Daniel E. Groux's proposed three-volume work, the *Numismatical History of the United States*.**

als, and numismatic books. In the same year and in the same city Groux issued a handsome 17-page *Prospectus of an Important Work in Three Volumes, to be called, NUMISMATICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, Comprising a Full Description of its MEDALS & COINS, From the Earliest Period to Our Times.*[1] Groux must have distributed the prospectus on loan or speculation to various individuals who did not ask for it, boldly hoping to sell copies of his sales message to them for 25¢ each, for a tag line at the bottom of the first page noted: "Please return this Prospectus, when called for; or it may be retained by paying the cost price, Twenty-five Cents."

In the solicitation Groux noted in part:

> The First Volume will contain the results of a journey through the United States of North America, undertaken for the purpose of collecting items of interest pertaining to all Medals and Coins which have been struck in America, or other countries, relating to the history of the United States, a condensed description being given of public and private Numismatical Collections, and their localities; together with the descriptions and localities of Objects of Art, Paintings, Statuary, Relics, and Mementos of former times, now in the possession of Public Institutions, and of Citizens of the United States.
>
> The Second Volume will comprise particular descriptions, and the histories of all American Medals and Coins, from the establishment of the country to the present day.
>
> The Third Volume, in 4to., will consist of Sixty or Seventy Plates, accurately representing about Six Hundred Medals, described in Volume II, engraved from the originals in the collections of subscribers, and in the private collection of the Author, by the most skillful artists.

The books were to be sold on a subscription basis for $8 for the first two volumes or $15 for all three. Groux intended to issue Volume I soon, apparently in 1856, to be followed later by II and III as his research progressed.

The prospectus contained many testimonials from private individuals and accolades from the press, including this letter from Boston numismatist Dr. Winslow Lewis, dated June 15, 1856:

> From an intimate acquaintance with Professor Groux for many years, and from some knowledge of the Science of Numismatology, I can state that there is no one more competent to write such a work on the 'Medals and Coins of the United States,' than himself.
>
> His life has been devoted to the investigation of the coinage of the world, both ancient and modern, and his acquisitions on this subject are truly remarkable. He is a gentleman of great industry, of untiring patience, devoted to his favorite pursuit, and I have no doubt that the work he commences will be executed with fidelity and excellence.

Apparently, Groux, along with the earlier-mentioned Thomas Wyatt, sold Lewis some fake coins and deceived the good doctor in other ways. By the end of the decade of the 1850s, by which time Volume I had yet to appear, Professor Groux's credibility was widely doubted by many who knew him.

A reference combining the names of innocent Lewis and culpable Wyatt and Groux was made in W. Elliot Woodward's sale of February 1-2, 1887, in connection with Lots 864 ff.:

> National Medals, Etc. Many persons who knew something of American numismatics as early as 1840, will remember the old French adventurer, whose baptismal name was Jacques Groux, but who was generally known as Prof. Daniel E. Groux....
>
> In New York City he made the acquaintance of Thomas Wyatt, of unsavory reputation in connection with a fraudulent issue of American coins. Groux entered into partnership with him for the purpose of conducting a numismatic business. He sought the acquaintance of several distinguished men in roping them into an interest and quasi-endorsements of some of his schemes. Daniel Webster, Charles Francis Adams, Dr. Winslow Lewis and others were amongst his victims.[2] This somewhat long explanation seems necessary to explain the 'reason for being' of the following casts and facsimiles of medals. The National and Presidential medals were first made in facsimile by Wyatt, and the following set, with the others which were manufactured by Groux, were sold to Dr. Winslow Lewis for a large sum, and came to me when purchasing his collections. All are facsimiles, some copper, some silver plated, and being fairly well made they answer a useful purpose and serve as objects for study and comparison.[3]

While Alexander Vattemare's book, *Collection de Monnaies et Médailles de l'Amérique du Nord de 1652 à 1858,* was printed in Europe in 1861,[4] Groux's grand set of three

[1] A copy of which was furnished to the author by Charles E. Davis for study.

[2] Webster (1782-1852), one of New Hampshire's most prominent sons, served as a representative from the Granite State 1813-1817, later moving to Massachusetts and holding the federal offices of representative (1823-1827) and senator (1827-1841 and again 1845-1850). He was secretary of state from 1841 to 1843 and 1850 to 1852. Today he is remembered as one of the most skilled political speakers of his era. Adams (1807-1886), a public official, gained acclaim in the next decade when as ambassador he helped dissuade England from officially recognizing the Confederate States of America (although English business and other interests helped in many other ways including the large-scale purchase of C.S.A. bonds, the furnishing of paper money printing plates and the personnel to use them, the protection of the notorious *C.S.S. Alabama* raider, etc.).

[3] Earlier, Woodward's sale of October 25-27, 1886, Lot 1301, included a commentary about Groux, noting that he had involved, or attempted to involve, Abbott Lawrence, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Winslow Lewis, and Charles Francis Adams, among others, "in his numismatic schemes." Offered in that lot was a size 26 (American scale) medal with the bust of Webster, reverse with "Defender of the Constitution," with the comment, in part: "This medal, like the last [which had a bust of Lawrence], is a cast in copper, and never struck in metal; the original was probably made for the old French adventurer, Daniel E. Groux."

[4] Vattemare's work, never printed in English (although a Spanish edition was published in 1904), was based upon the cabinet of the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris, not upon cabinets he had observed during his travels in the United States.

numismatic volumes never saw the light of day.

After his death in 1874 Groux's papers passed to W. Elliot Woodward, who stated that he trashed as worthless everything but Groux's manuscript notes. Groux' collection, which seems to have been a mish-mash of specimens in mostly lower grades and with few rarities, was auctioned by Woodward's friend and sometime business associate, William Harvey Strobridge, from April 7 to 9, 1874. Strobridge referred to Groux as "the fond old dreamer."

Woodward's sale of items from his own collection, sold at Messrs. Bangs & Co., October 13-18, 1884, included this related item (which sold for 30¢):

> Lot 3531: Groux, Daniel E. An original manuscript of a Coin Catalogue made for a Southern collector, 12 parts; unique. An interesting memorial of the old French adventurer, professor, cook, and coin-seller.

## JOHN H. HICKCOX'S BOOK

In the late 1850s John Howard Hickcox created a notable numismatic work. Published in 1858 and titled *An Historical Account of American Coinage,* the book contained 151 numbered pages plus introductory material and five pages of plates (by J.E. Gavit of Albany, including some illustrations used in the 1850 *Documentary History of the State of New York,* by O'Callaghan). On the title page the author noted that he was a "member of the Albany Institute." The printing was done by Joel Munsell, 78 State Street, Albany, New York, who was well known at the time as a historian and printer of historical works.[1] Hickcox's 1858 work was a *tour de force* among American numismatic books published up to that time. It stood alone as a comprehensive single source of information concerning colonial, state, and other early issues. The author had done his homework and had obtained documents and data from various state libraries and historical societies, the American Antiquarian Society, historians (*e.g.,* Franklin B. Hough), numismatists (*e.g.,* Col. James Ross Snowden, director of the Mint; and Jeremiah Colburn, Boston collector and historian), and a few others.

Hickcox's book was produced only to the extent of 200 copies in the regular edition plus five copies on large paper. Apparently, most were distributed to historians and libraries, rather than to numismatists. The text was used subsequently as the basis of several commentaries by contributors to *Historical Magazine* (of which more will be said in a subsequent paragraph). The volume became rare in its own time, as evidenced by the paucity of listings in auction offerings of numismatic books during the next several decades.

With excellent documentation and a wealth of historical and numismatic information, *An Historical Account of American Coinage* laid the foundation for certain information that would later appear in Dickeson's *American Numismatical Manual* (1859) and Sylvester S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America* (1875). The rarity of the Hickcox effort and the distribution in large quantities a year later of Dickeson's book relegated Hickcox's volume to the shadows.[2]

On January 6, 1859, Hickcox was named as an honorary member of the American Numismatic Society, as an expression of gratitude for his donation of a catalogue of the New York State Library.[3] In 1866 he was the author of a 103-page book published in Albany, *A History of the Bills of Credit or Paper Money Issued by New York, From 1709 to 1789, with a Description of the Bills, and Catalogue of the Various Issues.*

By the 1870s he was living in Washington, DC., where later in the decade he worked in the Copyright Division of the Library of Congress. His numismatic career came to an abrupt halt in 1882 when he was arrested for the crime "of opening mail letters and pocketing the money." Hickcox admitted his guilt. In March 1882 he was summarily relieved of his honorary membership in the American Numismatic Society, which by that time had been renamed the Numismatic and Archaeological Society.[4]

## NEWS ABOUT COINS

Periodicals with significant numismatic information were few in the 1850s. The first important coin collecting magazine, the *American Journal of Numismatics,* did not make its debut until 1866, *The Numismatist* not until 1888.[5] From the late 1860s onward there were many dealer house organs as well as mostly ephemeral coin and stamp collecting newsletters published in locations as varied as Decorah, Iowa, and Lake Village, New Hampshire. However, in the

[1] Accounts of Munsell (life dates: April 18, 1808 to January 15, 1880) are numerous in such diverse publications as *Historical Magazine* and, in the 1860s, the catalogues and other publications of W. Elliot Woodward. Certain of his publications were widely advertised in the 1860s by John K. Wiggin, Boston bookseller at 13 School Street, who was also a prominent numismatist. His output emphasized historical and genealogical works including the two-volume set, *The Everyday Book of History and Chronology* (published in 1843); the 10-volume *Annals of Albany*; and the four volumes of *Collections on the History of Albany* (1865-1871). He served for 40 years as treasurer of the Albany Institute, of which he was a founder. In 1874 the American Antiquarian Association issued a second edition of Isaiah Thomas' 1810 work, *History of Printing in America,* based primarily upon notes and commentaries provided by Munsell.

[2] Dickeson's *American Numismatical Manual* is discussed in Chapter 15.

[3] The 1853 catalogue by Philadelphia numismatist Richard W. Davids, who devoted 58 pages to the description of coins and medals held by that institution.

[4] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 315. William Leggett Bramhall, who was living in Washington at the time, provided details of Hickcox's crime to the Society.

[5] The publisher of *The Numismatist* was Geo. F. Heath, M.D., of Monroe, MI; the first issue was called *The American Numismatist,* apparently without knowledge that this name had been used beginning in 1886 by C.E. Leal of Paterson, NJ; for the second issue, Heath dropped *American* from the title. Later, this became the official journal of the American Numismatic Association, a status which it retains today. An earlier

1850s there was very little for the coin collector to read in the way of current journals.

In the absence of specialized publications, many collectors turned to metropolitan newspapers which often contained accounts of coin finds and auctions, the *New-York Dispatch* and the *Boston Transcript* being examples. Many if not most of the serious numismatists of the era of the 1850s maintained scrapbooks or clipping files from such sources.

In addition to newspaper notices, two periodicals oriented toward history—*Historical Magazine* and *Norton's Literary Letter*—were familiar to Augustus B. Sage.[1] The *Historical Magazine,* which made its debut in January 1857, was the closest any wide-circulation publication of the era came to a numismatic periodical. Quite frequently, subscribers, using initials or *noms de plume,* posed questions relating to early American coins and currency, and, often, these elicited replies that were published in later issues. The New-York Historical Society and other New York connections appear with some frequency in this magazine, as do the names and initials of collectors of the era.

Selected entries for the 1857-1860 years include many items of interest to the numismatist. Samples:

**1857, July:** The so-called Chelsea hoard of phony Massachusetts silver coins was described and said to have been promoted by a "smart Gothamite" (Thomas Wyatt, but not identified as such).

**1857, August:** The first installment of "The First Coinage of America" appeared, which told of Massachusetts and other early silver issues, and was signed "J.C." (for Jeremiah Colburn, who in 1859 would be an honoree in Sage's Numismatic Gallery). Interestingly, Colburn quoted Benson J. Lossing, a declared non-numismatist, as a source of certain numismatic-related information; of Lossing, more will be related.

**1857, October:** "Retsilla," a *nom de plume* for John McAllister,[2] a Philadelphia numismatist (who is also a contender as the inventor of the word *telegram*), told of the 1791 Washington cent and of discussing coinage history with Jonas R. McClintock and Adam Eckfeldt, earlier of the Philadelphia Mint.

**1858, May:** A discussion by "Madison" and B.H.H. (of Troy, NY) of the U.S. cents of 1814 mentioned their rarity, the discounted rumor that gold was mixed into the alloy, etc.

**1858, November:** J.H.T. (Col. James H. Taylor[3]) of Charleston, SC, wrote concerning the improbability of the legend expressed in Hickcox's recently published book on coins that the daughter of Massachusetts mintmaster John Hull received as a dowry her weight in silver coins. To prove the calculations, Hannah Hull would have had to have weighed thousands of pounds.[4]

**1859, February:** L.C. of Hartford, CT, sent in a notice from the *Argus,* published in Boston on March 26, 1793, quoting an account criticizing America's first cent from the Philadelphia Mint: "The American *cents* (says a letter from Newark) do not answer our expectations. The chain on the reverse is but a bad omen for liberty, and liberty herself appears to be in a fright. May she not justly cry out in the words of the apostle, *'Alexander the coppersmith has done me much harm; the Lord reward him according to his works!'* It will be remembered that Alexander Hamilton was at that time secretary of the Treasury."[5]

Comments such as this were undoubtedly responsible for the motifs being changed to a more full portrait of Miss Liberty on the obverse and a wreath design in place of the chain motif on the reverse.[6]

**1859, April:** This issue contained an authoritative and pioneering contribution from "Boston" (possibly Colburn) which discussed in detail the die varieties of U.S. cents dated 1793.

**1859, July:** "The First North American Coins," by S.H., of New York, was printed as the lead article. Adapted from information in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections,* the feature discussed various colonial issues.

**1859, October:** J.C. (Colburn) of Boston warned of copies of 1792 Washington cents coming on the market, marked with the word COPY, but in a manner that a skilled artisan could easily remove.[7]

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periodical sometimes referred to as *The Numismatist* was, in fact, named the *American Stamp Mercury and Numismatist,* published in Boston by stamp dealer and one-time stamp counterfeiter F. Trifet, 1868-1870.

[1] *Norton's Literary Letter* is discussed in Chapter 3.

[2] "Retsilla" is Allister spelled backward.

[3] In the *American Journal of Numismatics,* December 1868, J.N.T. Levick called the Taylor collection one of the best in the country with regard to its content of world coins. Taylor, who had been prominent in the mercantile trade, died at his home on February 3, 1872, at the age of 61. On November 16, 1875, his collection was auctioned at the sale room of Leavitt & Co., New York City, by William H. Strobridge via *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Coins and Medals Comprising the Whole of the Cabinet Formed by the Late Col. James H. Taylor of Charleston, S.C.*

[4] Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote a short story on the same subject. As one of many earlier mentions, an article, "National Coins," in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion,* Vol. V., 1853, p. 173, noted in part: "What pleasant memories are revived when we look upon an old pine-tree shilling of the coinage of the Massachusetts Bay Colony! We remember how the worthy mint master when he gave away his buxom daughter in marriage, placed her in one scale, and balanced her hearty weight by heaping as many pine-tree shillings in the other as would produce an equipose, and we can judge how the thrifty bridegroom exulted in the reflection that the fair one was no sylph, but a good, substantial and solid body." In later years the dowry tale would provide fodder for many fillers in coin publications.

[5] Earlier, the same notice had appeared in *The Mail or Claypoole's Daily Advertiser,* Philadelphia, March 18, 1793, this perhaps being the earliest account in print of the new cent.

[6] In later years this *Argus* article was reprinted dozens of times in numismatic publications.

[7] Not mentioned was William K. Idler, the Philadelphia dealer, who had these pieces struck to his order; some were obverse and reverse copies of the Washington piece, while others had Idler's advertisement on one side. This same activity by Idler furnished the topic for a small circular datelined Philadelphia, October 1859, published anonymously (Jeremiah Colburn of Boston seems a possibility as the author despite the seeming attribution to a Philadelphia origin), which began: "Coin Collectors, to the Rescue! The Carolina Elephant in the Field!! *Whereas,* certain parties in the City of Brotherly Love have combined together to furnish the inhabitants of Philadelphia with counterfeit Washington Cents and half dollars, the Lord Baltimore coinage, also the Sommer Island shilling or hog cent: We the coin collectors of Philadelphia, seeing

**1859, October:** J.G., of Pittsburgh, PA, furnished a lengthy article on American coin emblems including trees, noting the Pine Tree shillings in the Bogert auction (but with no mention of Sage as the cataloguer).

**1859, November:** A detailed listing of copper cents from 1793 onward was given, including comments about varieties and rarity, this being reprinted from the *Boston Transcript* and otherwise unsigned, but probably by Jeremiah Colburn.[1] Related information had recently appeared in Dickeson's *American Numismatical Manual.*[2]

**1860, January:** This mystery was presented by Colburn: "Joseph Wright,[3] by profession a painter, belonging to Philadelphia, many years since, exercised his ingenuity in making a die, from which he struck one copy of Washington's head, which is now in the possession of the Hon. Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. It is a unique, and is peculiarly valuable, being considered the best medallic profile likeness of the illustrious Washington which has ever been taken. The artist, in attempting to make a second impression, unfortunately broke his die." *–Alden's Epitaph,* 1814. Can and you or your readers inform us where the above medal is to be found? J.C. Boston."

**1860, February:** "A new half dollar has been got up at the United States Mint to be submitted to the government for its approval. The new coin, although of the same diameter as that now in circulation, is much thicker at the rim in consequence of the deeper sinking of the die, and hence much more durable. On one side is a medallion portrait of Washington, with the head wreathed with laurel; the word Liberty upon a scroll over the bust; at the bottom the date 1859; and around the whole the words United States of America in plain, well adapted raised letters. On the reverse side, a wreath of grain envelops the word Half Dollar, in the same beautiful letters. The coin is said to be very handsome."[4]

**United States cent of 1816.**

**1860, March:** "Albany Institute. Jan. 31, 1860. In the absence of the president, Mr. Joel Munsell was called to the chair. John Hickcox, Esq., of the State Library, read an elaborate paper upon 'The Early Paper Currency of New York.' We present the following imperfect abstract...."

**1860, March:** An article, "The Washington Coins" by A.S. (Augustine Shurtleff, M.D.[5]) of Brookline, MA, described 49 different varieties of coins, tokens, and medals, this being two years before James Ross Snowden's book on the subject was published. Nos. 31 and 32 represented an early listing of the SUCCESS TO THE UNITED STATES tokens, large and small size. The final several numbers in Shurtleff's listing were picked up from *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 3 and represented pieces he had not personally seen.

**1860, May:** "Half cent of 1828. Can you, or any of the knowing ones among your correspondents, tell why there are only twelve, instead of thirteen, stars on the half cents of 1828? I have often asked coin collectors, but they professed ignorance. W. West Haverford, Pa." This elicited two non-conclusive answers which were published in subsequent issues.

**1860, July:** Contained a discussion of the GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO token by F.P.B.,[6] who wondered why it was

the impropriety of the above, have agreed not to purchase any of the above-mentioned pieces, or any that may be made as copies of rare coins or medals, from this date. There have been several attempts made to re-strike rare coins within the last year or two, and it is high time that a stop should be put to it. On some of the above pieces the word COPY has been made, but in so slight a manner as to be easily removed, and then you cannot tell them from the genuine...."

[1] Any "Hall of Fame" for students of American large copper cents must necessarily include Colburn as a pioneer; ironically, in later years his contributions were largely forgotten and it is not certain if, for example, either Dr. William H. Sheldon or Walter Breen had ever heard of him in this connection.

[2] Which had been published by March 1859, as evidenced by the thanks of the American Numismatic Society expressed to Dickeson on March 24, 1859, for a copy he donated.

[3] This Wright item was later quoted in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* January 1892. Wright, an accomplished engraver, is best remembered by numismatists today as the diecutter of the 1793 Liberty Cap cent (in August 1793) and for the 1792 eagle-on-globe pattern quarter dollar. In 1784 he painted Washington's portrait from life; this image may have been used on the 1790 Manly medal. Wright died of yellow fever on September 12 or 13, 1793.

[4] It is not certain today what this pattern might have been. James B. Longacre's unmistakably female head of Miss Liberty (called the "French Head" in certain early catalogues), with the word LIBERTY on a scroll, was used on several varieties of 1859 half dollar patterns and the reverse description of the "wreath of grain" is consistent with known 1859 pattern half dollars, but no U.S. pattern with Washington's portrait with a date prior to 1863 is known today.

[5] This article also appeared in the *Boston Transcript,* which was a mini-forum for numismatists in its circulation area; the article was later reprinted as a supplement to the Bangs, Merwin & Co. listing of the Charles H. Morse Collection, October 17-18, 1860. W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Rev. J.M. Finotti Collection (November 11-14, 1862) also included much of the Shurtleff Collection, as per Woodward's preface, but Shurtleff was not mentioned on the cover. However, he was mentioned on the cover of Woodward's sale of April 28, 1863, and certain of his items were offered later as well, these being coins purchased outright by the cataloguer. In 1873 he was a major contributor to S.S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America* (published in 1875). The Shurtleff listing was years subsequent to what may be the pioneering study on the series, "Medals of George Washington," by J.S. Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia, as part of his 1837 essay, "Description of American Medals," which described 14 varieties (included in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Vol. VI. of the third series. Boston. American Stationers' Company. 1837).

[6] Possibly Fisk P. Brewer, a tutor at Yale College in New Haven, who curated the numismatic cabinet there. He was a nephew of Cyrus W. Field (who laid the Atlantic telegraph cable). In 1858 and 1859 Fisk was in Greece. His father, Josiah Brewer, of Stockbridge, MA, contacted the American Numismatic Society (on January 11, 1859) to see if his son could aid in securing coins in Greece.

attributed by certain numismatists to George Washington, when the portrait seemed to be that of King George of England, etc.

*Historical Magazine* continued to print numismatic information in later years, but after the advent of the *American Journal of Numismatics* in 1866, contributions in this specialty dropped sharply.[1]

## COIN DEALERS

Probably, most leading American cities in the East had one or more dealers offering rare coins for sale in the 1850s. Particularly active in this regard were bullion and exchange dealers, who were generally familiar with scarce pieces and picked them out of deposits and other transactions. In addition, merchants offering antiques, curios, and other historical objects often stocked a few coins and medals as did jewelers.

In the late 1840s, John Brady owned the Old Maryland Curiosity Shop, 105 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, which proclaimed itself as:

> Oldest established in the city, where may be obtained rare old books, coins, medals, autographs, documents, shells, minerals, etc.... Old books and coins bought. School books, stationery, old music, and plays.

By 1858 the Old Curiosity Shop was owned by R.E. Reed and John Brady and was at the corner of Saratoga and Eutaw streets in the same city. Clients included Col. Mendes I. Cohen, J.J. Mickley, Edward D. Cogan, and other numismatists of the era.[2]

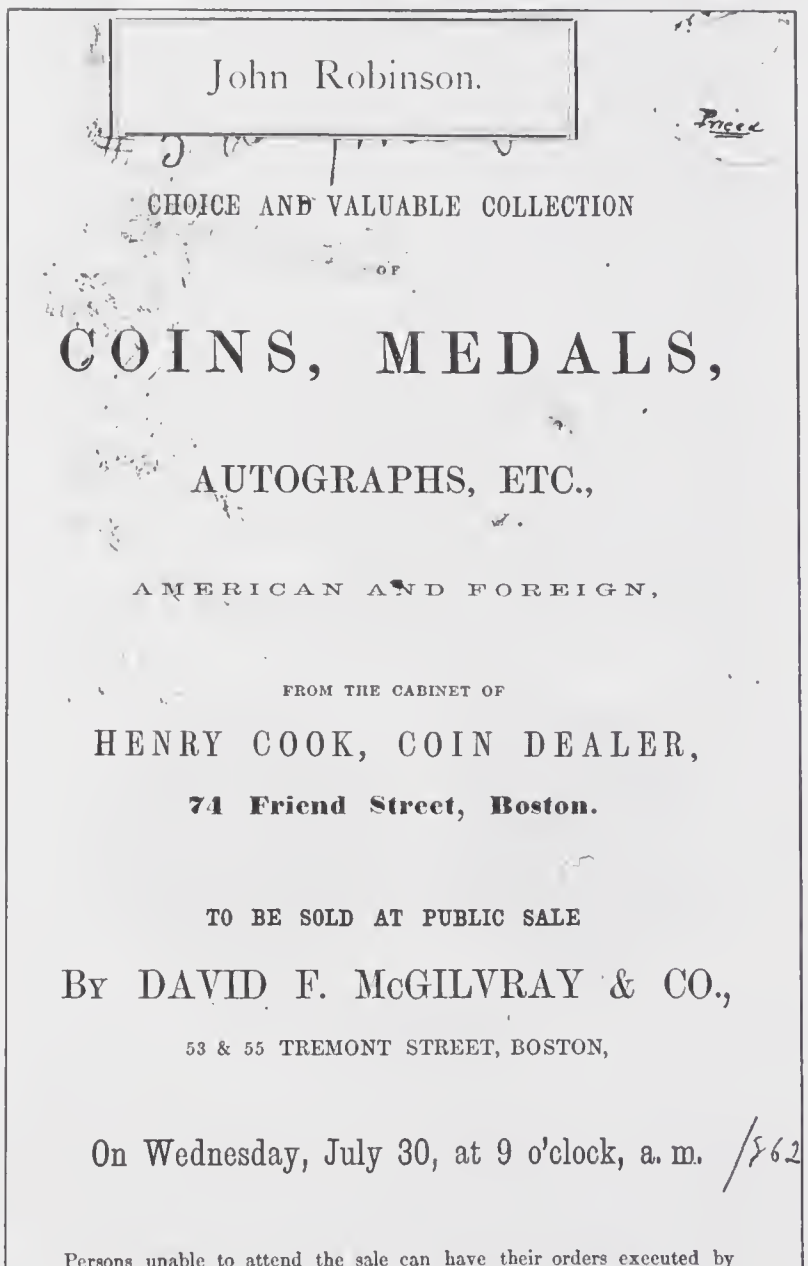
By 1855, the Appley (or Applee) brothers operated the similarly-named Old Curiosity Shop in the Arcade, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA, and dealt in books, paintings, coins, and antiquities.[3]

In New York City, watchmaker John Brock traded in curios and coins in the 1850s and took John K. Curtis (of whom more will be related) under his wing, before the latter started his own rare coin store in 1857.[4]

## HENRY COOK

Henry Cook, who would become one of America's first rare coin dealers, was born in Abington, MA, in 1821, a seventh-generation *Mayflower* descendant, He moved to Boston when he was 16 years old and gained employment with a company in the export trade.[5] At the age of 21 he was sent to South America to handle the firm's interests on the west coast there. Later he served as mate aboard a sailing vessel which traded along that coast and with islands in the Pacific. By the 1840s he was an avid coin collector.

In the 1850s he relinquished seafaring for the security of an on-land occupation in Boston, and entered the boot and shoe trade at 74 Friend Street. He was fond of looking through copper half cents and cents in circulation and picking out scarce dates which he displayed in a counter in his



John Robinson.

CHOICE AND VALUABLE COLLECTION

OF

COINS, MEDALS,

AUTOGRAPHS, ETC.,

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN,

FROM THE CABINET OF

HENRY COOK, COIN DEALER,

74 Friend Street, Boston.

TO BE SOLD AT PUBLIC SALE

BY DAVID F. McGILVRAY & CO.,

53 & 55 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON,

On Wednesday, July 30, at 9 o'clock, a. m. /862

Persons unable to attend the sale can have their orders executed by addressing the AUCTIONEER, or by MR. COOK, as above.

PRESS OF GEO. C. RAND & AVERY, 3 CORNHILL.

**Cover of David F. McGilvray & Co.'s July 30, 1862 sale featuring the "Choice and Valuable Collection of Coins, Medals, Autographs, Etc., American and Foreign, from the Cabinet of Henry Cook, Coin Dealer." Cook was a prominent and well-liked Boston dealer for many years and was one of the first people in America to engage in commercial numismatics, having been in business by the mid-1850s. The catalogue has the sticker of "John Robinson" pasted at the top, identifying an early owner of it.**

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[1] A numismatic index to *Historical Magazine* was published years later in 1883 in Richard Hoe Lawrence's *Catalogue of the Numismatic Books in the Library of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.*

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1880; reprinted an advertisement, undated, but presumed to have been from many years earlier. Also, George W. Massamore's sale of November 30, 1883, commentary under Lot 576. By 1880, Brady was in business trading as Shakespeare's Head, 109½ North Howard Street, Baltimore (cf. *American Journal of Numismatics,* January 1881), having been established 33 years.

[3] *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* March 1869.

[4] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 21.

[5] *American Journal of Numismatics,* January 1905.

shoe shop. It seems that he was active in the rare coin business by the mid-1850s.

Circa 1862 he commissioned a selection of patriotic medals to be struck from his own designs, with dies by George H. Lovett, with a quotation from a Charles Sumner speech on one side.[1] As collections and groups of coins were acquired, he often consigned them to the sale room. In addition, on July 30, 1862, he offered his personal collection through the services of David F. McGilvray & Co., Boston, at an auction event which saw 711 lots realize a total of $430.79. He catalogued a modest offering for sale in Boston on November 24, 1863, at Leonard & Co., at which time 423 lots fetched the grand sum of $149.23.[2] An offering of large cents was prefaced by this note:

> The following perfect collection of American copper coins is believed to be equal, if not superior, to any cabinet collection in the country, having been selected by the owner for these many years past, from the thousands that have passed under his observation.[3]

In 1866, still located in his shoe shop-with-coins at 74 Friend Street, Cook advertised as:

> Numismatist and antiquarian. Rare and antique coins, medals, autographs, books, &c., bought, sold and exchanged. Cabinets arranged and catalogued for public sale in Boston or New York. Also, purchases made at all the coin and book sales in either of the above mentioned cities, on commission.

On April 6 of the same year he was elected treasurer at the founding meeting of the New England Numismatic and Archaeological Society. In 1869 Cook issued a 12-page listing, *Coin and Medal Circular, Containing a Few Remarks on the American Series of Coins and Medals. With a Little Brief Advice to the Inexperienced Collector.*

> An interesting incident happened in December 1870, when Philadelphia dealer E.L. Mason, Jr., sent Cook an unsolicited package of 25 auction catalogues to distribute to his customers. Cook sent them back forthwith and requested reimbursement from Mason for the 50 cents he had to pay in return express charges. Mason then printed a criticism of Cook, stating that he was mainly a shoe cobbler, was on an old street in Boston, and had premises, in which decayed boots with initial-chalked soles occupies the greater portion of the shelves and floor. This eccentric Crispin [ancient Roman shoemaker who was beatified] rejoices in the name of coin dealer, finding time between his half soling and cement patching [for which Cook had a patent] to buy and sell old coins and medals; also catalogues and conducts coin sales.
>
> Within his little four by sixteen feet coin and shoe shanty he has created a two and half feet counter upon which rests a case of coins. An upright case stands in the southeast corner of the front part of the store, in which medals, old silver spoons, and broken jewelry are prominent. Thus, our eccentric knight of the awl represents a coin dealer of standing at the Hub. At various times, we have had occasion to send this Mr. Cook catalogues of sales for his especial and pecuniary benefits. We consequently sent him 25 catalogues for the sale of December 21.

Mason continued:

> Is Henry Cook a coin dealer or a cobbler? If he claims to be the former of these respectable callings, is he dealing justly with his numismatic patrons by refusing to distribute the catalogues of a coin sale?

If any numismatist ever illustrated the axiom that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones, it was Mason.[4] Although Mason criticized Cook for being in two businesses at the same time (shoes and coins), Mason himself also dealt at one time or another in stamps and real estate in addition to coins! Mason, whose gifts did not include aptitudes for spelling and grammar, eagerly criticized typographical errors in the catalogues of his competitors while overlooking equal or worse mistakes in his own publications. Separately, Mason's love-hate relationship with Philadelphia dealer Edward D. Cogan could be a case study in psychology.[5]

Cook continued his shop on Friend Street, Boston, until the mid-1880s, when alterations to the street prompted his removal to 351 Washington Street, not far from the Old South Church. In his new location he abandoned the shoe trade and engaged exclusively in numismatics. Around 1890 his coin business diminished, and he moved to 47

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[1] As a curious footnote to Cook's activities, in the 1860s an enterprising diesinker is said to have created a rarity without Cook's knowledge, by combining a medal die advertising Cook on one side and an irrelevant die advertising Haviland Stevenson & Co., a Charleston, SC, drug store, on the other; just two pieces were struck. An example appeared in W.E. Woodward's sale of October 25-27, 1886, Lot 1342, described as follows: "Cook, Henry. Money Broker, etc.; rev., card of Haviland, of S.C. Eagle standing on a mortar. Struck without an order, and unknown to Mr. Cook. Only two known; copper, fine, and of course about the *rarest* of the Boston cards. [Size] 17." *The Numismatist,* August 1904, contained an installment of the article by Albert R. Frey, "Tokens and Medals Relating to Numismatists and Coin Dealers," in which Cook is quoted as stating that a circa 1862 store card relating to Fort Sumter was made from dies prepared by "Lovett of New York City" (presumably George H. Lovett). Nothing was said of the Haviland muling. The Frey article is also the source for certain Cook biographical information used here.

[2] Various other auctions could be cited as well.

[3] Highlights of the coppers: Lot 461, "1793 13 [*sic;* should be 15] link chain, 'United States of America." Very fine specimen and a rare variety. $4.50. Lot 466: "1797 Uncirculated; equal to proof; rare." $3.25. Lot 468: "1799 Uncommonly good specimen for this extremely rare date." $6.25. Lot 473: "1804 But very slightly rubbed by circulation; the most perfect specimen we have ever seen of this very rare cent." $4.25.

[4] Modern comment inspired by an 1879 issue of *Mason's Numismatic Visitor* in which Mason took exception to a critical comment in the May number of Édouard Frossard's *Nummisma,* suggesting to Frossard that "'Glass houses' are bad residences as a means of defense - Eh, Bro.' Frossard?"

[5] Similarly, in 1870, F. Trifet's publication, *American Stamp Mercury and Numismatist,* took dead aim at Mason's inconsistencies (such comments were probably written for Trifet by Charles Chaplin of Charlestown, MA, who detested Mason).

Waltham Street. By 1904 he was primarily engaged in the purchase and resale of old gold and silver. His son, Henry, Jr., maintained a jewelry shop in the same premises.

## BARNUM'S MUSEUM

In 1853, Barnum's Museum, also called the American Museum, which had its roots as the Tammany Museum decades earlier, published a 153-page catalogue which included coins.[1] Years later in 1867, Augustus B. Sage recalled:[2]

> About seven years ago the old Museum (Barnum's) contained a very fair cabinet; a miscellaneous collection it is true, but scattered here and there in the cases were some very rare specimens of our earlier coinage. At the time of the 'clock excitement,'[3] I believe, the rarer specimens were purchased at 'one dollar each all round' by a prominent collector of New Jersey. There can be no question, I take it, that the exhibition of the cases of coins in Barnum's at the time I have referred to, was an incentive for a great number of present collectors to turn their attention to the subject; and the public exhibition of such frames in all museums tends greatly to stimulate the study.[4]

In all eras, museum exhibits have helped advance the cause of numismatics. Although Phineas T. Barnum was never known personally as a numismatist, it is evident that his contributions were important to the hobby. In addition, several varieties of tokens and medals were issued by him or featured his attractions (such as Jenny Lind, Tom Thumb, and the Museum). In the next century his visage appeared on the 1936 Bridgeport (CT) centennial commemorative half dollar.

## OTHER NUMISMATISTS

Most collectors went about their avocation quietly. For the most part, their names are little remembered today, except to dedicated bibliophiles who encounter surnames in priced auction catalogues with buyers' names or who pore through reminiscences later published in the *American Journal of Numismatics* and, to a lesser extent, in coin auction catalogues.

In the coal-mining district of Carbondale, PA, numismatist and antiquarian Harmon A. Chambers published a catalogue of his collection in 1858 under the title of *Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Coins, Meeds* [*sic*], *Minerals, Fossils, Corals, Shells, Manuscripts, Antiquities, &c.* Fourteen of the 23 pages were devoted to coins and medals, some of which may have come from Peale's Museum in Philadelphia (certain *other* items in the catalogue, especially Indian relics, were pedigreed to this source). At a later time Chambers is said to have moved to Philadelphia and to have become a dealer in rare coins. His first love seems to have been obsolete currency from early nineteenth-century banks.[5]

B.H. Hall, of Troy, NY, was an active numismatist and researcher in the 1850s and corresponded with Charles I. Bushnell about Vermont copper coinage (dated 1785-1788) and Fugio cents (dated 1787). In 1858 he provided information to John Hickcox for use in his book. W.L. Hildeburn was active in the late 1857s and possessed a particularly fine cabinet of cents.[6] His collection was sold in the early 1860s and included a copper striking of the 1794 dollar.[7]

By 1858, S.F. Streeter, of Baltimore, was one of America's several numismatic scholars. The February number of *Historical Magazine* carried his article, "The Coinage of Lord Baltimore," a prelude to his later study in the same periodical, "Sketch of the Early Currency in Maryland and Virginia," a paper read before the Historical Society of Maryland.

During the late 1850s, a certain New York attorney was active in the hobby, per this reminiscence of Augustus B. Sage:[8]

> Mr. Charles S. Spencer, the celebrated lawyer of New York, has for many years been forming a cabinet of gold and silver specimens. He has taken for many years an earnest interest in the study. I have met him frequently of late, and am pleased to know that his interest has not abated.

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[1] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 82; later editions were also published.

[2] Cf. *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1867.

[3] The "clock excitement" to which he referred was the failure of the Jerome Clock Company and the great financial difficulty Barnum, as co-signer of the company's notes, had in 1856 (not 1860); Barnum garnered widespread public support for endeavoring to honor his obligations when many others would have filed for bankruptcy; in Bridgeport a mass meeting was held in his honor; Barnum was truly loved by the people of his time. If Sage personally recalled that the Barnum coins were sold at the time of the "clock excitement," this reflects that Sage was numismatically active in 1856. *The Numismatist,* March 1919, included an article, "Some Tokens of 'The Greatest Show on Earth,'" featuring items associated with P.T. Barnum.

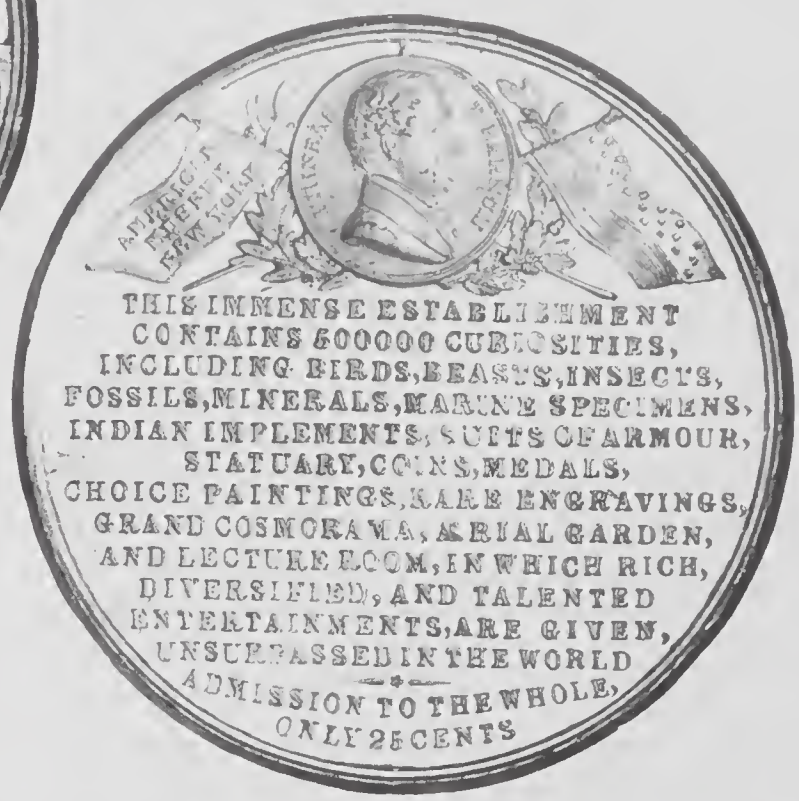
[4] This sale of the coins to a New Jersey collector circa 1860 was fortuitous, for the American Museum was gutted by fire several years later.

[5] Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum,* pp. 320-321, 358. Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 83, notes that Chambers published a catalogue in 1855; no copy has been located by the present author. Chambers' collection of paper money was auctioned by Henry Chapman years later, June 19-20, 1908. Chapman gave Chambers' address as Philadelphia, noted that he had been an enthusiastic collector of paper money for much of the 80 years of his life, but made no mention of his having been a dealer. The Chambers sale catalogue of 1908 represented one of the most extensively itemized offerings of broken bank notes sold in the auction venue up to that time.

[6] *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* June 1867.

[7] W. David Perkins pointed out (letter, October 7, 1997) that this copper 1794 dollar may be the same as the specimen later appearing in the Parmelee Collection sale (June 1890), later owned by Thomas Hall, Jr., M.D., and Virgil M. Brand, later in the Davis-Graves sale (Stack's, April 1954, Lot 1264), presently in the Smithsonian Institution.

[8] *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1867, penned by Sage on March 26, 1867.




Medal, 38.6 mm. (here shown 2x size) depicting P.T. Barnum's American Museum in New York City, by Allen & Moore, medalists, Birmingham, England. On the reverse, below the image of Phineas T. Barnum, some of the attractions are listed, including COINS, MEDALS.

"Broadway New York: South from the Park," was published by Nathaniel Currier and shows the American Museum at the left.

Winslow J. Howard sold some of his coins at auction in 1856, apparently in an obscure venue, for little is known about the offering today. In 1858 he was a contributor to Hickcox's book. Around the same time he was one of Augustus B. Sage's acquaintances and was later recalled as follows:[1]

> No doubt you remember the red card that was so freely circulated about the time of which I write, offering what seemed fabulous rates for old coppers, by Mr. W.J. Howard. Howard obtained a very fine collection, and I believe sold it to some gentleman in Boston.[2] Mr. Howard was the fortunate possessor of the Washington Half Dollar described in one of *Norton's Literary Letters*.[3] He obtained it for a very moderate price I believe from a shoemaker named Bossuet, doing business then and now in Greene Street near Bleecker in New York.[4] Mr. Howard had also in his collection some of the finest New York 'cents' I ever saw. I believe that Howard after selling his collection went to Santa Fe, New Mexico.[5]

When on March 3, 1860, the Boston Numismatic Society was founded, the roster included veteran collectors such as Winslow Lewis, Joseph M. Finotti, John Kimball Wiggin, Jeremiah Colburn, Henry Davenport,[6] William Eliot Lamb, Augustine Shurtleff, Henry Dearborn Fowle, George Williams Pratt, and William Sumner Appleton, some being prominent, others obscure. Meetings were held on the first Saturday of each month at 13 Bromfield Street, a small street that over the years would attract many coin dealers who set up shop in the narrow thoroughfare.[7] Another active Boston collector was Seth H. Chadbourne, who began collecting circa 1856, but later disposed of most of his federal coins in order to specialize in tokens and political medals. A bookkeeper by profession, he kept records for several auctioneers in Boston.[8]

Samuel Abbott Green, M.D., began collecting coins circa 1846 when he found a rare 1799 cent in circulation.[9] His interest grew, and in time he became prominent in the Boston Numismatic Society, served on the 1870 and 1872 Assay Commissions, and served as a co-editor of the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

Charles H. Morse, of Cambridgeport, MA, was an active collector and dealer in the 1850s. One of his collections was sold in 1856.[10] Another was catalogued for auction in 1858, but the coins were sold privately. In 1859 he gave his residence as Cambridgeport and his office as 16 State Street, Boston. In that year he published a 23-page listing, tightly spaced, of about 2,000 items in his "Priced Catalogue of Autographs, Minerals, Coins, Medals For Sale"[11] In 1860 more of his items were sold in several auction sales in Boston and New York City. Memorable was an offering of October 17-18 at Bangs, Merwin & Co., the catalogue for which included an article on Washington coins and medals by Dr. Augustine Shurtleff.

Sketches of the following numismatists of the 1850s may be of interest:

## LORENZO ABBEY

The name of Lorenzo Abbey is remembered today through the so-called "Abbey cent," a particularly nice example of the rare 1799 year which he is said to have bought circa 1844, although accounts vary. Years later on September 8, 1863, his collection was auctioned by Henry Leeds & Co., New York City. Historian Attinelli remembered the collector and his holdings, but ascribed his entry

**The famous 1799 "Abbey cent" owned at one time by Lorenzo Abbey. By 1996, when it was sold as part of the Louis E. Eliasberg, Sr., Collection, its continuous pedigree included nearly two dozen names.**

[1] Recollection by Sage in *American Journal of Numismatics*, February 1867, penned January 1, 1867.

[2] In the 1860s, Boston bean baker Lorin G. Parmelee purchased several important collections *en bloc*, although the author has encountered no record of his having been the buyer of Howard's material. By 1885, Parmelee had the finest private cabinet of United States federal-issue coins (T. Harrison Garrett's was runner-up).

[3] No. 2, 1858.

[4] Louis Bossuet, 181 Greene Street.

[5] The collection of Winslow J. Howard, of Silver City, NM, was auctioned by W.E. Woodward on March 4-6, 1884. Earlier, Woodward had visited with Howard at the latter's home. Additional items were catalogued by Lyman H. Low and auctioned by Bangs, Merwin & Co. on June 3, 1886. The offering included many fine Hard Times tokens, gold coins of Denver minters Clark, Gruber & Co., and other pieces.

[6] Davenport had been a collector since about 1830 (cf. *American Journal of Numismatics*, July 1874; per Jeremiah Colburn). In 1884 in the catalogue of the J.N.T. Levick Collection, W. Elliot Woodward noted that Davenport had caused certain rare Hard Times tokens to be struck for his cabinet in *1837*, the original year of issue.

[7] Over a century later, in the January 1965 issue of *The Numismatist*, an advertisement by Joseph Lipson and his son Manuel (Mel), who operated Mayflower Coin Auctions, Inc., the Beacon Hill Coin Company, and the Bromfield Stamp & Coin Company in that district, bore this message: "Due to the recent rash of new 'dealers' advertising from Bromfield Street, Boston addresses, we wish to make it clear that there is absolutely no connection between these new names and Boston's Big Three."

[8] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, pp. 41-42.

[9] *American Journal of Numismatics*, January 1891.

[10] Mentioned by W. Elliot Woodward in a list of coin catalogues, March 15, 1864; also Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 84.

[11] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 86.

into coins as having been a transaction related to Augustus B. Sage, which would have been circa 1858:[1]

> This was a coin sale, succeeding one of furniture, etc. The owner of the coins was the gentleman whose name is perpetuated in the celebrated "Abbey Cent" of 1799, which, notwithstanding so many years have elapsed, since it was brought to the notice of the numismatic public, still maintains its position as one of the finest known. Mr. Abbey is a native of [New York state], having been born in Herkimer County, on the 14th of January, 1823. He has long been a resident of [New York City], carrying on an extensive business in needles, fishing-hooks, and tackle.
>
> His introduction to numismatology occurred through the following incident: Mr. John Martense, a friend of his and a numismatist, having a duplicate Unc. cent of 1826, presented it to Mr. Abbey, stating that it was worth about $5.00; being somewhat incredulous, he took it to Mr.[Augustus B.] Sage, who at once offered Mr. Abbey $7 for the cent; somewhat astonished by finding fine coins to have such a value, he at once applied himself in diligent search for others, and with some considerable success. The very next day he procured from a grocer's till the rare 'large head Nova Eborac.' The 1799 cent above alluded to, he bought for $25.00 from Mr. Rogers in Fulton St., who had bought it from a countryman for $2.00. Among other pieces he thus brought to the knowledge of numismatists, were the 'Washington half dollars' in copper, the 1802 half dime, subsequently sold in Mr. Lilliendahl's sale for $380.00, and other fine or rare pieces.[2]

## JOHN E. BURTON

An educator and, at a different time, an actor by profession, John Burton collected books and paintings as well as coins. Whether John E. Burton was a saint or a sinner is left to the imagination when the record is read. In his house organ, *Numisma,* November 1884, Édouard Frossard included his name under the heading, "The Coin Dealers' Pe(s)ts," noting that "John E. Burton, Geneva Lake, Wis., swindled John W. Haseltine, and W.E. Woodward in several coin transactions."

This indicates some untold stories about two earlier events. On August 9-10, 1881, Haseltine auctioned the Burton Collection. The listing of 1,197 lots; realized $1,120.40. On October 26-28, 1881, Woodward had another Burton Collection sale, laden with choice items including fine large cents, amounting to 2,034 lots which realized a very impressive total of $4,546.11.

**"The rarest thing out" was the 1856 "white cent," according to a reminiscence by John E. Burton, who bought one from a dealer. For many years the 1856 Flying Eagle cent has been a famous American landmark. Surviving pieces from 2,500 or so struck are highly prized.**

Many years later the October 1929 issue of *The Numismatist* contained this letter from Burton, which told of Burton's activities beginning in the 1850s:

> I will say that as a matter for your information I believe I am the oldest collector in the United States. If this is not correct I shall be pleased to be corrected. I began collecting coins (cents and half cents) in 1854. I lived in my native village of New Hartford, New York. There were four boy collectors in the village—Charlie Millard, Stevie Childs, Byron Case and myself.[3] I was fortunate in that Jimmie Dobie, a saloonkeeper, where my grandfather, Asa Allen, a soldier of the War of 1812, took his "nip" daily, and told me I could come in each day after school and look over all the cents and half cents in the till and take out any I wanted and put another in its place. I secured in a few years a considerable collection of these. By 1857 I had the best in town.
>
> Soon I learned the addresses of John W. Haseltine,[4] John W. Scott, Elliot Woodward, W.H. Sampson[5] and Grandpa Cogan. Later I visited all five of these dealers and began to realize that the old coin business was a big affair. On this trip I met Mr. S.H. Chapman, who was then a clerk and associate in the office of John W. Haseltine, in Philadelphia.[6] On my next trip I met Mr. Bangs, of Bangs & Co., 739 Broadway, New York. I was a principal in the public schools of Illinois at this time and had a limited bank account, but got so well acquainted that I found there was such a thing as credit. Having secured a better position in the schools of Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, I bought from these dealers a large lot, including 1809, 1811, 1814 and a new

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[2] The Abbey 1799 cent was sold as part of the Louis E. Eliasberg, Sr., Collection, May 1996, Lot 510; various pedigree information was related in the catalogue, including a chronology from John J. Ford, Jr., February 17, 1953 (in which was stated that the coin was purchased by Abbey from a dealer named Rogers on Fulton Street for $25, circa 1844-1846, and was retained by Abbey until he sold it in a private transaction in 1856).

[3] None of his boyhood chums ever became prominent on the numismatic scene.

[4] Haseltine entered the coin trade in Philadelphia as a partner of Ebenezer Locke Mason, Jr., in the late 1860s, then for a short time occupied himself in the mining industry, then returned to coins as a dealer on his own account by 1869. In February 1869 he was one of 48 numismatists illustrated on a sheet titled "Mason's Photographic Gallery of Coin Collectors of the United States, No. 1," published in *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine.* On April 12, 1870, he conducted his first auction sale, thanks to a consignment received from his father-in-law, William K. Idler. This initial effort was described in a listing of 16 pages titled *Catalogue of a Private Collection of Coins, Medals and United States Pattern Pieces.*

[5] Presumably, Henry Griswold Sampson, known as H.G. Sampson, was intended; Sampson became a dealer in coins and curios during the Civil War. In 1871 he had a coin and curio shop at the corner of Broadway and Fulton Street, New York City.

[6] This trip must have been in the mid or late 1870s. Chapman, born in 1857, worked in Haseltine's shop beginning in the mid-1870s, leaving in 1878 to start his own business with his brother, Henry Chapman, Jr.

little white cent of 1856, said to be the rarest thing out. I have since made 39 trips to New York and learned much of the world and of the numismatic line of dealings. I have enjoyed several old-time wine dinners with John W. Scott and others in the business world, but so far as I know all these old-time dealers have passed on into the land not marked on maps, except only the Chapman brothers, who are still living and with whom I still deal and purchase choice varieties.

I am always proud of my old-time friends and can truthfully say that I have never yet met a dishonest man in the old coin business. It is a cheerful and pleasant pastime, an intelligent and historically valuable field, and its value to the young is all for good and no hidden foe lurks behind an old coin. I am 82 and take as great pleasure and interest in a fine coin as I did when a boy. It is an honorable and a most commendable work and steadily growing, as it deserves, and has in its followers many of the best men now living. Its twin occupation, the stamp collecting branch, is ever growing and the work covers Europe, Asia, South America and Africa and Australia. If any one word represents the character of the men in these twin pleasures, it is the word *sincerity*.

Yours for coins and stamps.

# CHAPTER 3

# *Sage and the New York City Scene*

## *(the 1850s)*

### SAGE'S EARLY LIFE

Now, to introduce the primary subject of the present study:

Augustus B. Sage was born in Middle Town (Middletown), CT, on May 13, 1841, the son of Robert and Catharine Sage. His father had come to America from England, and his mother was from New York state.

Robert died late in the decade of Augustus' birth. By 1849 or 1850, his widow and her children had moved to lower Manhattan and had taken up residence at 109 Avenue B, moving to 259 Delancey Street by the mid-1850s and to 121 Essex Street by 1857.[1] It is believed that Augustus B. Sage's siblings included Benjamin (nine years older than Augustus), Frances (seven years older), Agnes (or Agnas; three years younger), and Augina (spelling uncertain; eight years younger).[2]

In 1854 our 13-year-old subject, identified in city records as "A.B. Sage," was earning wages as a primary grade teacher or assistant in Ward School No. 12 at 371 Madison Street in the Seventh Ward, where he remained for the next several years. Other primary-level teachers working with him on the staff in 1854 included Eliza Jarvis, Harriet O. Simonson, Nancy Hoyt, Susanna McCauley, Julia Knight, Olivia Michaels, and Schuyler Clark.[3] At the time it was not at all unusual for teen-aged boys to be employed in services or industries. Quite possibly, Sage had been hired recently, as his name appears last on the faculty list. The listing was divided into three categories of students: boys, girls, and primary.

By early 1855, Ward School No. 12 listed "Augustus B. Sage" on the boys' faculty in the same school. Others teaching boys included John H. Fanning, Robert J. Furney, Oscar Hinchman, Lavinia Morrell, and Harriet O. Simonson.[4]

By early 1856, the registry at the same school listed "Augustus B. Sage" on the boys' faculty that also included John H. Fanning. Robert J. Furney, Lavinia Monell [*sic*], and Harriet O. Simmonson [*sic*].[5] By this time the categories of students had been changed to male, female, and primary. In 1857, Sage continued to hold the same faculty position, along with John H. Manning, Robert J. Furney, Oscar Hinchman, Maria A. Cother, Eliza J. Evans, and Charlotte F. Glover.[6] In 1858 "Aug. B. Sage" was in the same listing of teachers of male students, along with John H. Fanning, Robert J. Turney, Oscar Hinchman, Ellen P. Daly, Eliza J. Evans, and Charlotte F. Glover.[7] Sage was last listed in 1859, in the same faculty category, together with John H. Fanning, Robert J. Furney [*sic*], Oscar Hinchman, Ellen P. Daly, Eliza J. Evans, and Charlotte F. Glover.[8]

So far as is known, none of his fellow teachers ever figured in the numismatic scene or in Sage's later life.

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[1] During the author's visit to 121 Essex Street, July 28, 1997, it was found that a five-story building of mid-nineteenth century vintage still stands there. The upper levels are occupied by tenanted private rooms and are accessed via a door on the left, with certain nineteenth century cast iron trim still in place. The ground floor has been remodeled and is a florist and gift shop.

[2] Appendix VII includes directory listings for the Sage family.

[3] D.T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1854*, p. 249.

[4] D.T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1855*, p. 238.

[5] D.T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1856*, p. 248.

[6] D.T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1857*, p. 248.

[7] D.T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1858*, p. 262.

[8] D.T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1859*,, p. 285.

## SAGE AS A NUMISMATIST

It seems probable that by 1856, when Augustus B. Sage was only 15 years old, he had been bitten by the coin bug. We envision him as a numismatist imbued with the enthusiasm unique to teenagers on the verge of discovering much about life. Time and again, teen-aged collectors have developed into some of the most acclaimed names numismatics has ever known. Such dealers as the Chapman brothers, B. Max Mehl, Walter H. Breen, Arthur M. Kagin, John J. Ford, Jr., George J. Fuld, Abe Kosoff, Harlan J. Berk, and Russell Rulau—to give just a short list that could be expanded many times over—began in the hobby in their youth, some even predating Sage in age.

The recorded story of Augustus B. Sage's hobby-profession seems to commence circa 1856, although tradition has it that Sage may have played a part in the sale of the Peter Flandin Collection at the auction room of Bangs & Co. in June 1855. If so, the 14-year-old must have been a bystander, for he was not entered in the record of buyers. Most probably, even if he had wanted to compete, he would have been forbidden to do so because of his age, and would have given his bids to someone else. The sale was in his home town—New York City—and not far from his residence, so he may have been present.[1]

During the 1850s, Sage must have been intensely interested in history, for soon he was to display a wide knowledge of the past and of texts concerning the subject. No doubt his career as a school teacher helped with his studies and research in the field while helping to pay his living expenses. Sage remained a schoolteacher through at least the first half of the year 1859.

249

Ward School No. 11—Sixteenth Ward.
Seventeenth street, near Eighth avenue.

| *Boys.* | *Girls.* | *Primary.* |
|---|---|---|
| Asa Smith, | Susan Wright, | Adelaide Hawley, |
| J. A. Eisenlord, | Elvira A. Maintain, | Hamilton S. Graff, |
| William McCool, | Mary E. Savage, | Otiska Pine, |
| Sarah A. Tebbits, | Mary E. Clark, | Louisa S. Walsh, |
| Margaret G. White. | Harriet Hedden, | Mary Phelan, |
| | Susan V. Walsh, | Amelia De Baum, |
| | Josephine M. Rogers. | Mary Hutchinson, |

Ward School No. 12—Seventh Ward.
371 Madison street, near Jackson.

| *Boys.* | *Girls.* | *Primary.* |
|---|---|---|
| John H. Fanning, | Anna M. Marsh, | Eliza Jarvis, |
| Robert J. Furney, | Matilda Mosher, | Harriet O. Simonson, |
| Oscar Hinchman, | Mary M. Ryckman, | Nancy Hoyt, |
| Lavina Monell, | Harriet J. Van Brunt, | Susanna McCauley, |
| Sarah Baxter, | Deborah Weeks. | Julia Knight, |
| | | Olivia Michaels, |
| | | Schuyler Clark, |
| | | A. B. Sage. |

Ward School No. 13—Seventeenth Ward.
298 Houston street, between Norfolk and Essex streets.

| *Boys.* | *Girls.* | *Primary.* |
|---|---|---|
| Leonard Hazeltine, | Georgiana Watson, | Mary L. Harris, |
| Robert H. Pettigrew, | Sarah J. De Grove, | Emeline B. Graham, |
| George Hopleby, | Prudence Sill, | Sarah E. Crane, |
| George W. Stewart, | Lydia Smith, | Mary D. Johnson, |
| Mary A. Marston. | Almira Knapp, | Mary Z. Graves, |
| | | Catharine Smith. |

Ward School No. 14—Twenty-first Ward.
Twenty-seventh street, near Third avenue.

| *Boys.* | *Girls.* | *Primary.* |
|---|---|---|
| William H. Wood, | Caroline F. Whiting, | M. Eliza Purdy, |
| Lafayette Olney, | Mary J. Whiting, | Jane E. Hunt, |
| William Holder, | Mary Turner, | Sarah E. Simonson, |
| Louisa A. Wendell, | Phebe Kinnersley, | Mary E. Fitch, |
| Martha Payne, | Susan Sloan, | Kate Egbert, |
| Mary Gordon, | Martha Griffin. | Hannah Tompkins |

11*

**In 1854 in the *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* a listing of municipal services and employees, Sage appeared as a teacher at Ward School No. 12, in the 7th Ward, at 371 Madison Street, last on the list under the heading "Primary" on page 587.**

## NUMISMATICS IN NEW YORK CITY

In 1855 and 1856 New York City was one of two main focal points of coin collecting in America, the other being Philadelphia. Boston was a distant third and Baltimore was fourth. Beyond these metropolises, activity was widely dispersed. Salem, MA, was a small center on its own, Hartford, CT, boasted several devotees to the hobby, and Providence, RI, and Cincinnati, OH, did likewise. For a long time the Philadelphia Mint had been a center of numismatic interest, with the United States Mint providing needed specimens and the Mint Cabinet offering a display of American and world coins as well as gems, minerals, and relics. On a *de facto* basis the Philadelphia Mint was America's largest-volume rare coin *dealer,* although its spokesman and apologist, William E. Dubois, would have disavowed any such assertion.

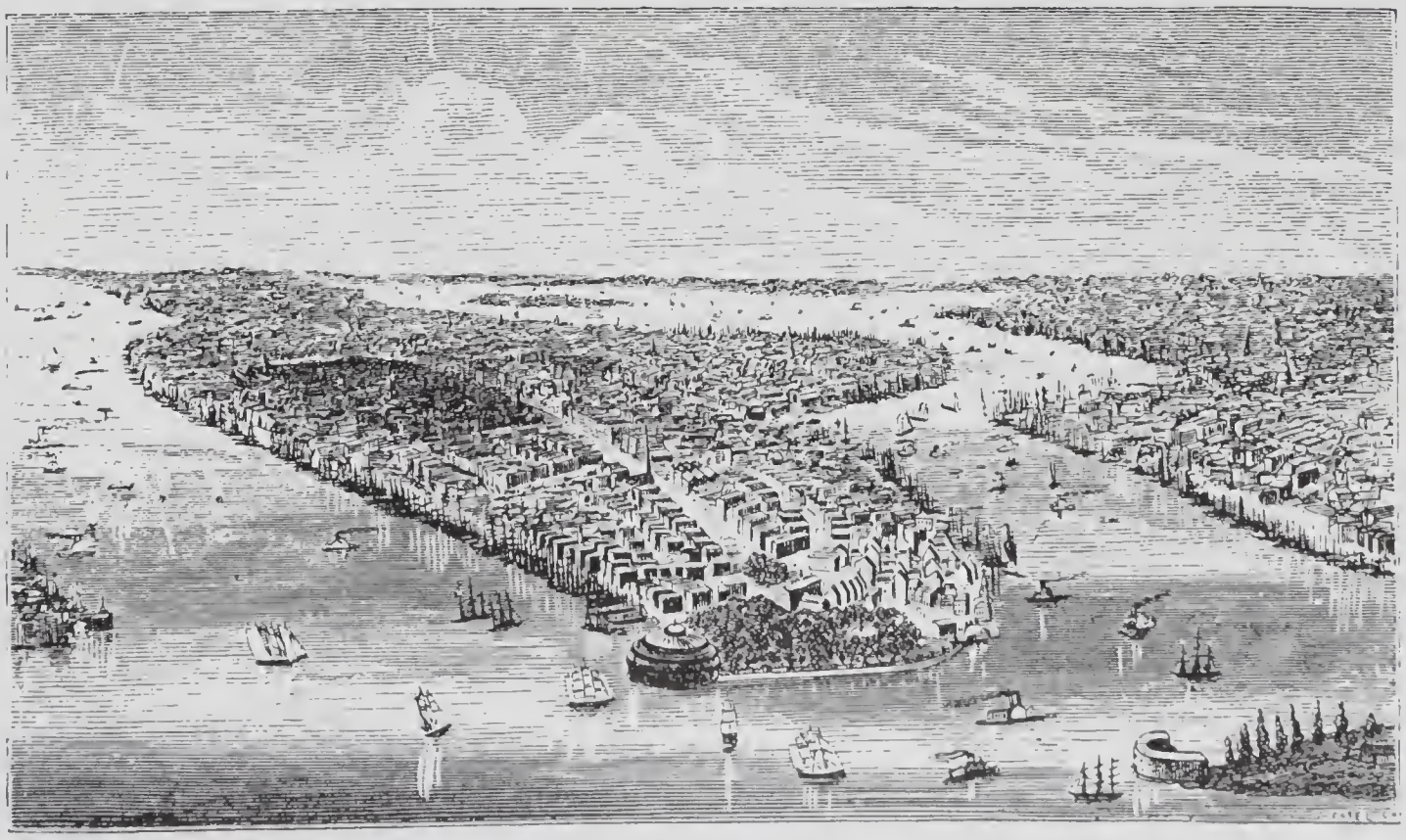
## JOHN K. CURTIS

John K. Curtis, quite probably the first important American rare coin dealer, was active in New York City by this time and had been a successful bidder in earlier coin sales, such as those held by Bangs, Brother & Co., by 1858 known as Bangs, Merwin & Co.[2] At the aforementioned Flandin Collection sale, Curtis was on hand as one of the most active buyers. One can envision the youthful Sage paying calls upon Curtis and viewing the items he had for

[1] The Flandin sale is discussed in Chapter 2.

[2] Biographical notes concerning Curtis will be found in Appendix I. A.W. Merwin became auctioneer in the late 1850s, and his name was added to the firm's title.

View of Broadway in 1852. At the time Sage, not quite a teenager, lived a few blocks away and undoubtedly was familiar with this scene. (*Manual of the Common Council of New York,* 1856)



Bird's eye view of lower Manhattan during the mid nineteenth century. The circular structure at the lower center of the engraving is the Castle Garden, a favorite place for receptions and festivities. Most numismatic activity of the era was concentrated in the lower two miles of Manhattan.

Broadway
PARK
Bowery
Catharine
Bridge St
Ferry to
Fulton Ferry
Staten Isl. Ferry
Hudson River
East River
Water
Cherry
Madison
Henry
Division
Grand
Delancey
Allen
Ludlow
Essex
Norfolk
Suffolk
Clinton
Attorney
Ridge
Pitt
Willet
Columbia
Chrystie
Forsyth
Eldridge
Orchard
Elizabeth
Mott
Baxter
Mulberry
Mulberry St
Mulberry St
Mulberry St

sale in his shop or, perhaps, even giving him a few bids for the sale room.

Attinelli gave a biographical sketch of the dealer:[1]

> John K. Curtis...was born in Deptford Road, Surrey County, England, December 11th, 1828, and came with his parents in 1841 to this city; he soon after entered the employ of John Brock, a watchmaker and dealer in general curiosities, where he learnt his trade. In 1843 Mr. Curtis commenced a cabinet of his own, placing therein such choice pieces as his advantages favored him with. In 1857, having established himself on his own account, at No. 83 Bleecker St.,[2] his collection was brought into service as part stock for his new enterprise. Mr. Curtis was, as will be thus seen, one of the earliest in the field as a dealer in this country. The following year he purchased the Siegfried Collection (from Easton, Pa.), for which he paid $700; at that time considered a large sum to pay for a single cabinet of coins.
>
> Mr. Curtis has published three dealer's catalogues,[3] besides a number of others for auction sales, among which for the Riley Museum, which collection was sold in January 1864.[4] Among some of the rare pieces which have passed through his hands is the unique New England Massachusetts Cent described in Dickeson's second edition. This piece he purchased from Mr. Dana, of Boston, and sold it to Mr. J. Colburn, who, with rare good judgment, presented it to the New England Numismatic Society, whose cabinet it now graces. Mr. Curtis was also the publisher of a number of well-known medals, one of them bearing the effigy of the well-known antiquarian, Mr. John Allan.

In 1858 Curtis published a detailed, authoritative 18-page offering titled *A Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins & Medals of All Nations, which are now offered For Sale at the Prices Attached to Each.* Also included were many numismatic books and related items, the books being European imprints.

For a sale beginning on October 26, 1858, the catalogue of Bangs, Merwin & Co., titled *Bibliotheca Numismatica, Autographica et Classica, Catalogue of Classical and Miscellaneous Works, Coins, Medals, Autographs, &c.* 72 pages, 1,144 lots, noted on the front cover: "Orders also executed by John K. Curtis, Bleecker Street, N.Y."[5] Curtis was a cataloguer-for-hire for Bangs, Merwin & Co. Moreover, Curtis bought collections and often consigned them, as well as his inventory items, to that New York City auction house; thus, his name appears on multiple catalogues from the late 1850s through the 1870s. Among early catalogues associated with him was one containing coins auctioned at Bangs, Merwin & Co. on June 21 and 23, 1859. Some 746 lots realized the impressive sum of $888.56.[6]

In January 1859, Curtis wrote to Director James Ross Snowden at the Mint to see if he could supply a specimen of the very rare 1851 Liberty Seated dollar, and the director replied that "one could be struck from the dies of that year."[7]

In the same year Curtis published a vastly expanded version of his 1858 catalogue, the new edition being 42 pages in length. Offered were coins, tokens, medals, books, and engravings. Most probably, this was the most extensive fixed-price numismatic catalogue issued in America up to this time. In addition to selling books, Curtis also made any title available on loan for 25¢ per week or 40¢ per month, plus express charges. A deposit equal to the value of the book was required.

Curtis was a prolific issuer of advertising tokens and related pieces. His output of the 1859-1861 era included these representative selections:[8]

> Antiquary token: Obverse with old man wearing a colonial-type hat, holding a magnifying glass to examine a coin. "The Antiquary" below and inscription A REAL ANTIQUE, BUT ALAS! IT IS INDECYPHERABLE surrounding. Reverse with advertisement: JOHN K. CURTIS / JEWELLER / AND / NUMISMATIST / 83 / BLEECKER ST. / N.Y. / AUTOGRAPHS, PORTRAITS, CURIOSITIES & ANTIQUES.[9]
>
> Allan token: Obverse with portrait of numismatist and bibliophile John Allan, a man of strong intellectual bent who was a friend and customer of coin dealer Curtis.[10] Inscription: JOHANNES ALLAN. ANTIQUARIUS SCOTUS. NATUS FEB. 26, 1777. Reverse with advertisement: JOHN K. CURTIS / WATCH-MAKER / MANUFACTURING / JEWELER / 83 / BLEECKER ST. & / 882 BROADWAY / NEW-YORK / 1860.[11] This

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[1] *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 21.

[2] In some notices this address was noted as being "5 doors west of Broadway."

[3] Copies are known with issue dates of 1858, 1859, and 1862.

[4] This collection of 1,067 lots was catalogued by J.K. Curtis and offered by A.J. Bleeker & Co., New York City auctioneers, on January 13, 1864, was described in the 32-page *Catalogue of the Celebrated, Valuable and Rare Collection of Coins, Medals, Autographs, Continental Paper Money of the Late Mr. Thomas Riley of the Fifth Ward Museum Hotel, New York.* Riley used coins as a focal point of varied displays of Revolutionary War memorabilia, relics, etc.

[5] Cf. Charles Davis' description of a catalogue in his Henry Chapman and Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia Sale, March 22, 1997.

[6] Plus addenda (the property of various owners) of 333 lots ($248.26) and 40 lots ($37.63).

[7] Today we know that two new obverse dies for the 1851 dollar were made up, each differing in minute details from the original 1851 die, which, apparently, had either been lost or rendered unserviceable. So-called restrikes from these new dies are called "Centered Date" varieties. Original strikings are of the "High Date" variety.

[8] Such pieces are listed by Adams (1920) and Miller (1962), but best by Russell Rulau; see Bibliography. Rulau's *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900* illustrates many, gives numerous variations not cited here, and gives suggested market values.

[9] This token was not listed in Curtis' autumn 1858 catalogue, but was offered for 25¢ in his 1859 catalogue.

[10] Allan is noticed in Chapter 1.

[11] 1860 directory: Curtis was a jeweler at 83 Bleecker Street and 882½ Broadway and also lived at the latter location.

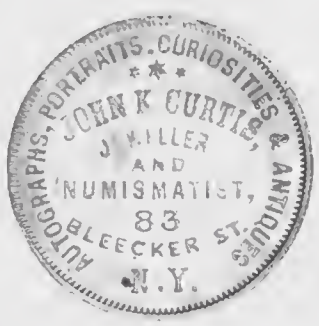
token, issued in various medals, is signed G.H.L. (for Lovett) on the obverse.

Antiquary / Great Eastern: Muling with the "Antiquary" obverse in combination with a sidewheel steamer with six auxiliary masts, proceeding to the left in a busy harbor, with a crowd at the lower right foreground, a representation of the *S.S. Great Eastern.*[1]

Washington token: Obverse with head and shoulders portrait of Washington in uniform, inscription surrounding: GEORGE WASHINGTON, THE CINCINNATUS OF AMERICA / B. 1732 D. 1799. Reverse with SAVE MY COUNTRY HEAVEN / 1861 around border, enclosing advertisement similar to that found on the reverse of the Allan token described earlier, but lacking the 1860 date.

An early view of the Curtis token is provided by the *American Stamp Mercury and Numismatist,* published by F. Trifet, Boston, 1869, page 86; an extract from "The Comic Side of Numismatology," by "Nemo" (possibly Charles Chaplin):

> But my design is not to criticize the designs of others, but to call attention to the ludicrous and amusing points of coins and medals; and the next one we come to is the card of John K. Curtis, of New York, the obverse of which plainly shows us 'what we are all coming to,' for on it we behold an old man examining a coin with a magnifying glass, and exclaiming, with mingled joy and sorrow, 'A real antique, but, alas! It is indecipherable!' Think of it, my friends, ere it be too late, and procure none but good specimens for your cabinets.




**Brass token, 31.0 mm. diameter, advertising John K. Curtis as "Jeweller and Numismatist" at 83 Bleecker Street. His specialties also included autographs, portraits, curiosities, and antiques. In the 1850s and 1860s, every professional numismatist also engaged in other business activities, as coins alone would not have paid expenses.**

**The other die for this token depicts a numismatist seated at a table upon which rest two books and several coins. With the aid of an oversize magnifying glass he attempts to attribute a coin. Below is the inscription, THE ANTIQUARY, 1859. The surrounding inscription is a bit humorous: A REAL ANTIQUE, BUT ALAS! IT IS INDECYPHERABLE.**

**Both of these dies, made by George H. Lovett, were muled with other dies and made in various metals and edge styles to create fancy pieces for collectors. The collecting of such tokens became an end unto itself, and new issues were awaited with anticipation.**

Dies with John Allan's portrait and Curtis' advertisement were extensively muled from 1859 through the 1860s, and numerous variations exist; some of these have very curious motifs and inscriptions. Made in the workshop of engraver George H. Lovett, the advertising die for Curtis was similar in concept to the die Lovett made for Augustus B. Sage's 1860 store card (with CITY HALL obverse).

Curtis, who was probably America's most important retail coin dealer and catalogue issuer in the late 1850s, remained in New York City and continued his numismatic interests through at least the early 1880s, although he was not important on the dealer scene after the Civil War.

## EZRA HILL

Ezra Hill, who had set up as a rare coin dealer in New York City by 1858, or perhaps even earlier, was active in numismatics for the next several years. On March 15, 1858, he attended the formative meeting of the American Numismatic Society at Sage's home New York City,[2] and on April 6, 1858, was present at the Society's first official meeting. However, he did not play a significant part in its later affairs.[3]

In directories in 1859-1860 he was listed as: "Dealer in coins, medals, minerals," etc. During this era he rode the

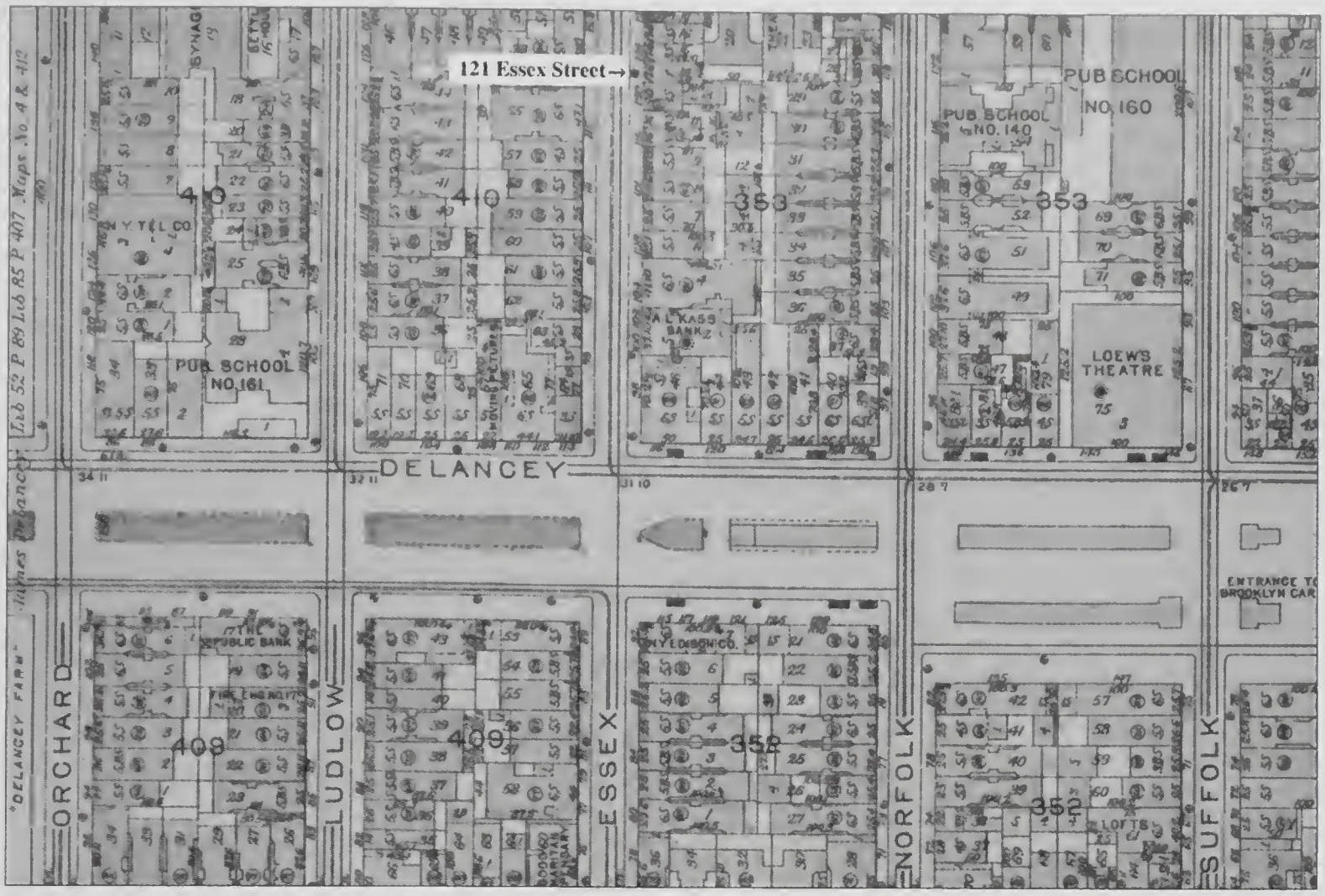
**White-metal token, 28.1 mm. diameter, depicting on the obverse a portrait of Washington, signed KEY. The reverse is a store card advertising Ezra Hill as a "Dealer in Coins, Medals, Minerals, Autographs, Engravings, Old Curiosities, &c.," at 6 Bleecker Street, New York City.**

**The obverse die was cut by F.C. Key & Sons, Philadelphia, while the reverse, while combined with certain Key dies, seems to be in the style of George H. Lovett of New York City. It was the practice of some customers to acquire the dies from the diesinkers. Later, illogical combinations were often made, including the muling of dies by two different engravers.**

[1] Designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the immense *Great Eastern,* with steam-powered side paddlewheels and auxiliary sails, was the sensation of the popular press in 1859 and 1860. The ship measured 692 feet in length and displaced 25,000 tons. Over the years, numerous medals were issued featuring the vessel.

[2] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 11.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 13.




**Street map of Sage's area of New York City. Sage's home was at 121 Essex Street.**

token mania wave and issued numerous pieces bearing his name. In addition, he joined Curtis as a behind-the-scenes cataloguer for the auction firm of Bangs, Merwin & Co.

Hill was a prolific issuer of tokens from dies made by George H. Lovett in New York City and by Warner and Key in Philadelphia. Certain of these dies were muled to create nonsensical pieces which, of course, added to the fun of the numismatic game. His productions of the 1860 era included these, among others:[1]

> Washington token: Obverse with portrait of Washington facing left, arched frame surrounding, "KEY" below truncation, for the maker, F.C. Key & Sons, Philadelphia. Inscription surrounding: PATRIÆ PATER 1732. Reverse with advertisement: E. HILL / DEALER IN / COINS, MEDALS, / MINERALS, / AUTOGRAPHS / ENGRAVINGS / OLD CURIOSITIES &c / No. 6 / BLEECKER ST. N. YORK / 1860.[2]
>
> Webster token: Obverse with portrait facing right, wearing a toga, inscription DANIEL WEBSTER to left and right. Reverse with advertisement similar to preceding.

In February 1867 in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* Sage remembered him:

> Poor Ezra Hill, long since dead and buried, a victim of consumption, commenced collecting in 1858; he never was fortunate enough to obtain any very rare pieces, but was enthusiastic and by his earnest nature and pleasant ways assisted materially in the good work of creating a taste for the science. Many and many a night have I examined with him our collections, comparing the acquisitions of the day and speculating as to how soon our collections would rival Mickley's. A short time prior to his death he obtained a small place in Bleecker Street, No. 6, and did for a while quite a thriving business in buying and selling articles in the line of coins, autographs, etc.

## Other New York Dealers

In addition to Curtis, there was at least one other numismatist who was prominent on the commercial scene in New York City, this being book dealer Charles Benjamin Norton, who issued a 16-page price list of coins in 1856, numismatics being one of several peripheral interests. In contrast, coins were Sage's main business. The definition of *coin dealer* is elusive, as in the nineteenth century every important seller of rare coins had other specialties as well. To help pay expenses and also to cater to the needs of clients (who often had a broad focus and enjoyed many different areas of collecting and intellectual pursuits), the typical professional numismatist also offered curios, artifacts, books, and other collectors' items. Some were even more wide-ranging in their activities.[3]

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[1] Same Adams-Miller-Rulau bibliographical comment as for the tokens of John K. Curtis.

[2] At the time Hill's home address was 248½ Broadway.

[3] At a later time, Ebenezer Locke Mason, Jr., and W. Elliot Woodward were also in the real estate business (Woodward was also a druggist and antique dealer), the Chapman brothers (S. Hudson and Henry) proclaimed on their letterhead that they were "Numismatists and Antiquaries,"

Probably more important than coin dealers as a source of scarce and interesting coins for numismatists were several dozen dealers in bullion, specie, and obsolete notes. While bullion dealers did not issue catalogues or hold auctions, they did inspect large numbers of gold and silver coins that came their way in bulk transactions, and in this manner many desirable pieces were found. The annals of our hobby record that many prizes in the gold and silver series were found as part of bullion deposits or transactions, such as an 1822 $5 gold piece picked out of a deposit at the Philadelphia Mint by Adam Eckfeldt circa 1834-1835,[1] a 1785 Immune Columbia coin in gold (struck over a British guinea) acquired from a bullion dealer by Matthew A. Stickney, and a 1787 Brasher doubloon either received at the Mint in the course of business or from a deposit of bullion made with a commercial firm in Baltimore.[2] Such finds continued in later years as well, and in 1884 Harlan P. Smith spotted another specimen of the rare 1822 $5 in the hands of a bullion dealer and snapped it up for just $6, proudly proclaiming it was worth at least $500, which, indeed, it was.[3]

These traders also dealt in obsolete as well as current bank notes, buying and selling them at varying discounts from face value, consulting "counterfeit detectors" and other guides to determine which notes had value and which were worthless. Dealing in such currency was a game of sorts, replete with false information about the solidity of certain banks and the concealing of knowledge if a bank was insolvent (or in some instances, non-existent). While a New York City dealer in obsolete notes could readily check the strength of a local bank, the reputation of a bank in Illinois, Missouri, or Michigan was somewhat of a guessing game. Citizens wanting to engage in confidence rackets by passing worthless notes to unsuspecting merchants and others could buy known worthless notes from such dealers at the advertised price of 2% to 3% of face value, an interesting comment on human nature. Some, possibly even most, publishers of counterfeit detectors sometimes had flexible ethics. Pity (in a way) the Litchfield Bank, of Litchfield, CT, which failed, despite paying nearly $1,000 cash to Messrs. Monroe, Dye, and Taylor—three leading New York City issuers of such periodicals—not to "blow the bank."[4]

To attract business, dealers in bullion and notes would often put displays of older issues in their front window. More than just a few numismatic prizes were obtained by collectors who passed by. While most major cities had bullion and specie dealers, New York City was home to more than anywhere else. The shops of most dealers were clustered in lower Manhattan in the same general district where Augustus B. Sage lived with his mother and siblings.

In the late 1850s, higher denomination coins in circulation were a rich mixture of silver and gold coins from many different countries, especially those of Spanish-America, such as Mexico, Colombia, and Peru. The most popular silver coins in circulation in New York City during the era were two-real or "two bit" pieces from the Mexico City Mint, which traded for 25¢. Most of these were worn nearly smooth, and many bore counterstamps of various merchants. Such pieces outnumbered Liberty Seated quarter dollars earlier in the decade, and by 1857 still may have been more plentiful than their federal counterparts. Among lower value pieces seen in pocket change were United States copper cents dating back to 1793 (although those before the 1820s were apt to be well worn, and those before 1800 were nearly smooth), copper coins of Connecticut, Hard Times tokens, and various privately-issued store cards. Many of the latter were distributed by merchants in lower Manhattan, virtual neighbors of Augustus B. Sage.

## FISKE AND THE ASTOR LIBRARY

About the year 1856, Augustus B. Sage met Daniel W. Fiske, who at the time was an assistant librarian at the Astor Library in New York City. From Fiske and from Frank H. Norton, who was also with the Astor Library, he "was enabled to obtain much valuable information on the subject of numismatology."[5]

At the Astor facility several shelves of numismatic books were maintained, by necessity mostly of European titles, as few books on the subject had been published in America

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and vended not only coins, but also stamps, autographs, fossils, Indian relics, birds' eggs, and other collectibles, and marketed their own brand of wooden coin cabinet.

[1] Today, only three specimens of the 1822 $5 are known; one in the Pogue Collection (from the Louis E. Eliasberg, Sr., Collection, 1982) and two in the Smithsonian Institution (one being the Eckfeldt piece and the other the Dunham-Williams-Carter coin).

[2] "Robert Gilmor, Jr. and the Cradle Age of American Numismatics," Joel J. Orosz, *The Numismatist,* May 1990, pp. 704-712; p. 819, discusses the 1787 Brasher doubloon and its possible origin from a bullion deposit. The 1785 Immune Columbia information is from M.A. Stickney's 1867 letter, another part of which is quoted subsequently in the present text.

[3] From "Numismatic Gossip" in Frossard's *Numisma,* May 1884, here quoted in part: "H.P. Smith is a lucky man. With a sagacious weather-eye constantly open, he rarely misses the opportunity to turn an honest penny. For $6 cash, he lately purchased an Uncirculated 1822 half eagle, valued by him at $500, and of which only one other specimen is said to exist. Several so-called New York 'coin experts' had the opportunity to purchase this half eagle at the same price, before Smith saw it, but all thought it was too high priced!—Lucky Smith!—foolish experts, had you paid more attention to the coinage of your native land, and less to that of the Fing-fang-fung dynasty, the $494 profit would have now been jingling in *your* instead of *Smith's* pocket."

[4] *Litchfield Enquirer,* November 25, 1858. In the trade, the term "blow a bank" meant to declare that its notes were worthless; to "puff a bank" was to omit mention that dubious notes were of low value or even to state that they were worth par.

[5] Recollection by Sage, penned March 26, 1867, and published in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1867. Also see the commentary under Sage's Odds and Ends tokens, No. 3, in the present text. In March 1848, John Jacob Astor left $400,000 for a free public library. The

**The Astor Library, New York City, was a focal point for numismatists to gather during the late 1850s. Daniel Fiske and Frank Norton were on the staff and were among the more prominent personalities in the coin collecting field at the time. (*Leslie's History of the Greater New York,* 1898, page 367)**

by this time. Local collectors consulted the volumes in pursuit of knowledge and, along the way, chatted with Fiske and Norton. Camaraderie was the order of the day, and collectors shared many findings and ideas. Adherents to the numismatic hobby seem to have been a tight-knit group. No doubt Sage knew most of the participants, many if not most of whom were young men, some even teenagers.

Out-of-town collectors visited New York City on business and to attend coin and book sales, often stopping at the Astor Library, which seemed to serve as a focal point for the hobby. In time, the Astor Library, opened to the public on February 1, 1854, became part of what is today called the New York Public Library. A cabinet of coins was built over the years, augmented by items from the estate of engraver Charles Cushing Wright and donations from dealers J.W. Scott and David U. Proskey.

There was a generous measure of *intellectual curiosity* in the air as well, and numismatists from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, such as Charles I. Bushnell, W.C. Prime, Jeremiah Colburn, and Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson, kept busy doing research and taking notes.

Sage recalled that Astor librarian Daniel W. Fiske had a "fair collection" of coins and at one time was editor of the *American Chess Monthly.*[1] Fiske's editorship extended from 1857 to 1860 including during the time of Paul Morphy's international fame. In 1859 Fiske wrote the *Book of the First American Chess Congress,* describing an 1857 event which he helped to organize.[2] Together, chess

institution was incorporated in January 1849. The structure was erected in the style of the Royal Palace in Florence, Italy, but on a small scale, and was opened to the public in 1854. By 1857 it stored 80,000 volumes, far more than any other library in the city (runners-up in New York City, in descending order: Mercantile Library, 47,000; New York Society Library, 40,000; New York Historical Society, 25,000; Columbia College and Literary Society, 24,000; Union Theological Seminary, 24,000; Apprentices Library, 18,000; Library of Free Academy, 15,000, etc.). In 1858, through the generosity of William B. Astor (son of John Jacob Astor), additions were made to the structure, more than doubling its size. In 1864 there were 100,000 volumes on its shelves.

[1] Fiske was born in Ellisburg, NY, on November 11, 1831. He attended the Cazenovia (NY) Seminary and Hamilton College. In 1850 he went to Europe to spend two years studying in Copenhagen and at the University of Upsala in Sweden. While abroad he furnished "Letters from Scandinavia" which were published in the *New York Tribune* and elsewhere. Upon his return to America, he joined the staff of the Astor Library, remaining there for seven years, later serving as the general secretary of the American Geographical Society, 1859-1860. In 1856 his alma mater, Hamilton College, awarded him an honorary A.M. degree. In 1862 and 1863 Fiske was an attaché at the American legation in Vienna, later returning to the United States and joining the staff of the *Syracuse* (NY) *Journal.* He later worked for the *Hartford Courant* for a short time, then was a librarian and professor at Cornell University for many years, 1868-1883. After 1883 he made his permanent home in Florence, Italy, but traveled widely, often in the company of his wife, née Jennie McGraw, daughter of a Cornell trustee, whom he married in 1879. The couple had no children. He died in Germany on September 17, 1904.

[2] Published in summer 1859 by Rudd & Carleton, New York City. 12 mo., 563 pp., bound in muslin. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* October 31, 1857, included biographies and engraved portraits of leading contestants in the event, an illustration of the matches in progress, and various commentaries, including remarks by Fiske (p. 347).

and Morphy were to play a cameo role in one of Sage's later efforts.

Fiske's fellow Astor Library staff member Frank H. Norton was another member of the circle of collectors in New York City in the late 1850s and was well known to Augustus B. Sage. Described as "a distinguished appearing man with a long mustache which extended far beyond the limits of his face and who had a fine high forehead,"[1] he enjoyed studying coins and their history.

## CHARLES B. NORTON

Frank's older and nationally-famous brother, Charles Benjamin Norton, was best known as a publisher and bookseller. His Irving Book Store was located in the Irving House,[2] 71 Chambers Street. He created and published several journals including *Norton's Literary Advertiser* (established in 1851), which offered news of forthcoming titles, book events abroad, and other intelligence of the day. In 1854, this was succeeded by *Norton's Literary Gazette Publishers' Circular,* which in turn was followed by the shortened-title *Norton's Literary Gazette.* Among his other publishing ventures were such periodicals as *New York Register of Medicine & Pharmacy* (1850) and *New York Quarterly* (1852).

Norton's full-page advertisement in the February 1858 issue of *Historical Magazine* reflects the several facets of his trade at the time:

> UNITED STATES LIBRARY AGENCY, Appleton's Building, New York.
>
> The attention of librarians, clergymen, college committees, and book buyers generally, is invited to the facilities offered by the undersigned in the supply of old and new books. With agents in all parts of Europe, he is enabled to import very promptly by steamer, and at the lowest rates. Orders from English old-book catalogues filled at the *reduced rate* of thirty cents to the shilling sterling, which charge covers all expenses of commission, etc. Constantly on hand, a large supply of old and new catalogues, foreign and American, which will be sent to any address in the United States. The subscriber will also attend all auction sales of libraries, and purchase to order such books as may be desired. CHARLES B. NORTON, Agent for Libraries.
>
> AUTOGRAPHS, OLD COINS, maps, newspapers, tracts, almanacs. Families and others wishing to dispose of collections of old papers, or other matter connected with the early history of this country, or with our Revolution, will do well to confer with the subscriber, who possesses every facility for the ready disposal of such matter. Libraries catalogued, appraised, and sold on commission. Particular attention paid to the forwarding of single volumes, per mail, to order. Parties wishing to make donations of old books, pamphlets, etc., to historical societies can have them duly forwarded by addressing them to the care of CHARLES B. NORTON, Agent for Libraries.
>
> AUTOGRAPHS! AUTOGRAPHS! Now ready, NORTON's Catalogue of 3,000 autograph letters, documents, maps, coins, etc., relative to America, being the most complete collection ever offered for sale. Also, catalogue of 5,000 volumes relative to America. These catalogues will be mailed to any address on receipt of three postage stamps for each. CHARLES B. NORTON, Agent for Libraries, New York.

Norton dealt in coins by the early 1850s and issued his first price list in 1856, thus enshrining himself in numismatic history as one of America's earliest professional numismatists, although rare coins formed only a small part of his business.

The year after Charles B. Norton published his 16-page coin catalogue he launched a quarto-size periodical or house organ with a name somewhat similar to his other periodicals, this one called *Norton's Literary Letter* and assigned No. 1 (October 1857; 41 pages). The first issue began with an advertisement for the Stereoscope, this particular version being the product of the London Stereoscopic Company, for sale by J. Cussans, New York City. Page 3 began the editorial section, "Curiosa Americana," which was illustrated by an engraving of a 1792 half disme and told of artifacts of George Washington, discussing one numismatic item on the continuation on page 4:

> When the Mint was first established in Philadelphia, 1792, several patterns for coin were prepared, to be decided upon afterwards; General Washington, taking a lively interest in the work, visited the Mint almost every day.[3] On one occasion, he brought with him $100 in silver bullion, which, at his request, were coined into half dismes. Of this coin we annex a specimen—the profile on the obverse is supposed to have been intended for Lady Washington. These coins are very rare at the present day, not having been used as currency, but intended as presents from General Washington to his intimate friends in this country and in Europe.

This was followed in due course in 1858 by *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 2, a 46-page offering of coins, autographs, etc. The "Curiosa Americana" column continued:

> In continuation of our article upon the relics of Washington, we take pleasure in presenting our readers, in this number of our catalogue, with engravings and description of two very remarkable coins which have been kindly furnished us from the collection of Winslow J. Howard, Esq., of this city. The first is a silver coin, which can, with propriety, be entitled the "Washington Half Dollar of 1792." This curious and interesting relic of history had long been in the possession of a gentleman in this city, by the name of Bosuet. He took it in a way of change for a half dollar, 27 years ago; and had kept it carefully stowed away, only occasionally bringing it out to show to the curious, refusing many offers for its purchase, until lately he was per-

[1] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 20.

[2] Named for Washington Irving, the writer.

[3] The author (QDB) has located no contemporary descriptions of such visits.

OCT. 1857. NO. 1.

# NORTON'S

# LITERARY LETTER,

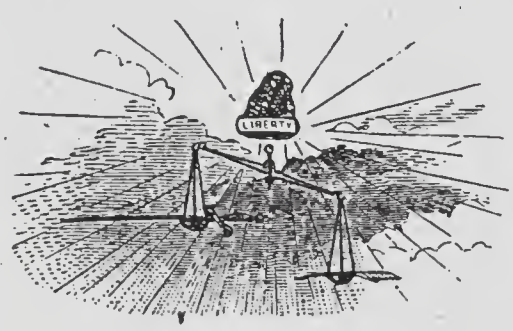
COMPRISING

American Papers of Interest,

AND A CATALOGUE OF

RARE AND VALUABLE BOOKS.

RELATIVE TO AMERICA.




CHARLES B. NORTON,

AGENT FOR LIBRARIES, APPLETON'S BUILDING,

NEW YORK.

1857.

Cover of the first issue of *Norton's Literary Letter,* No. 1, October 1857. While the journal primarily showcased books and literary news, several features on coins and medals were included. Thus, it achieved a circulation among collectors of an era in which there were no specific numismatic publications.

**The so-called *half dollar* of 1792 as pictured in the quoted article. This rarity created some excitement at the time, and was later (1859) mentioned at length by Montroville W. Dickeson in his *American Numismatical Manual.***

suaded to part with it, at a large price, to the present owner; in whose hands it will, without doubt, remain, as one of the valuable gems of his collection.

On the obverse is represented a fine bust of Washington, facing the left, dressed in military costume. Legend—"G. WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT I., 1792." Reverse—An Eagle with spread wings, bearing on its breast the American shield, and holding in one talon a bundle of thirteen arrows, in the other, an olive branch. Legend—"UNITED STATES OF AMERICA." There is a line which runs across the piece from the letter M to the tip of one of the wings, which shows that the die was broken at the time this coin was struck.

How many coins like the above are in existence at the present time, it is impossible to say; but the present owner considers it unique. If, however, any one of our readers should happen to have an *original genuine,* we would be most happy to know it. The weight of the coin is at the present time, 206 grains. The half dollar ordered by Congress, was to weigh 208 grains.

In 1791, Congress offered inducements to artists for designs for the new coins, "bearing an emblematic bust of Liberty." Someone more patriotic than the rest, placed upon his pattern the likeness of Washington, the father of his country, and protector of liberty. The device was quickly passed by the Senate; but when it came to the House, it was disapproved of, and by Washington himself, who believed that it would be viewed as "the stamp of royalty," and that it would not only the feelings of many friends, but would "gratify his enemies;" besides, the President's delicacy would not allow him to sign a bill of the kind, which might blast his reputation, and the compliment be extended to his successors.

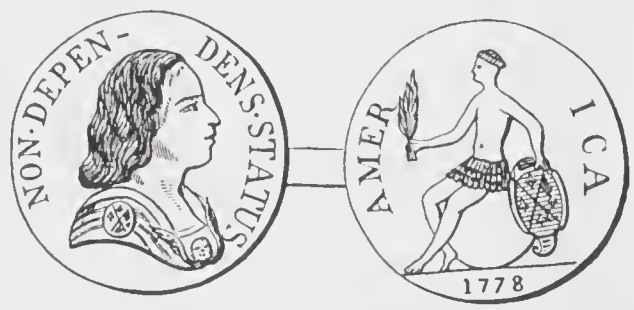
The next coin is in pure copper, and is truly a well-executed design. On the obverse is a bust facing the right, which resembles that of an Indian chief or warrior; on the shoulder, within a small circle, are to be seen a flag and sword crossed, and the *fleur de lis* of France; on the breast is a small head with wings. Legend—"NON-DEPENDENS STATUS." Obverse—Full length figure of an Indian seated on a globe, around the loins is an apron of feathers; in the right hand he holds a branch of tobacco, in the left a shield, with the American flag and sword crossed, and *fleur de lis* the same as on the shoulder-knot of the obverse. Around the whole is the Legend—"AMERICA, 1778."

This piece is without doubt *unique,* and is supposed to be one of the many pattern pieces engraved and designed by Paul Revere.[1]

The publication seemed to be successful, as the size kept increasing. *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 3 (1859; 66 pages) offered 95 lots of American medals and, memorably, also included "The Literature of American Numismatics," an article by William S. Frederick Mayers,[2] the first authoritative discussion of this subject to reach print. In the same year *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 4 was published, but contained only 52 pages. *Norton's Literary Letter* included much information of interest to numismatists and was the first American periodical in the field. Apparently, in the long run the journal did not pay its way, for it expired after only six issues, the last two being part of a "New Series" published in 1860.[3] On the other hand, Norton may have tired of it, as he seems to have done with several other journals he started, ran for a time, then stopped.

On May 13, 1858, an unimportant 16-page auction catalogue of autographs, books, and other things bore Charles B. Norton's name on the cover. The event, held at the sales room of Henry H. Leeds & Co. in New York City, included several lots of coins and medals which in the aggregate realized only $24.12, probably miscellany owned by Norton; certainly not his main collection.

Charles B. Norton and Augustus B. Sage were acquaintances in the 1850s and often saw each other at the Astor Library and at Norton's bookstore.




**The curious NON DEPENDENS STATUS token dated 1778, here attributed as a pattern engraved and designed by Paul Revere. The truth was less romantic, and it is believed that it was made as a numismatic curiosity, possibly by George H. Lovett, on behalf of Alfred S. Robinson, a Hartford, CT, collector—although the circumstances are not known.**

[1] This article was illustrated by the 1792 Washington President half dollar (so-called) and the 1778 piece. More will be related in the present text concerning this 1778-dated "pattern."

[2] In 1858, Mayers lived at 13 Frankfort Street, New York City. The text was from a paper read before the American Numismatic Society, November 19, 1858.

[3] The "New Series" of *Norton's Literary Letter* was renumbered and included Nos. 1 and 2. W. Elliot Woodward later stated that six copies constituted a complete set. Few survive today.

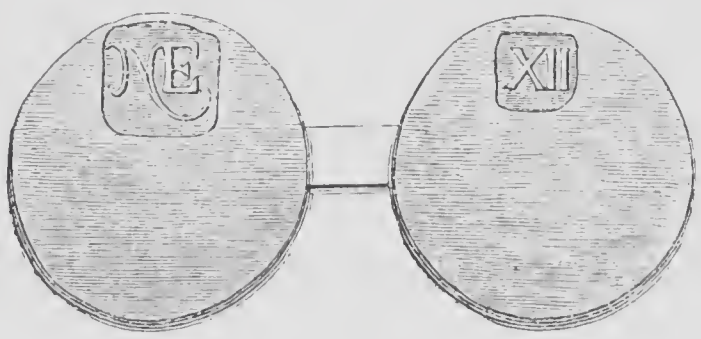
# The Literature of American Numismatics.

[A PAPER READ BEFORE THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY AT THE SECOND NOVEMBER MEETING.]

THE progress of numismatic investigation and record in the United States has of late been truly remarkable. In the general increase of attention bestowed upon all subjects of an artistic or scientific nature, which has been perceptible among us during the last seven or eight years, the important subject of the national coinage has fully shared; and while a laudable anxiety is now evinced, in many quarters, to acquire for private or public collections specimens of every accessible coin, the history of our own numismatic undertakings has received especial attention, and each successive writer undoubtedly stimulates new students to inquiry.

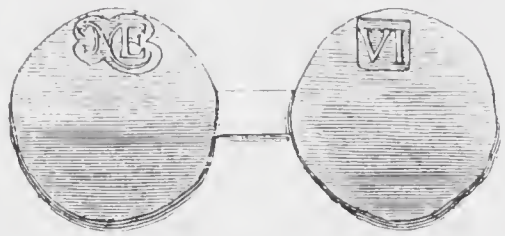
It is a fortunate circumstance for the American beginner in numismatic investigation, that the period to be traversed is one of little more than two hundred years. We are favored in this respect more highly than the archæologists of other countries—the students of English, French, or German numismatics, for example, or the collectors of Roman and Grecian coins or medals. One is appalled at the consideration which is involved in a resolve to master the history of any of these coinages, extending over periods five and six times longer than our own, with a really inconceivable profusion of types and variations to be studied; so that no outlay can procure a complete collection of any one national series, and no amount of inquiry reveal all the mysteries of the ill-recorded coinage. Widely different from these, our own numismatic history lies, compact and accessible, within the range of original record; and there are comparatively few facts relating to it which cannot be vouched for by contemporary authority, though, strange to say, there are some points regarding the coinage immediately following the Revolution which will in all probability never be elucidated, while we are perfectly familiar with the Mint Regulations in force during the lifetime of Oliver Cromwell.

The first coinage which took place in the American colonies of Great Britain was ordained by the authorities of Massachusetts in 1652, when it was provided that shillings, sixpences, and threepences should be coined, "for forme flatt, and square on the sides, & stamped on the one side with NE, and on the other side XII*d*, VI*d*, & III*d*, according to the value of each peece."

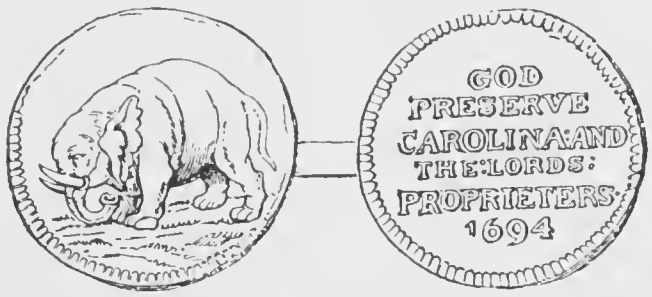



**At a meeting of the American Numismatic Society on November 19, 1858, William S.F. Mayers presented a paper, "The Literature of American Numismatics," which was subsequently reprinted in *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 3, 1859, as reproduced here (and on the following three pages). This represents the first American reference in print specifically addressing reference and study works.**

This issue was shortly followed by the more elaborate Pine Tree money, and very few specimens of it are known to exist. Most of these are in English collections. Twenty dollars is a low price for the NE shilling or sixpence, and the threepence has entirely disappeared.




Beside Massachusetts, others of the Colonies were endowed with especial currencies during the 17th century, though by no means to the extent that was really demanded by the exigencies of trade; and among the rarest and most interesting of these early colonial coins may be mentioned the Carolina token, or Elephant piece, so named from the design—a large elephant—on its




obverse. The reverse had the legend, God : Preserve : Carolina and : the Lords : Proprieters : 1694. This piece exists in a few collections, and is worth, in moderate preservation, from twelve to fifteen dollars. Beside these there were, as is well known, the Maryland currency, the Massachusetts Elephant piece, the Rosa Americana coppers, and one or two other colonial pieces, all of which are now quite rare.

Fifteen years ago the knowledge of American numismatics was confined to a very few individuals in the United States, and was principally to be found among English coin-collectors. England, pre-eminently the land of moneyed leisure and of energetic study, has long been distinguished by the learning of her numismatists, and the wealth of their collections; so that it is not strange if the history of our coinage could once be studied to better advantage on the banks of the Thames than in our own libraries and cabinets; but the last decade has seen a vast improvement in this respect. The number of American coin-collectors has received greater and greater accessions annually since 1850, and already Numismatic Societies have been successfully organized in New York and Philadelphia, while a third is contemplated in Boston. The awakening interest has naturally created a class of writers who especially devote themselves to the agreeable and instructive investigation of our coins, medals, and tokens, and the nucleus of an American numismatographical collection is already formed, to which, we have no doubt, valuable works will now be frequently added.

The early history of American coinage is naturally to be sought in the minute detail of facts presented by Ruding, in his Annals of the British Coinage, which work, an amplification of the

preceding one by Martin Folkes, affords particulars, drawn from official sources, of the successive colonial issues, and also of the proposals which were made from time to time for the supply of the colonies with convenient coins. The engravings in Ruding (republished in three volumes 4to., London, 1840) comprise every coin struck in England for the American settlements down to the period of the separation. It is only within a few years that Ruding has been superseded as the only standard authority on American numismatics, although his brief notices of our coins cease at the Revolution, since no other writer made the important subject his own. True, a work published at London in 1761, entitled "The American Negotiator; or, the Various Currencies of the British Colonies in America," by J. Wright, Accomptant, purports to give a description of colonial coins, but it is of no value as a record, and was, indeed, intended only for reference in commercial matters. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Rob't Morris, and other of our Revolutionary heroes, took a deep interest in the affairs of the national coinage, and memoranda still exist, drawn up by several of the individuals we have named, upon the establishment of the currency which is now in vogue, and a resumé of these and other propositions was given in a small pamphlet published in 1789, entitled "Monies, Coins, Weights, and Measures proposed for the United States, &c." As yet, however, the true numismatic spirit was wanting, and the first actual attempts at systematic classification and record of the coins struck in or for the American colonies and United States, appear in the shape of papers to be found in the collections of State Historical Societies.

At a time when "coin-collectors" in the United States were popularly considered little better than monomaniacs, two or three gentlemen—Dr. J. B. Felt, of Salem, Mass., Mr. J. Francis Fisher, of Baltimore, and Dr. Jas. Mease, of Philadelphia—were deeply interested in the subject, and communicated the results of their investigations to societies of which they were members, or published them in a separate form. In the 3d vol. of the New York Historical Society's Collections (pp. 387—404), will be found a highly interesting paper by Dr. Mease, giving a description of 17 medals struck with reference to America; and this paper the Massachusetts Historical Society republished (Coll., vol. 4, 3d Series, 1834), together with additional particulars from the same hand concerning 33 medals presented to the officers of the war of 1812–14; and also of 4 other miscellaneous American medals.

In Vol. VI. 3d Series of the Mass. Collection, Mr. J. F. Fisher communicates a detailed description of 38 American medals, 14 of which bear the head or the name of Washington; and in Vol. VII. (1838) of the same series, a paper on Old American Coins gives some particulars regarding the Fugio, New Jersey, and Connecticut cents, the Rosa Americana series, &c., &c. These we believe to be the first distinct essays in American numismatography. In 1839, Dr. J. B. Felt's admirable work on the Massachusetts Currency was published, affording a full history of the N. E. and Pine Tree money, the Continental notes, and the coinage at Boston subsequent to the Declaration of Independence; and in 1840, Wm. W. Gouge published at New York his "Paper Money and Banking in the United States," containing some valuable information on the coinage and paper money. In the ensuing decade the interest in numismatics steadily increased, and the work of Eckfeldt and Dubois, of the Philadelphia mint, appeared in 1851, presenting a general tableau of the United States coinage, together with a glance at the contemporary coins of all other nations, the whole illustrated with very fine colored plates. A smaller work, on American Coins and Coinage, was published by the same parties at New York in 1852. It had previously appeared in successive numbers of the *Bankers' Magazine*. In 1850, Dr. O'Callaghan

presented illustrations, in his "Documentary History of New York" (Vol. III.), of the copper coins struck for this State *circa* 1790, together with an engraving of the great Libertas Americana medal, and the Washington Cent of 1783; and in the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. III., Boston, 1857, the Diaries of John Hull, Mint-Master and Treasurer of Massachusetts Bay in 1652, are reprinted, together with a memoir of the diarist and engravings of the Pine Tree coins. Within the last few years, moreover, American numismatics have been the subject of frequent discussions in the periodical press. Not until 1858, however, did a work appear devoted exclusively to American coins. The "Historical Account of American Coinage," by John H. Hickox, was published at Albany, N. Y., in August last. This work contains plates of early American coins, and was gladly received by numismatic students. The mention of one more work will complete our catalogue. This is the "History of American Tokens," published in 1858, by Mr. Bushnell, of New York, containing plates and much very valuable descriptive matter. We understand that a very elaborate and comprehensive work on American Coinage is to appear shortly at Philadelphia, and that Mr. Bushnell has a similar treatise in preparation; but these cannot yet be considered as portions of our subject. A few catalogues have of late been issued by dealers, which are valuable as standards of price; and Mr. Mickley, of Philadelphia, recently published a list of American copper and silver coins, with degrees of rarity attached, which is a useful *vade mecum* to the collector. We understand that a more extensive catalogue is in preparation. A few years more will undoubtedly greatly enlarge our list, and fill up the deficiencies still existing in American numismatography.

SPECIMEN OF MARYLAND COIN.

## JOHN COOPER VAIL

About the year 1857 Augustus B. Sage encountered a fellow collector who was known as a poet and entrepreneur. Long thereafter, Sage reminisced:[1]

> It was about this time that I first met John Cooper Vail, the poet. Poor Vail. Many a time have I seen him since, a martyr to that curse of Americans, rheumatism.
>
> Vail, I believe, was the first man in this country to advertise for rare coins, and he obtained by that means numbers of the rarer specimens of our earlier coinage.[2] Often have I conversed with him, and with wonder-wrought countenance envied him the pleasure of ever having *seen* so many gems. How he would dwell upon the pine tree six-pences, *perfect, almost Proof,* and the *Washington dollar* that "came from an old woman at the circus."
>
> And (for I was but a boy then) with what a reverence would I gaze upon him when he told me of the treasures contained in the famous museum of "Bill Long" in Philadelphia. You no doubt remember Vail's article in the little book published by Brady about the great curiosity in Long's collection, the toe of the New Zealander.[3]

In the mid-1850s, Long issued his own advertising tokens, which are highly collectible today. The obverse inscription included: WILLIAM W. LONG / NOS. 376, 378 & 380 SO. 3RD ST. PHILDA, and Masonic emblems, while the reverse contained a rebus of sorts, with a bee, trunks of trees, a pair of eyes, and an ant, arranged to represent "BRILLIANT." Other inscriptions included PISTOL & RIFLE GALLERIES / BATATELLE & SHUFFLE / BOARDS / LIQUORS, OYSTERS / SEGARS, &c., as well as REFECTORY & / MUSEUM / HOTEL / BILLIARDS & BOWLING. What a varied enterprise must have greeted the visitor to Philadelphia who crossed Long's portal![4]

Further concerning Long's museum, *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine, May* 1867 (obviously published late), told of the sale of Louis Brechemin's estate coin collection conducted by Davis & Harvey, Philadelphia, on June 6-9, 1867. A set of cents of the years 1791[5] to 1857, that had been cleaned and polished just before the auction, was sold to Mr. Long for just $145, or much less than if they had not been cleaned.

**Copper token, 28.7 mm. diameter, issued by William Long for his Refectory and Museum Hotel, Philadelphia. John Vail, a New York City numismatist, regaled young Augustus B. Sage of his visits to this curious establishment.**

Fifteen years later on April 4, 1882, a sheet issued by auctioneer M. Thomas & Sons, Philadelphia, told of items to be offered that day, *Sale of Coins, Medals, &c. Catalogue of Rare American and Foreign Silver & Copper Coins, Medals, Pattern Pieces &c., Chiefly Composed of Long's Philadelphia Museum Collection.* On January 27, 1886, Thomas conducted the *Second Sale of The Collection formerly known as "Long's Museum," Catalogue of Revolutionary and Rebellion Relics.* Lot 399 was a black walnut cabinet earlier used to house the Brechemin Collection. The sale also included two complete runs of large cents, but each without the *1809* (a date that is scarce, but hardly a major rarity); among the curious cents were an "1815" altered from an 1813, three altered "1799" cents, and two altered cents of "1804."[6]

John Cooper Vail may have attended the formative meeting of the American Numismatic Society at the home of Augustus B. Sage in New York City, March 15, 1858, of which more will be said.[7] In any event, Vail was on hand at the second meeting of the Society, March 29, and was introduced to the membership. On April 6 he joined the group. Vail was later remembered in Society annals as an author and journalist, "a peculiar and eccentric person, the author of extravagant tales for the sensational papers."[8]

By circa 1864-1865, Vail had set up in business as the Washington Market Newspaper and Literary Depot, at the Peoples Hotel, 106 Vesey Street. He offered for sale a catalogue of 2,000 coins, American and English. Also avail-

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[1] Recollection published in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* February 1867, penned January 1, 1867.

[2] The period during which Vail advertised for coins and the venues used are not recorded; quite possibly, research would reveal other claimants for the honor of being the first.

[3] Which for the reader of the present text must remain—as the giant rat of Sumatra or the curious fate of the *Mary Celeste*—an unexplored avenue of research; doubtless, if investigated, it would have its own interesting story.

[4] Bagatelle was a game played with balls and a cue stick, a miniature version of billiards; oysters were a highly desired delicacy of the era and furnished the focus for numerous oyster houses and restaurants; even in the gold fields of California in the 1850s, tinned oysters were served on special occasions; SEGARS was a common spelling of *cigars,* not a typographical error; refectory was a seldom-used name for a lunch room or small restaurant.

[5] The set probably included 1791-dated Washington pieces struck in England; the first Philadelphia Mint cents were made in quantity in March 1793.

[6] The prime rare dates of large cents are 1793, 1799, and 1804. None were ever struck with the date of 1815, the only gap in an otherwise continuous series of large copper cents from 1793 to 1857. In his *American Numismatical Manual,* 1859, p. 211., Montroville W. Dickeson gave an expanded commentary on the non-existence of the 1815 cent.

[7] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 11.

[8] Francis Worcester Doughty, a well-known numismatist several decades later in the 1890s, had a similar profession: he was a writer of adventure stories and, later, movie scripts.

able for a price were his services in writing poems, obituaries, love letters, patriotic speeches, epitaphs, etc., and teaching elocution, lightning calculation, and theatricals.[1] Like so many numismatists, he was a man of many talents. However, Vail is said to have come to "a very unfortunate end."[2]

## OTHER NUMISMATISTS

No doubt Sage was acquainted with other numismatists who were active in the New York City area in 1856 and 1857 and conversed with each other at the Astor Library, the auction sales rooms, and at the coin store of John K. Curtis on Bleecker Street.

The number of coin collectors, serious and casual, in the city at the time is not known. Close to 20 people were buyers in the 1855 Flandin sale, and it can be presumed that others were on hand but did not buy. In 1856-1857 the hobby was in a rapid growth stage, and it is likely that the population of enthusiasts had swelled. Moreover, for every person who bought coins at public auction, probably a dozen or more made purchases privately from other collectors or from dealers. Likely, there were at least 100 to 200 collectors in New York City at the time, with a nationwide total of a thousand or more.

[1] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 92.
[2] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 12, quoting an 1879 letter from Thomas Dunn English.

# CHAPTER 4

# *Sage and the Philadelphia Scene*

*(the 1850s)*

## A CENTER OF NUMISMATIC ACTIVITY

During the late 1850s, New York City and Philadelphia were the two leading centers of activity in the rare coin hobby in America. Each had dozens of enthusiasts. To learn more about Philadelphia, Augustus B. Sage visited the city in 1858.

When the Philadelphia Numismatic Society was organized in the same year, on January 1, 1858, and papers were signed on January 21, founders included these men, some of whom were well known and others of whom little is remembered today: Joseph J. Mickley, Arthur G. Coffin, Samuel H. Fulton, William S. Vaux, Alfred B. Taylor, John Bohlen, J. Ledyard Hodge, Mark W. Collet, M.D., and Montgomery L. Frederick. Around the same time, Edward Maris, M.D., was just beginning his collecting interests, having been challenged to form a collection of copper cents before they disappeared from circulation.

In connection with these numismatists and with the numismatic scene of the era, accounts of several Philadelphia collectors and the Mint are given:

## THE MINT AS COIN DEALER

The Mint Cabinet, established in June 1838, was an early source for numismatists and continued to provide coins at face value to collectors through at least the early 1850s. J.N.T. Levick, who lived in Philadelphia prior to moving to New York City in 1859, recalled the era:[1]

**Alfred B. Taylor, well-known Philadelphia numismatist, was also an issuer of tokens. This 19.2 mm. store card issued before the Civil War advertises his trade as a druggist and apothecary on the corner of Walnut and 9th streets.**

> The collections of Charles B. Foote and Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia, were sold by Mr. [Edward D.] Cogan in his store; and no printed catalogues were ever issued, but copies were preserved by many collectors in manuscript, for they were then considered very fine collections and sold at high prices. Mr. Foote employed a person to write a number of catalogues with prices, which he distributed among his friends. I happened to be one of those friends, and therefore am fortunate enough to hold now one of his rare catalogues. These two sales, if I mistake not, comprised the first collections which passed into the hands of Mr. Cogan to be so disposed of; the third was that of William C. Tripler, October 28, 1859, and the fourth, my own collection, December 10, 1859.
>
> Mr. Tripler's collection was sold by auction in Mr. Cogan's store, my friend William C. Cook officiating as auctioneer, and I acting as a teller, thereby saving Mr. Cogan (then the owner) a heavy commission. My sale was the first printed catalogue collection which Mr. Cogan had the charge of, and it was the first in this country reprinted with prices.... The cents of Mr. W.J. Jenks, of Philadelphia, whose name appears opposite the prices of the cents he bought in [Edward D. Cogan's auction sales of] Foote's and Gratz's collections, were in such excellent condition, that, if sold now, they would rank among the fifty dollar pieces. Mr. Jenks' set of cents, especially his 1793s, I presume were then about the best if Mr. Mickley's only were excepted. George F. Seavey, Esq., of Cambridgeport, Mass., was fortunate enough to purchase Mr. Jenks' collection, which, of course, improved his own cabinet immensely, and undoubtedly it ranks as the first in the country. Mr. Mortimer L. Mackenzie, who has been most enthusiastic as a purchaser of the cent series, may excel so far as relates to condition; but for varieties, with condition combined, Mr. Seavey undoubtedly outranks him. I recollect well the fine condition of those he secured from the Jenks cabinet....
>
> [Prior to the Kline sale in 1855] cents in those days were easily found in circulation in such condition as to sat-

[1] *American Journal of Numismatics*, October 1868.

isfy a collector; always excepting, of course, those rare dates of 1799 and 1804, which were considered scarcer than the 1793s, and even those dates were to be had of collectors by exchanging. I quite well remember what an advantage the Mint was to us who lived in Philadelphia, for we had the privilege of going to the institution and selecting from trays or drawers subdivided for each date. From these I procured some excellent specimens of cents for their face value; and many of us collectors, knowing this channel, thus secured cheap cents. We also took the precaution to lay aside quantities of fine pieces to trade with, and for some years afterwards, the market was well stocked with cents. The employees of the Mint, however, soon learned to know the increasing value of these coins, and also commenced laying aside the finer pieces and more unusual dates. Our game was blocked by this discovery, for we saw thenceforward that the desirable cents were missing.

In Philadelphia, Emil Cauffman was an eager buyer of coins, and in 1854 he commenced acquiring sets of Proof coins from the Mint on a yearly basis.[1] In 1854 probably only a few dozen such sets were sold. In 1858 the Philadelphia Mint distributed about 210 silver Proof sets. In 1859, over 400 sets were sold. While some dealers may have bought duplicates for resale, probably most went to individual collectors, reflective of the intense numismatic activity of the era. It was later estimated that in only two years, 1859 and 1860, about $50,000 total worth of pattern coins was "struck and disposed of at the Mint, without any benefit to the government, at whose expense they were coined. Copies were not even put into the government collection of its own coins...."[2] The Philadelphia Mint was America's largest coin *dealer* at the time (a status which it retains today).

## JOSEPH J. MICKLEY

In a letter published in the *American Journal of Numismatics* in 1867, Augustus B. Sage recalled incidents during his initial journey to Philadelphia, including a visit with Joseph J. Mickley, the musical instrument repairer who at the time was acknowledged to have the finest private collection in America:

> I made my first trip to Philadelphia and for the first time beheld a really fine collection. I was received very courteously by Mr. J.J. Mickley at his residence in Market Street, and never will I forget with what pleasure the old gentleman showed me his treasures, and treasures they were and are, and although I have not seen his collection for upwards of eight years, I verily believe that it can not be equaled now in this country.

By Sage's time, many stories and legends had been related in numismatic circles about the dean of Philadelphia numismatists, and over the years more tales would be spun. Often-heard anecdotes included one about his obtaining four glittering Proof 1827 quarter dollars at the Mint for face value in that year. Later, the 1827 was recognized as a formidable rarity. Another associated Mickley with the production of the so-called 1811 half cent "restrike" and with various other restrikes and mulings made from old dies discarded as "scrap iron" by the Mint. Actual facts were scarce.

In 1858, Joseph J. Mickley published a four-page brochure, "Dates of United States Coins and Their Rarity." Produced for the edification of numismatists, the succinct listing assigned ratings to various issues from the 1790s onward and was the first such general guide published in America.

**One of the four 1827 Proof quarters said to have been obtained by Joseph J. Mickley for face value during a visit to the Mint in 1827. Years later this coin was part of the Norweb Collection.**

**Joseph J. Mickley, Philadelphia's pre-eminent numismatist during the mid-nineteenth century. Mickley's home and musical instrument repair shop furnished a focal point for gatherings of local collectors.**

[1] His collection was auctioned by Edward D. Cogan, May 3-4, 1871; included were U.S. Proof sets 1854-1866, choice early U.S. coins, and other desiderata. Cauffman continued his interests and filled another cabinet with numismatic specimens.
[2] *American Journal of Numismatics*, January 1879.

A recollection of Mickley in his lair was furnished by Frederick M. Bird and was printed in the *Proceedings* of the 28th annual meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society held in 1885. Bird begins by telling of his own beginning in the hobby (which was in the 1850s, the decade of Sage's beginning as well):

> I took the numismatic fever when a small boy, away back in the fifties. That was the golden age of the young collector. The big red cent was the circulating medium, and anything of its size passed for it; smaller pieces went for a half cent. One could gather a very decent set of "colonials" at par, for all sorts of copper were in circulation then, and there was not much competition in taking them out of it. I used to make interest with groceries and candy shops, whose soft-hearted proprietors would put by their "queer" or "bad pennies" for me. During the week I would save my limited share of the coinage of the realm, and on Saturdays would make my rounds and exchange it for these antique or foreign specimens. Once I got a fair bronze of Lincinius for half a cent, and once a nearly Uncirculated Washington cent (large eagle), with another piece, for three cents; the man behind the counter thought he was making large profits that time. An uncle of mine, cashier of a bank in Delaware, took at face value a fine Pine Tree shilling, and an uncommon silver Hessian coin; the former had come from the stocking of some farmer's wife, the latter had been dug up near the field of Brandywine. These sources of supply are pretty well dried up now, and one has to follow other methods of collecting.
>
> We lived near Mr. Mickley, and I got acquainted with him somehow, and became his frequent visitor. This was easy, for he was very good natured and accessible, and his place was the resort of harmless loafers, whom he used to address as "friends and fellow-pitchers." Most of us now-a-days could by no means afford to entertain the numismatic small boy, with his garrulous ignorance, his infantile enthusiasm, and his morbid desire to invest a half-dime in cents of 1799 and 1804. But Mr. Mickley was seldom busy; he usually pottered about with some kind of light work, which could be put down at a moment's notice, and with which conversation never interfered. I have known him (not often) to go out piano-tuning, and he may have sold an instrument now and then, but he seemed to be in comfortable circumstances, and to take life very easily. He lived in a large house on the north side of Market Street, below Tenth. The ground floor was a grocery, I think; the second story was occupied by pianos, though I never heard of any one going there to see them. His time was spent in a shop or office in the back building, corresponding to the dining room in most Philadelphia houses, with the kitchen beneath it. Back of this was a smaller room, where he kept old almanacs, directories, local histories, and the like; these were a minor hobby with him. I saw nothing of his family, whom he doubtless met at meal-times. Morning, noon, and evening he had (or was likely to have) a stream of visitors of all ages and conditions, with whom he loved to gossip. He had a quaint humor of his own. If I had had years and sense enough, it might have "paid" to note down some of his queer expressions; *e.g.*, he used to call a humbug a "humguffin." I never knew his placid amiability to be ruffled but once, and then without rhyme or reason. I had found a poor Vermontensium of then unnoted type, and was very willing to exchange it for two Roman coppers which chanced to be at hand. Having been taught to love my neighbor as myself; and noticing that one of the two was very fine, I suggested that he was giving me too much: that the beautiful Nero might be needed in his collection, while an inferior one would do for a beginner like me. He growled at the delay as if it were caused by grasping selfishness instead of conscientious consideration. The incident made an impression, as such will on boys.
>
> Most of Mr. Mickley's coins were not arranged, in my time, but stored away in a desk, where they were of no use to him or anyone. I doubt if he knew what he had; those who saw them at the great sale could form a very much better idea of the collection than I ever had. The exceptions were in a large cabinet in his second floor back. Here he kept some few Romans (if I remember aright) and his splendid series of the issues of our Mint in gold and silver, for every year or near it. The large sum—in intrinsic value alone—here locked up impressed my youthful mind; on my remarking that these dollars and eagles must have cost him fabulous prices, he answered with much feeling, "No, no, they were real prices."
>
> I have always regretted that I saw so little of Mr. Mickley in later years. Changes of residence and occupation, and even the temporary fading of numismatic zeal, seem to me now but inadequate excuses for losing sight of so original a character and so princely a collector.

Another glimpse of the surroundings that Sage may have experienced is provided by a reminiscence of E.L. Mason, Jr., describing Mickley's home in the early 1860s:[1]

> Few are aware that Mr. Mickley is a great musical celebrity, but those who have been fortunate enough to claim acquaintanceship with the great coin hero need not be told how the rooms of that old-fashioned residence on Market Street groan with ponderous pianos, and the walls are hung profusely with old violins, guitars, and paintings; and even a second story rear room has all the implements of a musical instrument maker's trade scattered about; while a odd-looking nursery far in the rear is piled ceiling-high with old books, newspapers, and pamphlets, relieved by eccentric looking chests and boxes.
>
> Mr. Mickley has not been an idle student of science. Besides coins, documents, books, medals, &c., which he has collected and mastered, there are instruments which when touched by his masterly hand produce sweet, scientific, soul-inspiring sounds and cause us to look up in his good natured, smiling, open countenance, and wonder at the ability and genius of the man.

For many years Mickley's home-business premises had been a gathering place for aficionados of old coins, who would exchange ideas, opinions, and adventures.

A few other remarks concerning Mickley may be in order, these from W.E. Dubois as part of the veteran collector's obituary notice in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1878:

> Mr. Joseph J. Mickley, who died suddenly on Friday evening, February 15, at the house of Dr. J.A. Meigs, on

[1] Adapted from *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* December 1867, p. 81.

Spruce Street, above Broad, was well known both in this country and Europe for his antiquarian tastes.

Mr. Mickley was born in Lehigh county, of "Pennsylvania Dutch" stock, on March 24, 1799. Sixty years ago he came to this city and learned piano-making. Later, he engaged in this business on his own account, and was so employed until 1869. Many years since he began collecting curious coins of all nations, and in time had the most valuable collection in the United States. In 1867 he was robbed of $16,000 worth of coins, and a short time afterward he sold the rest of his collection for a like sum.[1] Two years later he went to Europe, whither his fame as an antiquarian had preceded him, and was warmly received there. He remained abroad three years, traveling through all parts of England and the Continent. While in Europe he perfected himself in the Swedish language, and became deeply interested in books and manuscripts bearing upon the early Swedish settlements in America.

In addition to his collection of coins, Mr. Mickley possessed a large library of rare and curious books in many languages. He had a number of very old directories of Philadelphia and other cities, containing the names and residences of Washington, Jefferson, and other distinguished Revolutionary patriots. He had also many volumes relating to the history of Pennsylvania, and at the time of his death was translating a Swedish manuscript upon the same subject, in anticipation of publishing a work upon the early annals of the State.

He was an acknowledged musical critic, and was said to be the best mender of musical instruments in the United States. Ole Bull was his intimate friend, and his house was for many years the resort of antiquarians, musicians and historians from all parts of the world. It was he who discovered that the violin which Ole Bull had bought for a Gasper Desala was a counterfeit. Among his musical treasures was an autograph composition of Beethoven. Besides being extensively acquainted with European history and literature, Mr. Mickley could speak fluently French, German, and Swedish. He was very simple in his ways, and, while firm in his convictions and keen in his judgment of men, he was singularly gentle and lovable.

For some time past his books have been packed away. He was, however, making alterations in a house on Wood Street, near Franklin, where he could have his library about him, when death stepped in to cut short a life spent in quiet study and refined enjoyment.[2]

He was about seventeen years old (say in 1816) when he formed a wish to own a cent, coined in the year of his nativity. He had hard work to find one, as you can readily understand. A good cent of 1799 now brings many dollars. This exercise only whetted him for further acquisitions in the same line. No doubt "the thing was in him," but that was what brought it to the surface; and probably it proved a great incentive to the study of languages, and history, and antiquities, as a diversion from the daily labor of making pianos and repairing violins.

Here I may say his linguistic appetite was remarkable. Besides the languages named in the obituary, he took pains to pick up a vocabulary in almost every country which he visited during three years' travel. I once asked him for the various renderings of *railroad;* he gave it to me in Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Russian, German, and modern Greek. (He could not answer for *ancient* Greek, although he was not without the classic touch.) He said he had trouble to keep his Italian and Spanish from running into each other. In the entertaining manuscript journal of his travels to show how the Russians are given to the study of other languages than their own, he states that at Nishni-Novgorod, a town well on to the border of Siberia, he went into a restaurant, where were two young ladies, one of them smoking a cigarette. Supposing he might safely soliloquize in German, he said, "What a pity for a nice girl to be smoking." Quickly she took out the cigar, and gave him to know that she understood women's rights, and German besides. With his usual *naïveté,* he adds, "How careful we should be."

He seemed bound to see everything in Europe, as well as the borders of Asia and Africa. He was almost stifled in the crypt of an Egyptian pyramid; needed his overcoat in Lapland, where he went in June, to see the sun go all around without making a dip; fell down the ancient well of Cicero at Rome, and was knocked down by a careless driver in Constantinople, and taken up for dead.

The robbery of his numismatic cabinet, briefly mentioned in the [newspaper] obituary, was a prominent event, and a turning-point in his life. He was always ready, too ready, in the unsuspecting openness of his heart, to show his collection to friends or strangers. Sometimes (as he has told me) he would find a piece or two missing after such an opening of his drawers. Doubtless it was at some such visit as this that the robbery was planned. It took place on an evening, about eight o'clock, while Mr. Mickley was at work in his shop in the back building. The cabinet was kept in the third story front room of the main building. A slight noise induced him to go up there, not in time to encounter the burglar, one or more, but in time to see the devastation. How much was taken, cannot be definitely stated; certainly as much as a man could carry away. A large part consisted of rare British coins, gold and silver; but other countries were copiously represented, and many pieces were American duplicates. It is stated, that some time before he was offered thirty thousand dollars for the whole collection. The unstolen residue that went to auction in New York soon after, brought some fifteen thousand dollars. It is quite likely that the booty was worth an equal sum.

I well remember when Mr. Mickley came into my office, with the painful intelligence. "Oh, I have been robbed—I have been robbed! My coins taken; I can't tell how many. But it was a mercy I did not encounter the man. No doubt he was prepared to blind [or bind?] and gag me, as such fellows generally are." It was a great shock to him; probably he never fully recovered from it, even in the excitement of foreign travel. It never was certainly known what became of his treasure, but Mr. Mickley had good reasons for settling his suspicions upon a certain person. One day he said to me, "I believe I met the man that robbed me, just now in Chestnut Street."

Years after, a few very fine gold pieces of England were offered for sale at the Mint Cabinet rooms. I was so well

[1] Mickley's personal records reveal that he bought $10,000 worth of U.S. bonds shortly after W.E. Woodward bought the remainder of his collection; although he could have sold the collection for $16,000 and kept $6,000 aside, it seems likely that the sale price was closer to $10,000 than to $16,000. (Cf. Suggestion by Joel J. Orosz, letter, June 13, 1997.)

[2] Up to this point in the narrative the account was adapted by Dubois from an unnamed Philadelphia newspaper. The remainder of the text is in Dubois' own words.

convinced that the labels were in his handwriting, that I sent for him to come and see them. He could not deny the likeness, but seemed reluctant to entertain the subject at all. They came from honest hands, through the few links of ownership that could be traced, but it was impossible to go backward for eight or nine years. After that event, and the public sale of the remainder, his taste seemed to modulate from coins to coin-books, which shifting seems likely to occur with old collectors.

One of his last dealings in this way, was to unite with me in importing two copies of a recent work of great merit, Henfrey's *Numismata Cromwelliana*. In his house in Market Street near Tenth, where he lived longest, (twenty-seven years,) he had no front store. You had to pull the bell and go through a long entry, and up a dark stairway to reach his place of work and sale. How far the work was needful to him, I cannot say. It seemed rather to be kept up for the pleasure and healthfulness of employment. It is not easy to understand on other grounds, why a man who was constantly importing costly coins, and buying scarce books, should care for the compensation of tuning pianos and putting harps and violins in order. He was, however, the agent for the sale of a popular make of pianos, having a stock of them in his house.

Those students who know what it is to have an amateur workshop, (and methinks every brain-working man owes it to himself to have some such diversion), can realize the pleasure that Mr. Mickley enjoyed amongst his tools and work-benches. And it was really amusing to see men of culture and refinement coming there to sit around his old stove, on three-legged stools, or anything that could be extemporized into a seat. They liked to chat with him, and he with them; and once a week he held a quartette in a better room, taking one of the parts himself.

As a "mender of musical instruments," his crowning performance was one already stated in your magazine—restoring the violin which was owned by Washington. Not that it was in such great disorder, but that it had been played upon by so great a man. The charm of this piece of work was undoubtedly enhanced when Ole Bull came in and took up the instrument. There was but one reserved seat that time, and Mr. Mickley formed the whole audience.

In fine, Mr. Mickley was an agreeable man to associate with, and an honorable man to deal with. He seemed superior to any meanness, and free from vulgar passions and habits; from pride and vanity, from envy and jealousy, from evil speaking and harsh judging. He was eminently sincere, affable, kind, and gentle; yet decided, and with a mind of his own. In the best sense of the word he was a gentleman; not with artificial elegance of manners, yet with a good address, rendering him agreeable to refined society.

He was twice married, and leaves six children.

Concerning Washington's violin, actually two violins, W.E. Dubois had written of these earlier in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1877, as an anecdote intended to suggest that in some instances a worn *coin* might be more interesting to own than a pristine one:

Washington was the owner of two violins, and played on them. One of these was his recreation in the years before the war; and it is even intimated that he drew the bow to entertain his colored servants. The other, a fine old "Steiner," was sent to him by the French Army officers, after their return home, and when his play-days were nearly over. This fact, probably, does not appear in his biographies; partly because, in those days, the prince of instruments was belittled by a fiddling name. But it is treasured in the collateral branches of the family, where the two violins are preserved, unless lately parted with in a lot of relics.

One of these, thoroughly dilapidated, was sent to Mr. Mickley in 1856, to be repaired. It was, perhaps, a desecration for the writer to draw out some tones; but when Ole Bull reverently took hold, and extemporized for an hour with closed eyes, it was (as he called it) a sort of inspiration, I could not miss this opportunity of telling a good story, especially as it is a pleasant relaxing of that dignity for which the great man was noted. But the point of it just now is, that of the two violins, the one *much used* is more to be prized than the other. This can be said and admitted, without yielding the point that it is desirable to have *some* unworn specimens, and especially those of our own mintage, where the date and polish make the only points of interest to most collectors.

Many more contemporary comments could be quoted concerning Mickley, and modern studies of him could be cited as well. Today he remains one of the best remembered numismatists of his era.

## JACOB G. MORRIS

Although Jacob G. Morris of Philadelphia was a prominent collector by the 1840s and was known to the curators of the Mint Cabinet, he is most often remembered in connection with his death aboard the ill-fated *S.S. Arctic* when it went down in the North Atlantic Ocean on its way back from Europe on September 27, 1854.

In heavy seas about 50 miles off of Cape Race, the *Arctic,* a large and well-appointed 2,856-ton sidewheel steamer of the Collins Line, was rammed by the *Vesta,* a small French steamer of 250 tons displacement. Those aboard the *Arctic* had little thought they had cause to worry and even launched a lifeboat to assist the *Vesta.* Soon thereafter, despite assurances of the captain and crew that there was no problem, it was learned that the *Arctic* was taking on water and was in serious danger. Nonchalance changed to tragedy as lifeboats became swamped in the high waves. Three-hundred twenty-two people lost their lives, among whom was Jacob Morris. In his *American Numismatical Manual,* 1859, pp. 76-78, Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson discussed a

**A rare 1733 Rosa Americana pattern twopence similar to one that, presumably, is currently resting at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, having gone down with the *S.S. Arctic* in 1854.**

prime rarity, the 1733 Rosa Americana pattern twopence, noting he knew of the existence of only four, now only three, specimens: "The fourth was purchased in England for the sum of £7, or $35, for Charles Bushnell, Esq., of New York City, unfortunately placed on board the steamer *Arctic,* to be transmitted to him, on her last and fatal voyage, and its pigmy proportions are now added to the vast accumulations that lie imbedded in the sands of the Atlantic Ocean."[1] Presumably, Morris had made the rounds of the London coin dealers and had secured some fine specimens for his collection, these joining the 1733 Rosa Americana twopence at the bottom of the sea.

Years later in 1867, Matthew A. Stickney recalled that Morris had written to him in 1843: "I have never cared for making a collection of American coins of each year's coinage, it is only where the style has been altered, or where there is any peculiarity in the coin, differing from those in general circulation that I have cared for them, nor do I see the utility of it to a collector."

## EDWARD D. COGAN

During the same 1858 visit to Philadelphia in which Sage called upon collector Mickley, he also stopped by to see a rare coin dealer:

> Well do I remember my first visit to [Edward D.] Cogan in 10th Street. Cogan (poor old man, I understand he is dead and gone now) told me as a great secret that he had upwards of one hundred '56 nickels, and he believed *they came from the Mint.* I had no doubt of it.

This seems to indicate that at the time of his reminiscence in 1867, Sage had little contact with the numismatic community in New York City. If he had, he would have known that Cogan had moved from Philadelphia to New York several years earlier and had been conducting auctions in his new venue. About the time that Sage was writing his reminiscences, dealer Cogan was meeting with Sage's former business associate, Henry Bogert, and arranging for the sale at auction of Bogert's remaining coins (the sale took place on April 24-26, 1867; see Appendix III). Inasmuch as Sage was not aware that Cogan was still alive, it can be presumed that by this time Sage had little or no connection with Bogert either.

**Edward D. Cogan, Philadelphia dealer who entered the trade at the end of 1858, and who later claimed to be the first rare coin dealer in America (ignoring the priority of John K. Curtis, Henry Cook, and others). In his time Cogan was a leading figure in numismatics, most particularly on the auction scene in the 1860s and 1870s, having relocated to New York City from Philadelphia during the Civil War.**

**Token or store card issued in 1859 by Edward D. Cogan, Philadelphia dealer, features as the obverse a die by Robert Lovett depicting George Washington, after the familiar portrait by French sculptor Jean Antoine Houdon. This portrait, quite similar to images created on medals by C.C. Wright and others, was widely reproduced on tokens and medals of various sizes and inscriptions.**

**The reverse notes Cogan's specialties: "Dealer in Books, Coins, Medals, and Engravings." The last referred to steel-plate engravings, typically of Revolutionary War scenes and heroes or other images from history, that were produced in limited editions and sold on separate sheets or in folios.**

Sage's memory was not of the best, and certain other recollections included inaccurate dates or misspellings. In connection with Sage's statement about dealer Cogan, the editor of the *American Journal of Numismatics* hastened to add:

> We are delighted to be able to correct our correspondent's doleful mortuary lamentations: Mr. Cogan is still alive and well, and still appertains to his old business at No. 101 William Street, New York.

This spurred Cogan to write his own series of reminiscences for the *American Journal of Numismatics,* mainly intended to emphasize his own importance and to reiterate his specious claim that he was the first rare coin dealer in America, as in this commentary:[2]

[1] Another passenger with a very prominent numismatic connection was Mahlon Day, who circa 1819 had published what is believed to be the first counterfeit detector in America, and who went on to issue *Day's New York Bank Note List and Counterfeit Detecter* [*sic*]. Day, age 64, had enjoyed a very successful life. His wife and daughter also went down with the ship.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1866. It seems likely that Charles B. Norton (who issued his first price list in 1856), Augustus B. Sage (active in the trade by early 1858), and John K. Curtis (a bidder in the Flandin sale in 1855 and certainly in business as a dealer in 1857)—to name just three candidates—preceded him, and other contenders could be mentioned as well.

> I have been engaged in the coin trade since the latter part of 1856. Quite late in the year 1856 a friend of mine brought into my store in Philadelphia an electrotype Washington cent of 1792, and persuaded me to buy it for 25¢; upon showing it, as a curiosity, to a gentleman, he offered me 50¢ for it—and the curiosity was gone....
>
> I immediately set about collecting an entire set of United states cents, but had not the most distant idea, at that time, of ever making it a business.[1] I continued collecting from that time till the latter end of 1858. When finding the demand increasing, and the supply quite equal to it, I commenced selling my duplicates, and from that period have followed the coin trade, almost exclusively,[2] as a matter of business.

Considered on the merits of its contents, a mail bid sale of "duplicates" conducted by Edward D. Cogan on November 1, 1858, would be worthy of but brief mention, if any notice at all. However, this particular listing of old copper cents from his personal collection, comprising just 77 lots which realized $128.63, became the subject of so much later puffery, that an explanation is necessary. Cogan was fond of citing this mail-bid listing as the watershed event that launched the popularity of coin collecting in America, this being based upon notice of it being picked up by some metropolitan newspapers. To forward this claim he reprinted the listing, with commentary, in 1863, and distributed it widely in the numismatic community.

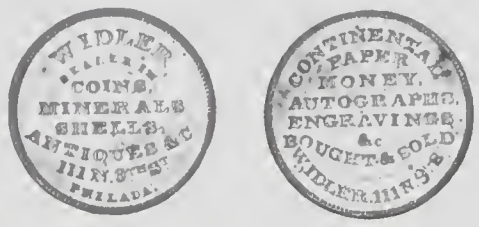
Notwithstanding his perhaps natural inclination to boast, Cogan was a very important figure in the coin business during the growth years of auction sales, the 1860s and 1870s, and from his November 1, 1858, cent offering onward, conducted at least 70 sales under his own name and may have done some cataloguing for others. He described coins simply and with little in the way of flourish, letting the bidders add their own spice. Fiercely proud, he was genial and kind to most everyone, but could mount a bitter attack if challenged, such as during a notable encounter with Ebenezer Locke Mason, Jr.

Retiring in November 1879, four years after his highly acclaimed auction of the Col. Mendes I. Cohen Collection, Edward D. Cogan sought to have his business continued by his son George, but events proved that the younger Cogan lacked numismatic knowledge, business savvy, or both.

## WILLIAM K. IDLER

In Philadelphia, William K. Idler catered to many clients. Idler began his rare coin dealership in 1858 at 111 North 9th Street, having started his shop earlier in the year with a stock of minerals and relics, drawing upon his extensive studies in mineralogy (including a 15-year stint in South America, during which time he secured many specimens). He added jewelry to his stock, then old coins, having a good stock of these by the time that Cogan had his first mail bid sale. At the time the disappearance of the old copper "large" cents from circulation spurred an intense demand for remaining pieces, and quite a few Philadelphians endeavored to collect them by date sequence. Choice examples of dates back to the 1830s could be found in pocket change, but earlier pieces were either difficult to locate or were apt to be found well worn, almost to the point of smoothness. Hence, Idler found a ready outlet for all of the older pieces he could obtain.

Idler was one of the first numismatists to issue tokens. Among the various pieces he distributed in 1858 and in early 1859 were copies of the 1792 Washington half dollar and the circa 1658 Lord Baltimore "denarium." The dies for these were muled with reverses to create store cards advertising Idler's business.




**One of a series of 20.5 mm. store cards issued by Philadelphia dealer William K. Idler from dies by local engraver Robert Lovett, Jr. The piece shown here is a muling of two advertising dies. Idler's shop at 111 North 9th Street was attached to his home.**

**Idler store card with obverse portrait of Washington (by Lovett, after Houdon) and reverse describing his business specialties. This and related die pairings were struck in various combinations including copper, brass, nickel, white metal, and silver, and with plain and reeded edges.**

**One of the most popular of all Idler store cards is this, a copy by Lovett of the rare Maryland denarium or penny. In very tiny letters arranged in an arc around the obverse portrait of Cecil Calvert (proprietor of colonial Maryland) is this inscription: W. IDLER, DEALER IN COINS, MINERALS &c PHILa. In general, the dies of Robert Lovett, Jr., exhibited a high degree of workmanship and skill.**

[1] This comment is at odds with his earlier statement that he had been "engaged in the coin *trade* since the latter part of 1856"; apparently, he meant coin *hobby*.

[2] This "almost exclusively" comment contradicts his advertising medal (Washington obverse; dies by Robert Lovett, Jr.) issued the *following year*, 1859, which lists coins among several other specialties: EDWARD D. COGAN / DEALER IN BOOKS / COINS, MEDALS / AND / ENGRAVINGS. / 1859/ PHILADELPHIA.

He soon established close connections with certain Mint officials, and a few years later, during the 1860s and 1870s, he "laundered" many restrikes and rarities obtained from that source. Later, his son-in-law, John W. Haseltine of the same city, also became an important conduit or outlet for clandestine products of the Mint. Most of the so-called Class III 1804 silver dollars seem to have been marketed through Idler or Haseltine, with the help of Mint historian William E. Dubois.

Idler held forth for many years at what became his main location, 109 South Eleventh Street, in a shop attached to the front of his house. On display in the window were jewelry items, minerals, curios, common coins, and old banknotes, with no indication that for numismatic items he was a source for great rarities. However, the *cognoscenti* realized that Idler's iron safe held many numismatic treasures not readily available anywhere else.

Idler lived until July 16, 1901, by which time he had long since transferred most of his rare coin business to son-in-law Haseltine, while his son, Robert K. Idler, took care of the jewelry shop. An anonymous contributor to *The Numismatist,* August 1901, remembered him:

> Mr. Idler was a jeweler by trade but his modest little shop on 11th Street, near Chestnut, always had in its show window a sprinkling of coins, old currency and curios, amid the regular stock, and the counter and wall cases inside were about equally divided in content between Mr. Idler's two interests in life. He, however, held to business before pleasure, and often occupied himself long with some woman or others, wanting a trinket repaired, while an impatient collector was waiting eagerly to spend 10 or 20 times the amount for coins.
>
> Mr. Idler was a portly, deliberate man, always amiable, but generally giving the impression that he had little or nothing of a special interest, with a plaintive remark or two about the difficulty of coming across anything good nowadays. Then, if no general customer was present, and you could induce him to open his safe and lay out two or three trays in a melancholy way, you would often find choice pickings and get some good bargains. All the leading Philadelphia collectors visited him at frequent intervals as well as many from other cities, and his many years of acquaintance with the numismatic world, and the regard in which he was held, caused him to be a medium of transfer of rich resources. His great age at length began to tell, members of his family became more active in the store, and he rarely came out of a little rear room. Numismatic scholars will miss him greatly.

## J. LEDYARD HODGE

A correspondence file from 1859-1860 provides an interesting window on the collecting scene in the City of Brotherly Love in the same year that in New York City, a two-hour train trip away, young Augustus B. Sage was selling tokens and conducting auctions.[1] The writer of the letters was J. Ledyard Hodge, a Philadelphian who must certainly be one of the more curious players ever to cross the numismatic stage, as later events would prove. In the meantime, he was a highly respected collector with many interests.

The previous year, 1858, had seen several important things happen in Philadelphia. For the first time, the Mint began openly selling Proof coins and sets to interested collectors. Earlier, such special-finish mirrorlike coins were distributed as gifts to government officials and dignitaries, or were traded or sold in small numbers to private collectors. The general public at large was not aware of them. Augustus B. Sage first visited Philadelphia in that year, 1858, an account of which trip is given in Chapter 4.

On January 21, 1858, the Numismatic Society of Philadelphia[2] was formed, thus becoming the first organization in America specifically dedicated to the hobby. As an early project of the newly-formed Society, three members were named to a committee to create a reference or check list of advertising tokens. By January 1860, Mark W. Collet (a medical doctor who later lost his life in the Civil War), J. Ledyard Hodge, and Alfred B. Taylor[3] created a 16-page quarto work describing 423 pieces, titled *Catalogue of American Store Cards &c., With Space for Marking the Condition, Price, Rarity, &c., of Each Piece, Designed for the Use and Convenience of Collectors.* Apparently, Hodge and his co-authors ventured in territory beyond their collective expertise, for the study, begun in 1858, was widely condemned as useless. Little was heard of it in later years, and none but the most dedicated student of tokens was apt to seek a copy. The booklets were distributed by Philadelphia dealer Edward D. Cogan.

Emphasis in the preserved copies of J. Ledyard Hodge's 1859-1860 letters to Richmond, VA, collector Robert Alonzo Brock is on tokens and store cards—the pre-eminent collecting interest of the day—including mentions of Charles I. Bushnell and J.N.T. Levick in this context. Brock was very active in numismatics in the 1850s and 1860s and in the latter decade was a member of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society and the Boston Numismatic Society, among other groups. In Richmond he served as corresponding secretary of the Virginia Historical Society. In the 1860s, Confederate paper money became one of his strong interests, and in 1866 he donated a group of C.S.A. stamps and paper money to the Boston Numismatic Society.

The 1859-1860 correspondence ties in nicely with the numismatic arena in which Sage was active.

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[1] This correspondence file was furnished by Edwin B. Nash, Jr., and was printed in the *Rare Coin Review* No. 106.

[2] Name later changed to the Numismatic *and Antiquarian* Society of Philadelphia to broaden its appeal; the same thing was done when the American Numismatic Society changed its name in 1864 to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.

[3] Over a period of time Taylor's name appeared on the cover of several auction catalogues written by his fellow townsman Edward D. Cogan. Taylor was also a prolific issuer of tokens in the early 1860s; advertised was his apothecary shop at the corner of Walnut and Ninth streets and

**The silver Proof coins of 1858, the first year that Proofs were widely sold to the general public. It is believed that about 210 sets were struck. Today, each coin in the set is considered to be a prime rarity, the Liberty Seated dollar especially so.**

No. 611 Walnut Street
October 17, 1859.

R. Alonzo Brock Esq.

Dear Sir,

I have your favor of the 11th inst. with the enclosed card of Beck's Baths, for which I am much indebted.[1]

I enclose you herewith two pieces of a series first issued here—and which I think will be scarce. There are 100 of each variety in copper and 50 in white metal, and the dies are ground down so there cannot possibly be any more. Besides the two varieties I enclose there is another, made by the head of Washington and reverse of the wreath with the words PRO PATRIA, thus making six pieces in the set counting the white metal. They are issued at 25 cts. apiece.[2]

Most of us here have secured several duplicate sets for future use in exchanging etc. as they will soon be quite scarce. If you wish any sets at the above rates, and will inform me how many I will try and procure you the amount of your remittance. Please answer if you wish any at once, as this taking of five or six sets apiece by collectors will soon use up the whole especially the white metal of which I said there are only 50 of each kind. I am much obliged for your offer of assistance as regards the "Cents." The only ones I want are the 1793 Liberty Cap, 1799, and a good 1804.[3] I have a poor one of that date. There are a good many new pieces, store cards, etc., coming out here just now, and if you are forming a collection of them, I think I can pick you up several.

Yr's very truly,
J. Ledyard Hodge

No. 611 Walnut St.
Dec. 1st, 1859

R. Alonzo Brock, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I have delayed acknowledging your last two favors—expecting every day to do so—and be able to send with my answer a larger set of pieces than I do—However as they turn up rather slowly I have concluded to send what I have and forward by Adams Express of this day a package containing sixteen pieces, which I find cost altogether exactly $2. One of these is one of the Washington medallets you wanted, which I was unable to procure till the other day; the others are American tokens of various kinds.

I send also a memorandum made by myself of a sale of a small collection of coins here some two or three weeks ago, which will serve somewhat as a guide for you.[4] We are all now in an excitement about a sale of a very fine collection to take place here the 20th of this month.[5] It is remarkable more for the quality and variety of the pieces than their number, and is probably the *best* collection offered for sale for a long time. I will send you a catalogue next week when they come out, and if you desire to purchase

two of his compounds: Denticrete and Orilote for the teeth (cf. the Civil War token known as Fuld PA-750-U-1c). In 1867 his address was 1015 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Taylor remained active in numismatics until at least the early 1870s.

[1] Token bearing on the obverse the figure of a nude woman and on the reverse, BECK'S PUBLIC BATHS / RICHMOND. According to Russell Rulau and David Schenkman, these were issued circa 1832-1844 by Charles Beck, whose establishment was on the south side of Main Street between 13th and 14th streets. Examples were made in copper, white metal, and German silver, the latter two being especially scarce. Most examples seen today are well worn.

[2] The PRO PATRIA piece refers to a new medal by Robert Lovett, Jr., honoring George Washington, known today as Baker-268 (and variations thereof). These seem to have been made up to the order of Philadelphia dealer Edward D. Cogan, who possessed at least the obverse die (which was stolen from his store on December 14, 1859). Later, the PRO PATRIA reverse was muled with irrelevant (non-Washington) dies.

[3] These three pieces are key dates in the 1793-1857 copper cent series. At the time, assembling sets of such cents was an especially popular pursuit.

[4] Perhaps a reference to the manuscript (no printed catalogue was published; thus Ledyard did not send one to Brock) sale of the W.C. Tripler Collection in Edward D. Cogan's store, 48 North 10th Street, Philadelphia, October 28, 1859. His cabinet, which he had sold to Edward D. Cogan, was called by local auctioneer W.C. Cook. At the event, 161 pieces brought a total of $403.29, an exceptionally high realization per lot for the time. The sale commenced at 8 a.m., and was finished by 9:30 a.m. (Cf. *American Journal of Numismatics*, April 1867) Tripler had been a buyer from Cogan for some time and had participated in Cogan's November 1, 1858, sale "by private biddings" of cents.

[5] Edward D. Cogan's sale in Philadelphia of items from local collector J.N.T. Levick (who was soon to move to New York City), December 19-20, 1859.

any will be glad to bid for you at such prices as you may fix. After the sale a few *priced* catalogues will be issued at I believe 50 cts. each. If you wish one please inform me.

I enclose also one of the circulars issued by our Committee asking for information regarding our proposed works. We intend getting up the volume on store cards, tokens etc., first leaving the one on Medals till afterwards. If you have any pieces not mentioned in the Bushnell work, we would like to have rubbings and descriptions. Probably before answering, you had better wait for the catalogue of this coming sale which will contain over 400 varieties of store cards, many of them not in Bushnell, and the owner has allowed us to take descriptions of all not in our own collections, so we will want no descriptions of any piece in that Catalogue.

As regards the privilege of corresponding members of our Society, they are I believe mentioned in the Constitution etc. which you have, and are the right to attend meetings when in town, privilege of the room, etc. I would be glad to propose your name if you desire it.

Can you procure any more of the card you sent me "Beck's Public Baths"? I will take any you can get with pleasure, as I have three or four friends here who want them.

Yours very truly,
J. Ledyard Hodge

Phila- Dec. 21st, 1859

R. Alonzo Brock , Esq.

Dear Sir,

The sale of Levick's collection ended last evening, and is likely to be long remembered in the annals of coin collecting. The prices all the way through were the most extravagant I ever heard of—far beyond the wildest estimate. I was carried away enough by the excitement to buy a good many of the pieces myself, but now this morning would gladly sell every one I bought at the price I gave. I was however moderate compared to others. The store cards especially brought the most wonderful prices, often going over a dollar and sometimes two for pieces that I have bought time and again for 25 cts or at the outside 50 cts. I did not purchase anything for you, as you gave me no fixed price and I didn't care to [make my own estimates of] *reasonable* rates, and the prices there I thought most unreasonable. The prices you mentioned went as follows:

No. 233 @$2.62, 235 @$3, 238 @$16, 255 @$1.29, 258 @$1.10, 261 @$1.90, 262 @$1.37, 296 @$2, 356 @$2.50, 357 @.75 cts., 373 @.80 cts., 377 @.65 cts., 389 @$5.50, 530 @$2.37.

The dollars you mentioned went from $1.25 up to $2.87. I will send you a couple of priced indexes as soon as issued, but I am sorry to say it is impossible to get another catalogue for love or money.

In looking over your list and comparing it with the sale, I think I can get you a good many of the pieces you want at lower prices. I can I think obtain nearly all the dollars at an average of $1.25 which is quite cheap. Of course this will not include the rare ones, 1794, 1804, 1851 and from there out.[1]

The half cents (commoner ones) went at an average of about 30 cts. each. I however purchased for you, outside a lot containing the following years at 20 cts. each, being 22 pieces in all—1802, 1805, 1806, 1808, 1809, 1810, 18[missing digits], 1826, 1828 both varieties, 1829, 1832, [date missing], 1835, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1853, [text missing]. I will send them as soon as I get some more pieces.

I likewise obtained No. 296, Centennial Medallet @ $2, the same piece at the sale. This was reasonable, as there are only 40 of them in copper. Several of the pieces over on the opposite page I think I can get at something less than the prices annexed, and will look for them, if you will designate the ones you want and the price you are willing to pay. So with the dollars, I think I can in a short time pick up nearly all the commoner ones at $1.25 or near that. The scarce ones you will have to pay for. 1794 I paid $5.50 for the other night and very poor at that. 1804 cannot be had, there are but two known. 1836 Flying Eagle is worth $7.00 Proof, 1838 Do. $20. 1839 Do. $17, 1851 & 1852 $15 each, 1853, 54 & 55 & 56 @ $3 each. 1857, 1858 & 1859 are rarely seen but as Proof and bring $3 to $4 apiece.

We had some great bids at the sale. No. 21 brought $66.50, No. 220 $50, No. 277 $28.50 [text missing] cabinet and I bought it [text missing] No. 280 $11.50. No. 388 [missing], No. 390 $10.50, No. 480 $12, No. 499 $10, and so they went.

I expect to go to Washington in a day or two [missing] after New Year's and will be happy to hear from you there, care of Wm. L. Hodge

Yr's very truly,
J. Ledyard Hodge

No. 611 Walnut St. Phila
Jan. 13th, 1860

R. Alonzo Brock, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I send by Adams' Express today a package to you, containing the following pieces:

Silver Dollars-two of 1795, 1797, two of 1799, 1800, 1801, 1803, two of 1840, 1841, 1842, two of 1843, two of 1846, two of 1847, two of 1849, or 20 in all.

Half Cents-1804, 1805, 1806, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1825, 18[digits missing], 1828 both varieties, 1829, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1849, 185[digit missing], 1851, 1853, 1855, 1856, 1857-or 22 in all.

A Franklin Cent, The Washington Centennial Medal in copper, you wished me to bid for at the sale and three cards issued by Robt. Lovett of this place.[2] I send also by mail Two of the priced Catalogues of Levick's sale, and a copy of the pamphlet which our Committee prepared at

[1] Liberty Seated silver dollars dated in the 1850s were quite rare and highly prized in their own time; such were widely cited in contemporary catalogues, but their elusive quality was later lost track of by numismatists, except for the Proof-only 1858, which has always had its own aura. See also the later mention in Ledyard's letter that these dates are usually seen only in Proof finish. The rarity of the certain other years, notably 1854-1857 in business strike form, has been re-appreciated only since about 1970, especially through the research done by members of the Liberty Seated Collectors Club.

[2] Franklin cent = 1787 Fugio cent. The 1832 medal was struck in various metals and was originally made for distribution in the parade in Philadelphia on February 22, 1832; restrikes from a cracked reverse die are seen with some frequency today, especially in white metal.

the request of the Collectors here, to act as a sort of guide in making collections of store cards.

I was in hopes of sending you a more complete set of dollars, but failed in getting the lot I had my eye on. I will however if these suit you, try and fill up those wanting which I suppose can be done with a little waiting and watching.

The prices I paid for the above are as follows:

The Dollars $1.25 apiece or $25.00; Half cents 20 cts. apiece or $4.40; Washington medal, $2.00, Franklin cent .75 cts., Three Lovett cards, .25 cts. each, .75 cts, Three catalogues @.50 cts. each, $1.50, Total $34.40.

This list of store cards is the one we use here now in reference. If you will send me a list of the numbers in it you have I will mark them in my copy here, and will then know what ones you want and can keep a look out for them. If you have any not mentioned in this list, I would be much obliged for a full description of them & rubbings. It comprises *only store* cards and has all Bushnell's & great many more. I write in haste. I If you can get it, I would prefer a draft on a bank or house here to my order for the amount over the page, as it is safer than sending money. Do not hesitate if any of the pieces do not suit you to return them.

Yr's very truly,
J. Ledyard Hodge

Phila-March 13th, 1860

R. Alonzo Brock, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I have delayed answering your last letters, hoping every day to pick up something that might increase your collection, but I find things remarkably dull in the coin line, and when any fine or rare pieces do make their appearance it is with such prices attached as to frighten any one. I however send you some pieces by Adams Express which please enquire for the cost of them being in annexed list.

The Mint has raised its price for Proof sets this year to $3; until now they charged merely their actual value of $2.02 but last year the demand was so great that it kept the time of one person occupied nearly the whole year, attending to getting up the pieces and delivering them, they being all struck on the hand press, with special care. So this year they justify the additional charge on the ground of the trouble and time used. These Proof sets of back years increase in value rapidly. Those of 1859 are already worth $4.50 to $5 and of previous years $8 to $10, and perhaps even more. Previous to 1859 there were very few struck in each year, not over 200 sets. The set of 1858 possesses a value on this account that there were no silver dollars at all struck of that year, except about 210 to go in the Proof sets, so that these dollars will soon be very rare indeed. In fact they are worth $5 already.[1]

I was offered a set of 1858 same pieces as in the one of 1860 I send you for $8, but declined having it myself, and not knowing whether you cared for it at that price, though if you wish it at all you will probably have to give that or more. If you wish these Proof sets of back years, let me know and also how much you are willing to give. I would advise you if you wish them at all to take them at once, especially the 1858 and 1859 at present prices. The previous ones I think have attained nearly their fixed price, and besides are not often to be met at any price. I have also declined buying any of the pattern pieces of the Mint Cents or others, or any of the rare silver or copper coinage as half cents of the 1840s etc., not feeling authorized to invest $4 or $5 on a single piece without direction from you.[2] If you wish any of these pieces I think you had better make out a list of the pieces you wish and their value to you as a guide for me.

Have you come across any new Store Cards, etc. I find one or two almost every day, but must say I do not admire the prices. As the ones I want now are almost invariably rare ones. I am put in for at least $1 apiece for them, and it is awful to look over my list of pieces specially wanted and seen over 100 blanks, of ones I know of besides any quantity unknown. In haste,

Yr's very truly,
J. Ledyard Hodge

No. 611 Walnut St. Philadelphia
May 10th, 1860

R. Alonzo Brock, Esq.

Dear Sir,

It is a long time since I wrote to you but I have been out in Mississippi and the West on business and returned only a short time ago. Besides I have nothing on the coin line to communicate. I presume you duly received a notification of your election as a corresponding member of our Society, which took place during my absence. We are all full here of the great coin sale to take place on the 21st & 22nd inst. by Mr. Cogan.[3] I have requested him to send you a catalogue, and you will see by it that it is decidedly the best collection ever offered in this country at auction—comprising more rare and fine coins as it is composed of two or three collections besides several valuable pieces picked up separately. If there are any pieces you feel inclined to bid for I will be glad to act for you if you will send me your bids. I have been unable to get the two Proof sets of 1858 & 1859 at the price you fixed and doubt if you will obtain them at that rate.

The 1858 is gradually but steadily going up in price and will inevitably in a few years be a very rare set—especially the dollar as none but Proofs were struck and only about 200 of them. There is nothing new here except this sale, for which every one is saving up his spare cash. I have a lot of forty or fifty Proof store cards which I obtained at 10 cts. apiece, taking five or six sets of them—but will keep them for you till after the sale, in case you purchase any pieces there. Please notice the note on the first page of Mr.

[1] This letter suggesting that about 200 to 210 Proof sets were struck in the year 1858 is the only specific *contemporary* record the author has ever encountered. (Years later the Chapman brothers stated that 80 were struck, a figure that was widely reproduced subsequently). The 1858 silver Proof sets contained the silver-three cent piece, half dime, dime, quarter dollar, half dollar, and silver dollar.

[2] Proof half cents of the 1840s, having been recently restruck at the Mint, were aplenty in Philadelphia numismatic circles. Local dealer William K. Idler was likely one of the outlets, in addition to Mint officers and their young relatives.

[3] The collection of Alfred B. Taylor, comprising 1,136 numbered lots (certain lots, beginning with Lot 1083, consisted of coins that J. Ledyard Hodge had Robert Lovett, Jr., strike to his order). Taylor was a collaborator with Messrs. Collet and Ledyard in the booklet commenced in

Cogan's catalogue regarding priced catalogues—he will not get them up unless he can be sure of selling at least 100 at the price named 50 cts. So if you want one for yourself or friends, please let him or me know & I will subscribe for you. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am

Y'rs very truly
J. Ledyard Hodge

Hodge continued to pursue his collecting interests throughout the decade of the 1860s. In 1868, by which time Hodge had long since moved to Washington, DC, no less an authority than Joseph N.T. Levick commented that Hodge had formed one of the finest collections of tokens and store cards in the country.[1] In 1869, he joined the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society as a corresponding member. Meanwhile, he worked at the Pension Office and helped manage funds destined for Civil War and other veterans.

As competent as Hodge may have been as a numismatist, his morals were sadly lacking. In the early 1870s he was convicted of embezzlement of government funds in a sensational case, the details of which were splashed all over the national dailies. At his home on K Street, his coin collection was seized. On October 23, 1871, the Washington auction firm of W.L. Wall & Co., with offices "at the New Marble Building, corner Pennsylvania Avenue and 9th Street," sold off Hodge's prizes. The offering consisted of 356 pieces, "many of them Proofs, all being U.S. coins of silver, copper, and nickel."[2] A review of the sale appeared in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* January 1872. Items crossing the block included Proof sets of 1846 ($25), 1854 ($19.50), 1855 ($18), 1856 ($18), 1857 ($14), 1858 ($8.75), and two sets of 1859 ($4.34 and $3.15); Proof cent of 1821 ($9.50); and a run of Proof half cents 1840-1848 plus 1852 for $90.

Not widely publicized was the curious fact that there were just two active numismatic bidders in attendance:

One was John Jay Knox, deputy comptroller of currency at the Treasury Department. Knox has his own niche in the Pantheon of American numismatics; he was instrumental in discussions leading up to the creation of the trade dollar denomination. Knox was an enthusiastic numismatist and pursued the hobby for all of his adult life.

The other was Ebenezer Locke Mason, Jr., the Philadelphia dealer, who later published this account:[3]

By direction of the U.S. government, the collection of coins, once the property of J. Ledyard Hodge, was sold by public auction, for reasons well known to the public, at Mr. Hodge's former residence, in K Street, Washington, October 23. Mr. Knox, of the Treasury Department, and Mason & Co., of Philadelphia, were the only buyers; the latter firm securing all the rare and valuable pieces excepting a lot of half cents dating from 1840 to 1850, which were bought by Mr. Knox for $9.25 each.

Among the choice things we secured at the Hodge sale were Proof sets of 1846, 1854, 1856, 1857, and 1858; also Proof dollars of 1836, 1846, 1847, 1849, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, and 1858; unique pattern half dollar of 1839 and an excessively rare pattern half dollar of 1838; pattern half dollar of 1859 having the Paquet head of Liberty with the reverse of the ordinary half dollar of present issue (a very rare piece). We succeeded in obtaining a set of the rare half cents; also, Proof copper cents of 1854, 1856, and 1857, and the Proof half cents of 1833, 1834, 1850, 1854, 1856, and 1857. All the above named are for sale....

With the preceding chapters of numismatic background concluded, the scene changes to the specific activities of Augustus G. Sage.

**Rare Proof half cent of 1846 similar to one sold in the J. Ledyard Hodge sale as part of a run of Proofs and, apparently, also to another sold as part of an 1846 Proof set. Today, it is believed that fewer than 20 original half cents exist of this date.**

1858 and published by January 1860, *Catalogue of American Store Cards &c.* His collection had been sold *en bloc* to Cogan. At the sale, William C. Cook was auctioneer as usual. In later times, Taylor's name appeared on two other Cogan sales.

[1] In a reminiscence in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* December 1868.

[2] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 61.

[3] *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* November 1871.

# CHAPTER 5

# *"Gus" and "Numismatist" in Print*

## *(1857)*

### NUMISMATICS IN THE *DISPATCH*

While Augustus B. Sage may have been quietly gaining knowledge about coins in 1856 and was relatively unknown, like a brilliant comet he flashed across the numismatic scene the following year. Rare coins were very much in the public eye, especially after the old copper cents were discontinued early in 1857. Metropolitan newspapers furnished forums for many discussions. In New York City the *New-York Dispatch*[1] printed numerous comments on the subject.

**The old and the new: The old-style large copper cent (at left) was discontinued in February 1857. On May 25 of the same year, the new copper-nickel Flying Eagle cents were released. The passing of the old copper cent created a nationwide sensation and prompted many citizens to scurry around to find as many different dates as possible.**

**This was a watershed year for numismatics. *Norton's Literary Letter* and *Historical Magazine* were published for the first time, these being the first magazines with serious numismatic content beyond a stray article or two. In the same year the first numismatic column appeared in a newspaper. The forum was the *New-York Dispatch,* which had already printed several inquiries about rare coins.**

As a prelude to his own literary efforts, Augustus B. Sage read the following notices among others:

From the *New-York Dispatch,* March 29, 1857:

> *W.J.H.*—This correspondent, who is somewhat of a numismatologist,[2] writes to correct a mistake made in our reply in last week's DISPATCH to the correspondent who assumed the anonyme of "A Sub.," in which we offered an opinion as to the cent coin found in the money drawer of the Botanic store in Grand Street.
>
> He says: "I have noticed lately that a great deal has appeared in your paper, as well as others throughout the country, relative to 'the old red cent.' Numerous errors appearing, I deem it quite necessary, with your permission, to make a few corrections. In the DISPATCH of the 15th and 24d insts, you say that 'the first cent issued by the Federal Government bears the date 1784, and bore the head of Washington on one side, and a chain of 13 links on the other.'
>
> "So far as I have been able to ascertain no state issued coins by act of legislature from the Declaration until the year 1785. When, at the June session of the Legislature, Vermont, then an independent government, authorized the coinage of copper for the term of two years from the first of July following. New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut, also issued copper coins between the years 1785 and '88. According to Felt's *Massachusetts Currency,* in speaking of the Indian cent, he says (see p. 206): A copper coin had been current of the succeeding representations (previous to 1787) having on one side a meridian sun in the middle, skirted with thirteen stars, and another out of their circular line, with the words, '*Nova Constellatio*' around them. On the other a laurel wreath, with 'U.S.' in the middle, surrounded chiefly with '*Libertas Justitia,*' and 1783.
>
> "This description may enlighten 'the Botanic Medicine Store in Grand Street,' so that the coin mentioned in the DISPATCH of the 22d may be classed as one of those

[1] Founded in 1846 by A.J. Williams. Certain numismatic citations (*e.g.* Howard Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958*) have this as the *New York Sunday Dispatch,* possibly taken from the use of *Sunday Dispatch* in the letter published from "Numismatist" under Gleanings No. VII, but in actuality the "Sunday" word was not part of the title. The *New-York Dispatch* hyphenated New-York on its front page, but not always in articles.

[2] Popular term for *numismatist.*

issued in Massachusetts. I have spent years in collecting and gathering information relative to the United States coins and those put forth in the Colonies, but in all my researches I have never heard of, nor have I ever seen a coin, 'with a bust of Washington on the obverse, and a chain of 13 links on reverse,' bearing date '1784.' However, there may have been a coin of that description, and if, among all the readers of the DISPATCH, there can be found one with the above design, I would be willing to pay a good price for a look at it, accompanied with many thanks for the privilege."

From the *New-York Dispatch,* April 12, 1857:

*To J.W.H. and John P. Dunn.*—"Botanic store, Grand street," writes: "It seems I have unwittingly provoked the 'cent controversy,' which, for the past two or three weeks has been made to occupy a conspicuous position in the department of *Notes and Queries.*

"In addition to the coin described, the proprietor of the store had in his possession sundry coins of similar value all obtained in the ordinary process of making change at the counter which to him were valuable only as being both ancient and national, and were accordingly preserved. Among these is one of the emission of 1783, which differing essentially from John P. Dunn's description, is entitled to fuller notice. On the obverse side of this coin is the bust of Washington, around whose head or brow is entwined the wreath of laurel surmounted on the top side by the words, 'Washington and Independence,' and on the bottom side the figures '1783' are written. The reverse side presents the goddess of Liberty, seated—the posture resembling that on the silver coins of later issue, holding in her right hand the olive branch of peace, and entwined in her left hand the staff and cap of liberty, the whole surrounded on the top side by the words '*United States.*' As this was the genuine emission, unquestionably, numismatologists and all others feeling an interest in such matters, can assuredly, by a visitation to the said establishment, see 'the elephant' in all his pristine beauty,[1] and without any other tax than the time allotted to the examination."

Upon this subject "A Constant Reader" writes: "Noticing a controversy in *Notes and Queries* regarding the Washington cent, I desire to say that I have one in my possession, which I have hitherto regarded as a pocket-piece only, until I read J.P. Dunn's description. This induces me to describe mine. The obverse corresponds with J.P. Dunn's in every particular,—the date being 1783. The reverse is somewhat different. On it there is the goddess of Liberty similar to the one on the American quarter dollar, with a branch of laurel extending outward. The words over the head are United (UNITY) States." This coin is similar to the one described by our Botanic correspondent. "W.J.H.," who denied the existence of coins bearing date 1783, must, with us, admit either of two hypotheses: that the coin above described was struck in the United States, and is the genuine "Washington cent," or, that it is one of the many tokens which were made in England at the insistence of American merchants, and subsequently put in circulation in this country.

From the *New-York Dispatch,* April 19, 1857:

*S.D.T.*—This correspondent writes: "Having read with some interest the remarks of correspondents on American coppers, and feeling that I can offer some explanatory facts relating to the statement that the first "Federal coinage of cents were issued in 1784, bearing the head of Washington on one side and 13 links on the reverse," I proceed to address you. It was proposed by Robert Morris in 1782 to issue a copper coin to replace the English halfpenny then current, which coin was repugnant to the Federalists. This proposed coin was named by Thos. Jefferson in 1784, the cent, probably an abbreviation' of the French term "*centime,*" but not till the establishment of the Federal Mint, in 1793, did the government issue any coin.

"The cent of 1792 has for obverse, the head of the Goddess of Liberty, the hair flowing freely behind, as if running against the wind, with 'Liberty, 1792;' the reverse, 'one cent, 1-100,' encircled by links or small chain—around this 'United States of Amer.' The features of the Goddess resemble those of Washington. In circumference this cent is nearly one third smaller than the subsequent issues.

"The palm leaf cent of 1793[2] is much the same as that of '92,' save the addition of three small palm leaves under the bust, and the olive wreath, taking the place of the chain around 'one cent, 1-100.' 1794 to 1796—The cents of this issue resemble those of 1793, save that Liberty now carries over her shoulder a staff mounting the Liberty Cap. In the latter part of the year 1796 a new type of cents was issued, the Liberty head now having a more orderly appearance—the hair being closely combed back, terminating in a bow of ribbons. This type lasted until 1808. 1809 to 1814.—The 13 stars now appearing for the first time on the cents. From that time (1815) there has been no alteration in the type of U.S. cents. From the foregoing statement you see how easily facts may be jumbled together, so as to produce a statement totally at variance with the truth.... J.D.F. will find a copy of Felton's [Felt's] Massachusetts Currency at the Rooms of the Society Library. We do not know, this side of Boston, where a copy of the work can be found for sale: neither can we give the date of its publication.

From the *New-York Dispatch,* April 19, 1857:

*W.J.H. to Botanic Store, John P. Dunn, and Others Interested:*—On the question of the old cent coinage, this correspondent writes: "It was not my intention or desire to trouble you or your readers again, upon the matter of old coins, but wishing to be sat right when wrong, and to correct others when they are wrong, I feel it incumbent on me to return an answer to your correspondents, Botanic Store, Grand Street, John P. Dunn, and Constant Reader, relative to the Washington Cents.

"In the DISPATCH of March 29th, I endeavored to call to notice, what I considered, and do now consider, an

[1] "Seeing the elephant" was a popular term of the era and related to seeing in person something unusual or grand which had only been read about or heard of before. Its most frequent application was in the California gold fields. Easterners and others who made the trip west and arrived in the Mother Lode country often stated that they had "seen the elephant."

[2] Reference to what numismatists of a later generation called the 1793 Wreath cent; the sprig above the date is hardly a palm. Also see notation in Chapter 15 concerning a 1793 "palm leaf cent" in the Foskett sale.

error, in regard to a description given in the DISPATCH of the 15th and 22d of March, of a coin bearing a bust of Washington on the obverse, and a chain of thirteen links on the other, date 1784. I then passed an opinion that no such coin was in existence, bearing the above device and date; and no one has yet come forward to contradict that belief.

"J.P.D. says that two of your correspondents come to the same conclusion that 1785 was the year in which the first cent was issued. I feel quite anxious, indeed, to have J.P.D. point to more than one correspondent who has come to the above conclusion, that proof I advanced. But be it fully understood that the cent issued in 1785 was not a Washington Cent by any means, but a Vermont penny, issued by act of legislature.

"J.P.D. says he has a coin bearing a bust of Washington on one side, and on the reverse, the legend 'United States of America,' and that if it will gratify W.J.H. in the least without paying a good price for a look at it, to call down, &c. I beg leave to inform the gentleman that I most respectfully decline, for the reason, that I have a number of the same sort; but if the gentleman will be kind enough to get an eyeglass or a pair of good magnifying spectacles, and look sharp, he will, in all probability, find, that the legend reads 'Unity States of America,' and that the date is '1783,' not 1784 or 1785, the great point which I desired to call attention to in the first place.

"Constant Reader writes, that W.J.H. denies the existence of coins bearing date 1783. I think the gentleman must have been dull of comprehension. When and where did he find the denial? I offered to show that so far as I was able to ascertain, no State issued coins by act of Legislature before the year 1785. If coins or tokens were issued by private individuals before or after that date, it has nothing at all with the point I advanced; for well do I know that coins of different devices were issued in 1783—having them in my possession—but not issued by legislative act.

"He also says, that 'W.J.H.' must admit either of two hypotheses: 'the coin dated 1783, was struck in the United States, and is the genuine Washington Cent, or, that it is one of the many tokens which were made in England at the insistence of American merchants, and subsequently put in circulation in this country.' I will not admit of either, for this reason: That if the coin of 1783 was struck in this country by private individuals, without the authority of legislative act, it can be considered as much a token as if it had been struck in England; and again, if struck, in England, and sent over here for speculation, it could most certainly have been at the insistence of the English as well as American merchants; and, I think that considering the brassy appearance of the coins in question—taking into consideration the majority of the great number that I have seen—that opinion would decide in favor of the former by a great odds.

"There are thirteen tokens and cents, differing in device, bearing the bust of Washington. To describe them here would occupy too much room, a full description of which, with their history, will be lost to the talents of a gentleman here in this city, who has spent years of time and money wherewith to gather information, and who will shortly issue a work on our early coinage.[1] Not wishing to extract one single leaf from the laurel wreath which will, I hope, eventually surround his brow, I will merely describe three of those coins bearing date 1783 which are in my possession, one of which, the Botanic Store, innocently, no doubt, describes as the *elephant,* in all his pristine beauty.

"No. 1 has on the obverse, a Roman bust of Washington with laurel wreath, surrounded with, Washington and Independence, 1783; reverse, an olive wreath enclosing 'one cent,' at the bottom, 1-100; legend, 'Unity States of America.' No. 2, obverse like No. 1; reverse, a female is seated holding in her extended right hand an olive branch, in the left, a staff, with the cup of Liberty; legend, 'United States.' No. 3, bust of Washington in military dress with epaulets, and a wreath on his brow; words, 'Washington and Independence, 1783;' reverse, like No. 2. There is another with a bust of Washington on each side, commonly called the 'double-header;' the busts are in military dress—over one, simply 'Washington,' over the other, 'one cent;' this one has no date. All of these are looked upon by numismatists as mere tokens, and hold no place among the authorized coins of the U.S. Mint.

"Robert Morris first proposed the cent, and in Congress, in 1791, offered inducements to artists and others, to send in devices for the new cent, and among which, was the Washington cent of 1791, bearing a fine likeness of Washington on the obverse, and a spread eagle on the reverse. The Senate bill proposed for the obverse, 'a representation of the bust of Washington, for the time being,' and quite a debate arose in the House concerning it. With many amendments, and the disapproval of Washington himself, a coin was substituted, bearing an emblematical bust of Liberty, date 1793. Therefore, the cent of '1791,' is looked upon as the genuine Excelsior by collectors, and which commands a great price, both from the circumstances connected, and scarcity of the piece, which makes it rare; whilst those of 1783 are common, and can be purchased for 75 cents each." It is but just to "Constant Reader" to say the strictures indulged in by "W.J.H.," are not warranted by anything which he has said. The remarks are ours, not "Constant Reader's." They are issued on a paragraph which will be found on page 177, vol. 3, Documentary History of New York. Describing the cent struck in 1783, and put in circulation soon after the treaty of peace, the editor remarks: "The coin from which this engraving was made, belongs to the Albany Institute, to which it was presented by Mr. William McElroy. It has been declared by some to be the Washington cent, but the probability is that it is a token manufactured at the time in England by some private speculator, and sent for circulation in America, and that the portrait of Washington—which is very well executed—was selected to give it greater currency."

## "GUS" IN PRINT

The *New-York Dispatch,* May 10, 1857, included a "chapter" by "Gus," our Augustus B. Sage, whom the editors obviously held in high esteem:

> *Gus.*—This correspondent has taken the trouble to write us a short but exceedingly interesting chapter on coins, which we commend to the perusal of those interested in the history of different cents struck by the states previous to the establishment of the federal mint:

[1] Presumably, the reference is to New York City numismatist Charles I. Bushnell, who contemplated but never issued a comprehensive book on the subject.

*The Connecticut Cent.*—On the front it has the side view of a man's head and upper part of breast, with a wreath on head, and breast covered with armor. The words Auctori; on the left, and Connec, on the right, mean "By Authority of Connecticut." On the reverse there is a female seated, designed, I suppose, to represent the Goddess of Liberty, holding a wig in her right hand and a pole in her left, and the words 'Inde et Lib," meaning "Independence and Liberty." The first was struck in 1786 and the last in 1788, each one being different; the 1786 having the head facing to the left. [W.J.H. says this coin is not scarce, and that it was issued by some private person.]

*The Vermont Cent.*—The Vermont cent is exactly the same as the Connecticut cent described above, with the exception of its having "Vermont Auctori," meaning "By Authority of Vermont." It bears date 1788...

*The Massachusetts Cent.*—On the front it has the picture of an Indian standing with a bow in his right hand, and an arrow in his left, surrounded by the words "Common Wealth." On the reverse it has a spread eagle, on whose body are the letters U.S. Above the eagle is the name of the State, "Massachusetts."

*The New Jersey Cent.*—The coat of arms of the State; that is, a horse's head and a plow on the front, surrounded by the words "Nova Caesarea," that being the name of the Colony when it was settled. On the reverse, it has the American shield surmounted by the words "E Pluribus Unum," "One from (or out of) many." It bears the dates of 1786, 7, and 8.

*The Franklin Cent.*—This cent is the one that probably has been confounded with the "Washington Cent," it having on the reverse thirteen links in form of a chain, inside of which there is a ring having on it the words "United States," inside of the *ring* the words "We are One," a sort of a wheel within a wheel, truly. On the front there is a representation of a dial and the sun; underneath the dial the words, or expression rather, "Mind your Business." On the right of the dial is the date 1787; on the left, "Fugio." The substance of it all being a piece of very good advice, laconic in the extreme, "We are One; Time Flies; Mind your Business."

*The Abolition Cent.*—On the front a Negress in chains, kneeling, surrounded by the words, "Am I not a Woman and a Sister;" underneath, the date, 1838. On the reverse, the word "Liberty' surrounded by a wreath, and the legend "United States of America"—the N being struck [as a backward N].[1]

*The New Constellation Cent.*—It bears the date 1783. On the face there is an eye surrounded by thirteen stars, they being the constellation, and designed to represent the Thirteen States, surrounding by the legend "Nova Constellatio," meaning New Constellation. On the reverse is a wreath with the words "Libertas" and Justitia," Liberty and Justice. Inside of the wreath, on the front, are the letters U.S. It was probably struck in England directly after the Revolution, by American merchants, and sent here for circulation.

## SPARRING IN THE *DISPATCH*

Apparently, Sage's May 10 "chapter" on American coins was well received by readers, for soon he was to rise to prominence in the *New-York Dispatch*. The time was early summer 1857, soon after the May 25 launching of the new small-diameter Flying Eagle cent. The youthful coin collector and schoolteacher was a bright, shining star, but perhaps somewhat brash, and, like most in the hobby, was prone to rely upon standard reference books in the field when compiling his articles. *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 1 was at most a twinkle in its editor's eye; it would not appear until October. Similarly, *Historical Magazine* was in its founding year, having been initiated in January, with its numismatic articles yet to come. There were no books by Dickeson or Hickcox to refer to, and the number of American coin auction catalogues published to date, if gathered in a pile, would have weighed but a few *ounces*.

This was a year before Sage's aforementioned first trip to Philadelphia and a year before the great growth period of numismatics, which would occur from 1858 to 1860. We see Sage at the very beginning of his professional numismatic career, but with a good general knowledge of world history, the ability to turn an interesting phrase, and enough professionalism and humility to fully credit outside sources of information.

Sage, who had barely turned the age of 16, wrote his column under the nickname of "Gus." The budding writer drew heavily upon British works by Rev. Rogers Ruding (*Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and Its Dependencies,* London, 1840, and other editions), John Y. Akerman (*A Numismatic Manual,* London, 1840), Martin Folkes (*Table of the English Gold and Silver Coins,* London, various editions including 1745, which seems to have been especially popular), H.N. Humphreys (*The Coin Collectors' Manual,* London, 1853), and other books. For American coinage, the Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. Dubois[2] volume, *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations, Struck Within the Past Century,* published in Philadelphia in 1842, was also prime source of information and, as it developed, a source of misinformation as well.

In due course, no less a personage than the seemingly venerable and always correct "Numismatist," whose real name was not given and was not known to readers of the column, rose to challenge "Gus" in print, creating what may have been the first great sparring match in print in American numismatics.

Beginning on June 28, 1857, the series of 11 weekly articles by "Gus" appeared under the title of "Gleanings

[1] This is the AM I NOT A WOMAN & A SISTER token later (1899) described by Lyman H. Low as No. 54 in the Hard Times token series. It was a private issue, not produced by the federal government or a state.

[2] William Ewing Dubois preferred to have his surname capitalized this way, although certain other members of his family preferred DuBois, including Patterson DuBois. Reference: William E. Dubois' letter to the *American Journal of Numismatics*, June 1868, in which he related that his parents spelled their surname as DuBois, with a capital B, "which I have discarded as troublesome and well nigh obsolete."

of Coins."[1] A synopsis of each and selected quotations follow:[2]

In Sage's initial column readers were greeted with this:

**Gleanings of Coins No. 1.**
**June 28, 1857 (Sunday)**
**(Written for the New-York Dispatch.)**
**GLEANINGS OF COINS**
**No. 1**
**BY GUS.**

In this chapter I shall treat of United States coins. Before I commence, I would say to the reader, by way of introduction, that I shall make no pretence of originality in all the articles which you may read, but I merely design to lay before you, once a week, a chapter on the subject of coins, collected from all sources. We find so little in print, that is, in the newspaper world, that I thought it would not be amiss in preparing the following articles.

*Years when coins were not issued.* –There were no eagles coined from 1805 to 1807, inclusive; no half-eagles in 1816 and '17; no quarter eagles before 1796, nor in 1800—'1, nor from 1807 to—23, inclusive, except in 1821; nor in 1828 nor '41.[3] No dollars from 1806 to 1838, except 1000 in '36.; no half dollars from 1797 to 1800, nor in 1815; no quarter dollars before 1796; none from 1798 to 1803; none from 1808 to '14, and none in 1817, —24, —26, —29, and 30. No dimes before 1796, nor in 1799, 1806, —8, —12, —13, and '15 to –19, –24, and '06;[4] no half dimes in 1798 '99, –26[5] to '28. No cents in 1815 or 1823, except a few specimen[6] pieces; no half-cents coined in 1798, 1801, '12 to 24, '27, '30, '32, and none from '36 to 41. Amount of copper pieces from 1795 to 1841, was 89,439,030 cents, and 7,444,713 half cents; value $931,613 86. All of which were coined in Philadelphia. –*Assay Manual,* 1841.[7]

*On coins struck previous to the establishment of the federal mint.* –From 1778[8] to 1787 some of the States issued copper coins. How long they continued current cannot be stated; but at this day those of them that remain are in the custody of the coin collectors. (For a description of these cents, the reader is referred to the DISPATCH of May 10th.) The cent of Massachusetts varies in weight from 148 to 154 grains. The Vermont cent of 1786 weighs about 110 grains. The Connecticut cent is the most irregular of all, varying from 96 to 144 grains.

There are also other varieties, particularly the "Nova Constellatio," of thirteen stars, and another piece with the same significant number of rings, conjoined, both of which were coined in Massachusetts.

The Constitution of 1787 arrested all these local issues, and vested the right of coinage in the General Government.

**COINS OF ALL NATIONS**

The same work says of the far-famed "Washington Cent:" "In the United States, while the newly-established mint was trying its powers in an experimental way, in the years 1791-92, the head of Washington, then President, was stamped upon the copper cent. But this being offered to Congress, was promptly forbidden; it was said (no doubt with truth) that Washington himself disapproved it." It then very pointedly remarks: "If ever a true republic could depart from a line of precedents, this Union might well have done so, in multiplying the likeness of the Father of his country." Then in a note: "The 'Washington Cent,' of which a few specimens escaped the mint, is now one of the greatest numismatic curiosities, and is eagerly sought after by collectors. There were two dies, materially different...."

"Gus" then went on to discuss Mint laws and specifications (fineness, weight) of the various denominations. He then treated the reader to a parlor trick of sorts:

*How to Read Coins in the dark.* –Among the numerous experiments with which science astonishes and sometimes even strikes terror into the ignorant, there is none more calculated to produce this effect than of displaying to the eye in absolute darkness the legend or inscription upon a coin. To do this, take a silver coin (I have always used an old one.) and after polishing the surface as much as possible, make the parts of it which are raised rough by the action of an acid, the parts not raised, or those which are to be rendered darkest, retaining their polish. If the coin thus prepared is placed upon a mass of red hot iron, and re-

[1] A scrapbook of these columns is preserved in the American Numismatic Society Library; additional information, including dates of appearance (not saved with the columns in the A.N.S. scrapbook) is from Scot Willingham via microfilm study in the New York Public Library. Certain later citations mis-titled the column as "Gleanings *from* Coins." Gleanings may be defined as items and scraps gathered from here and there, thus the title was quite fitting.

[2] Original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are retained in direct quotations (given in smaller type) from the *New-York Dispatch;* this is done in view of the typographical and other errors becoming important in certain later comments by "Numismatist." Quoted material emphasizes items of interest to present readers specializing in American coins; much other material, sparingly quoted, relates to ancient and world coins. Footnotes are by the present author (QDB).

[3] As will be seen in later commentaries by "Numismatist," this list contained errors. Moreover, in 1857 there was little information available concerning which dates of coins actually existed. (That information would have to await Montroville W. Dickeson's *American Numismatical Manual,* which in 1857 was nearly two years away from its release date in early 1859.) Much information could be taken from annual *Mint Reports,* which told of coins minted within a certain calendar year, without consideration that certain coins might have been struck from dies bearing earlier dates. Further, mintmarks were not usually considered; thus the 1841 quarter eagle citation refers to Philadelphia Mint coins (Charlotte and Dahlonega mint 1841 quarter eagles were readily available). In actuality a few 1841 Philadelphia Mint quarter eagles were minted as well, but not listed in the *Mint Report.*

[4] "Gus" probably intended 1826.

[5] Probably intended as 1806.

[6] Word in use for what were later called "Proofs" (following nomenclature originated by Mint Director James Ross Snowden in the mid-1850s). While in 1857 many collectors used the *Proof* term, others called them *specimens* or *master coins.*

[7] The reference is to *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations, Struck Within the Past Century,* by Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. Dubois, published by the Assay Department of the Philadelphia Mint, *1842.* Most of the quoted information was obtained by Eckfeldt and Dubois from earlier *Mint Reports,* without numismatic editing or commentary.

[8] No doubt 1783 or 1785 (most likely) was intended; 1778 was probably a transcription or typesetting error.

moved into a dark room, the inscription upon it will become less luminous than the rest, so that it may be distinctly read by the spectator. The mass of red hot iron should be concealed from the observer's eye, both for the propose of rendering the eye fitter for observing the effects, and removing all doubt that the inscription is really read in the dark, that is, without receiving any light direct or reflected from any other body. If in place of polishing the depressed parts and roughening the raised, we reverse the operation, then we shall still be able to read it from it being as it were written in black letters on a white ground. The first time I tried the experiment, without being aware of what would be the result, I used a French shilling[1] of Louis XV, and I was not a little surprised to observe upon its surface in black letters the inscription—BENE DICSIT NOMEN DEI.

The most surprising form of this experiment is when we use a coin from which the inscription has been either wholly obliterated or obliterated in such a degree as to be illegible. When such a coin is laid upon the red hot iron, the letters and figures become oxidated, and the film of the oxide radiating more powerfully than the rest of the coin, will become more numerous than the rest of the coin, and the illegible inscription may be distinctly read, to the great surprise of the observer, who had examined the blank surface of the coin previous to its being placed upon the hot iron.

*Letters of Natural Magic.* –There is also another way, which I have often tried; take a blank shilling or dime—by saying blank I mean where the inscription is illegible—and rub it briskly in the hair, right above the nape of the neck. The electricity will bring out the inscription.[2]

Following these diversions, "Gus" then returned to American numismatics with this concluding paragraph:

> *The Pine-tree Shilling.* –On the obverse it has a pine-tree in the centre, surrounded by the legend—"IN MASSACHUSETTS;" on the reverse, the legend is "AN-DO NEW ENGLAND," and the inscription is 1652, and below it XII. It was struck in Massachusetts for general circulation through New England, and continued to the commencement of the Revolution. Its intrinsic value is 16 cents, but it is worth a great deal more as a numismatic curiosity.

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. 2.

### July 5, 1857 (Sunday)

This week's contribution was titled "ANCIENT COINS" and drew from Paucton's *Metrologie* ("the most complete work on ancient coins ever published"), Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and Its Dependencies,* Thomas Salmon's *Universal Geography* (London, 1758), and Bruiloit's *Dictionary of Monograms* (Munich, 1832), each reflective of the diversity of Sage's information sources.

Relevant to the American series, these two paragraphs were interspersed among material on ancient and world coins:

> ORIGIN OF THE DOLLAR SIGN ($) The sign ($) which is prefixed to Federal money is called the dollar *mark.* It is a contraction of the letters "U.S.," the initials of the United States. The letters "U.S." we [*sic*] originally prefixed to sums of money expressed in Federal currency. At length the two letters were moulded or merged into one; —a letter U marked on a letter S—but for greater facility in writing, it was written as it is now seen. We need to say in olden time, for the sum of eighty dollars, U.S. 80 dollars.[3]
>
> SIGNIFICATION OF THE WORDS DIME, CENT, AND MILL. All these words are significant as to their vaule [*sic*]. Dime is derived from the French *disme,* signifying ten; cent and mill are from the Latin words *Centum,* signifying by the hundred, and *Mille,* by the thousand. Thus we say 10 dimes, 100 cents, and 1000 mills make a dollar.

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. 3.

### July 12, 1857 (Sunday)[4]

The third installment dealt entirely with ancient and world coins and began with this:

> *Punishment among the Romans for the Crime of Forgery.* – The punishment among the Romans for the crime of forgery was most severe. During the republic, false coiners, if belonging to the common people, were punished with death; those of a superior rank were sentenced to perpetual banishment, their estates being confiscated....

Sage continued his narrative, largely quoting from "Ackerman," being John Y. Akerman's *A Numismatic Manual.* Whether erratic spelling of authors' names was by Sage or by the compositor at the *Dispatch* is not known; sometimes the same surname was expressed several ways. As will be seen, Sage later commented that certain of his wording had been changed. Sage was very generous with his credits in an era in which many if not most American writers on numismatics (such as in auction catalogue descriptions and in the few books in print) did not identify their sources.[5]

The typical American numismatist collected a wide

[1] Any shilling-size foreign silver coin (slightly smaller than a U.S. quarter dollar) was commonly called a shilling; the French coin was probably a 24-sols or related fraction of the ecu (the typical reverse inscription on such pieces is BENEDICTUM SIT NOMEN DOMINI).

[2] One can imagine modern readers trying to replicate these experiments! In Sage's day, many New York City homes were heated by coal burning on a grate; thus, by plunging a piece of iron into the embers, it was an easy matter to obtain "red hot iron."

[3] The origin of the dollar sign is an enduring subject for writers. Rev. Chauncey Lee, Rutland, VT, wrote a book, *A Compendium of Federal Arithmetic,* published in Lansingburgh, NY, in 1797; an article in the September 1899 issue of *The Numismatist* stated that he proposed using a dollar sign, and may have been the first to have done so. Dr. Marcus Baker, of Washington, was engaging in research concerning the dollar sign in 1899, and he credited Lee as its inventor, but intended to do more research. In modern times such authors as Eric P. Newman and Edward C. Rochette have discussed the question.

[4] During the coming week, on July 15, 1857, S. Hudson Chapman would be born; S. Hudson and his brother Henry (born in 1859) went on to become the pre-eminent America rare coin dealers in the late nineteenth century.

[5] In the coin auction field, it was customary to give no credit for sources of information, although there were a few scattered exceptions. For

range of items including ancient and world coins, although newcomers were apt to be attracted to the United States series exclusively, such as forming a date set of copper cents. However, in time their interests usually broadened.

In the same *Dispatch* column, under coins of Sweeden,[1] this was printed:

> In regard to copper coins, Thomas Salmon says in his "Universal Geography," "There are copper coins (some as big as a man's hand,) of several values; and as they frequently pay foreign merchants in copper, the merchants take wheelbarrows with them, instead of bags, when they are to receive money." If that originated in these times it would pass for a pretty tough story, but as it was written in 1758 we consider it truthful.

Next, another topic and another source:

> *The Larin.* –This is a silver wire, about an inch in length, doubled up, and flattened on the inner side to receive the impressions of some characters. It was first made in Arabia; and has become scarce, but is still used as a money of account. –*Kelly's Universal Cambist.*[2]

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. 4.

### July 19, 1857 (Sunday)

"Gus" continued his writing with comments concerning American colonial issues followed by a general discussion of numismatics:

> *The Carolina Halfpenny.* –In the year 1694, during the reign of William and Mary, there was a copper coin struck, which is now rarely met with. It was struck for circulation in the two Carolinas. On the obverse it had an elephant, without any inscription; on the reverse is: "God preserve Carolina and the Lord Proprietors, 1694." The samples found are so defective, that no just estimate can be made in regard to its weight. It is commonly called the Carolina halfpenny.
>
> *The New York Cent.* –This coin is very rarely met with. It bears the date 1783 [*sic;* 1787 is correct]. On the obverse there is a head, surmounted by the inscription, "Nora [*sic;* Nova was intended] Eborac;" on the reverse it has the figure of Liberty, "Vir. Et Lib." and the date. It was issued by order of the Legislature of the state. There seems to be a prevalent wonder—why were all these coins struck? It can be explained in a few words. By examining the date, we see that they were struck soon after the Revolution. The people had thrown off the yoke of a tyrannical king, and as they cast aside his rule they cast aside all belonging to him; therefore it was necessary that they should have a currency; hence the issue.
>
> *Numismatics.* –It is the science of coins and medals. The coin is struck for circulation, as a medium of exchange; while the medal is struck in commemoration of some person or some event. Ancient coins and medals are often confounded, in spite of the broad difference between them. They each have on the face, the bust of some person, the sovereign, or an imaginary Deity; and on the reverse, some emblematic verse or design. The words around the border of the coin are called the *legend,* those in the middle *inscription,* when occupying the bottom part, and separated from the rest by a dot or line, they are called the *exergue. Brande* says, "the earliest Grecian coins which we possess appear to have been nearly of a spherical shape; they contain on the reverse some emblems of the particular cities which struck them; and on the reverse deep indentations made by the puncheon in which the metal was held while the reverse was struck. These marks, or the die, were soon brought into a more regular shape, sometimes forming a neat square, sometimes a circle. Types were afterwards introduced on both surfaces of the coin, by inserting some small object in one compartment of the die."
>
> Several years ago, there was a instrument discovered in France, which established beyond a doubt that ancient coins were struck with a hammer. It is made like a pair of tongs, that is, it has two *legs,* joined by a rivet. It resembles two hammers, with bent handles joined together; the face of one representing the obverse, and the other the reverse. It was of the time of Constans, for on the obverse the letters "STANS" are visible. On the reverse there is a victory, with a trophy, and a palm branch; legend—D.N. It was discovered at Beumontsur—Olse, and presented to the French Cabinet, by the Maire of that commune. It was intended for striking both sides of the coin at once, that is, by placing the metal between the two hammers, and striking the upper one, a powerful blow....

At the end of the article, Brande was again quoted, here reproduced in part:

> "No less than three hundred portaits [*sic*] are preserved in the series of Roman imperial coins. Of modern coins a word. Coins struck prior to Catherine II had their devices impressed with a hammer. The system of lettering the edges, which was succeeded by graining, was invented to prevent filing or clipping."[3]

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. 5.

### July 26, 1857 (Sunday)

Titled "Privilege of Coining—Legal Tender," this installment treated the legal aspect of coining money and the various metallic and weight standards employed, and was followed by a discussion of the significance of the British pound, shilling, and penny. Then followed this:

> *Value of Old American Gold Coins.* –Old United States gold coins are of more value now than the ones used at present, the eagle being valued at $10.50, the half and quarters in proportion. The reason for this, is, that at the time

numismatic books, credits, when given at all, were apt to be mentioned in the fore part of a book, not footnoted or otherwise specifically attributed in the text. Quite possibly, the first extensively-credited truly scholarly large book on American numismatics to appear in print was Sylvester S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America,* 1875.

[1] A common spelling at the time for what we now spell as Sweden.

[2] A cambist is a general guide, table, or listing of foreign exchange; equivalent values of silver and gold coins, usually based upon their bullion or intrinsic worth and were intended for bankers, specie dealers, and merchants, not for numismatists.

[3] Catherine II, a.k.a. Catherine the Great, was empress of Russia 1762–1796. "Graining" is equivalent to what we now call *reeding,* or vertical ribs on the edge of a coin.

of their issue the proportion of gold to silver was 15 to one, that is, one pound of gold was worth 15 pounds of silver. But soon after, the proportion was 16 to one, hence they were of still greater value—the eagle $10.66 2/3 the half and quarter in proportion. In 1834 Congress remedied this, by ordering that the eagle should contain 15½ grains less pure gold.[1] The old eagles contained 273½ grains of *standard,* or 247½ grains of pure gold, and 26 of alloy; hence the law reduced it to 232 grains of pure gold, and 26 of alloy. The dollar (silver,) is no longer issued.[2] It contained 371½ grains of pure silver, and 44½ alloy. The old quarter-of-a-dollar is valued at 26 cents, on account of its alloy.[3]

Sage then returned to the discussion of the derivation of certain British coinage terms, quoting Lye, Turner, Sonner, and Clark on the word *shilling,* certainly reflective of the wide range of Sage's references. One can imagine that the Astor Library—a meeting place for New York City numismatists—was the source for many of the volumes he consulted, not only on numismatics, but on word origins, world history, ancient times, etc. Changing the drift of his thoughts, he continued with this:

*New York in* 1753. –Mr. Smith, the historian, who visited this city in 1756, gave an excellent account of it. I extract the following:

"The money used is silver, gold, British half-pence, and bills of credit. Twelve half-pence, till lately, passed for a shilling; which, being much beyond their value in any of the neighboring colonies, a set of gentlemen, seventy-two in number, on the 22d of December, 1753, subscribed a paper engaging not to receive or pass them except at the rate of fourteen coppers to a shilling. This gave rise to a mob, for a few day [*sic*], among the lower class of people; but, some of them being imprisoned, the scheme was carried into execution, and established in every part of the province.

*Lord Baltimore's Currency.* –I clip the following from the *Georgia Citizen:*

"In 1632, Lord Baltimore obtained a patent grant as 'Proprietor' of Maryland, and either at that time or in 1661, when his grant was renewed by the Second Charles, coined money for this colony, bearing his effigy, with the inscription, 'Cæcillius Dus. Terræ Mariæ;' and on the reverse his arms, crowned with the inscription, 'Cressite et multiplicamini,' and the numerals XII, VI and IV, on the respective coins. He also issued a small copper coin, with the legend 'Denarium Terræ Mariæ' on the reverse. These coins are now extremely rare, and, possibly, are not to be found in this country."

The first inscription means, "Cecil, Proprietor of the Land of Maria;" that is, Cecil, Proprietor of Maryland. Number two means, "Penny of Maryland." My readers will recollect that Maryland was named after the queen of Charles, Henrietta Maria, and the [*sic*] Cecil or Cecillius Calvert was the oldest son of the first Lord Baltimore, Sir George Calvert.

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. VI.

### August 2, 1857 (Sunday)

In the selected quotations given it is seen that Augustus B. Sage's knowledge, interests, and sources were far-ranging. Installment No. VI, the first to bear a Roman numeral sequential designation, began with a discussion titled "The only Latin Brass Coin," which noted that the issue, made during the reign of Otho, was controversial, and that Ackerman (Akerman) "doubts its authority." On the other hand, Sage commented, "Tacitus wrote that when Otho was elected, the Senate assembled, and voted him the title of Augustus, and the Tribunica Potestas. Now, considering that in old times a medal or coin was struck immediately after an important event, it seems strange that none should have been issued...."

British coins and Jewish shekels were also discussed in the column. Relevant to the new, small United States cent of the Flying Eagle design, which made its debut on May 25, 1857, and, thus, was a current event, Sage quoted a poem in old English, the meaning of which must have escaped most readers:

*Harding's Chronicle.* –The following curious piece of poetry (?) I take from Harding's Chronicle,. Let those who aspire to eulogise the new cent, or seek for poetical fame, be not discouraged:

"The king then did great right and justice
Upon cuppers and piercers of the coyne,
And new money made, that they might suffice
Of sylver plate, made out of Boloyne.
The grote, half grote, all in new coyne,
He coyned fast, peny, half peny, ferthing,
For porayll to bye with theyr lovyng."

Gleanings No. VI concluded with a letter received by the *Dispatch.* Apparently, the editor simply printed it for Sage to see at the same time that other readers did, trusting that in due course Sage would furnish a suitable reply:

The following communication concerning the interesting subject which "Gus" has under consideration, and which he treats with so much ability, speaks for itself. We have not the slightest doubt that "Gus" can satisfactorily answer it.

---

[1] Act of June 28, 1834, made effective August 2, 1834.

[2] Silver dollars had been issued last in quantity in 1850, followed by a very small number in 1851 and 1852, after which time the silver dollar contained more value in silver than the $1 face value. Accordingly, they cost more than $1 each to make, and were struck only upon specific request of depositors who sought such coins for use in the export trade, mainly to China. As Sage stated, such pieces were not *issued* any longer; however, they were *struck.*

[3] The price of silver rose on international markets in the early 1850s, causing current silver coins from the half dime to the dollar to be worth more in melt-down value than in face value. Accordingly, many if not most pieces were withdrawn from circulation and hoarded or melted. Congress remedied the situation with the Act of February 21, 1853, which reduced the weights of the half dime, dime, quarter dollar, and half dollar, permitting them to circulate effectively once again; the weight of the silver dollar was not changed, and thus, as noted, dollars did not circulate after this date. Years later in 1873 the price of silver dropped to the point at which a silver dollar contained $1 worth of silver; later, the price dropped well below $1.

New York, July 23, 1857. [Thursday.]

*Editors of the Sunday Dispatch—Gentlemen:* —I have noticed with interest the several articles entitled, *"Gleanings of Coins, by Gus.,"* published in your valuable paper, but the article No. 3, published in last Sunday's issue, has particularly attracted my attention.[1]

The writer of the articles deserves credit for the pains he takes to enlighten the unknowing, and while I give him credit for his good motives, I am very sorry to be compelled to call him to a little account, for some misstatements which he has made in regard to the New York copper piece, which he says "was issued by order of the legislature of the State."

Now, I should very much like to know his authority for this assertion, for I feel assured he would not have said thus without some authority. I have examined with considerable attention the laws of New York for the coinage of the piece described, or for the coinage of any other piece or pieces, gold, silver or copper. Immediately after the Revolution, authority was given by some of the States to coin money, and some of them had mints, but this was not the case with New York. There are several varieties of the New York coppers besides the one described, some of which bear upon them the arms of the State of New York, but none of them were made by state authority.

The mistake into which *"Gus"* has fallen is an important one, and should be corrected, as otherwise it may lead others astray, and thereby do an injury to the cause which he has at heart, and this I am convinced is far from his intention. If the copper he described had been struck by authority, it would have been a *coin,* whereas, it is nothing more than a *token* issued by individual enterprise.

I hope if *"Gus"* has any authority for his statement, he will at once let us have it,—if he knows of any act having been passed, or of any act having been in contemplation, he will at once bring it forward. All are liable to err, but nevertheless until something is brought to light to show an error on my part, I shall not give up my position, that "Gus" is wrong, and I might add that his New York copper was *not* one of an authorized issued by the State. Hoping you will give this a place in your columns, I remain,

Yours, &c, NUMISMATIST.

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. VII.

### August 16, 1857 (Sunday)

This week's column began with the following:

*A Rare Massachusetts Coin.* –In 1776 there was a good sized copper coin struck off in Massachusetts, which is now very rare. It is about the size of a half dollar. On the obverse it had a pine tree in the centre, surmounted [*sic*] by the inscription, *"Massachusetts State."* On the reverse the Goddess of Liberty, seated on a globe, holding in her right hand an olive leaf, and in her left a staff, with the inscription *"Liberty and Virtue,"* and the date 1776.

*Manufacture of the Die.* –As the *die* is used in coinage, it may not be uninteresting to read something of its manufacture, and manner of using it. *Brande* gives the best description that I have seen, and for want of a better, I shall give his....

Then followed discourses on farthings of Charles II of England, coinage of Japan, a curious seal of Isaacius Angelus, and the derivation of the word *peconia* (misspelled, should have been *pecunia,* as in pecuniary). Other items included these:

*Vermont Cent.* –In 1785 there was coin struck in Vermont, and which has since become quite rare. The following is the description of it: On the obverse, there is an eye in the centre with thirteen rays diverting from it, separated by thirteen stars, together with the inscription, "Quarto Decima Stella; on the reverse, the sun rising in the distance, from behind mountains, and a plow in the foreground, and the inscription "Vermont Ensium Respublica," and the date 1785. There is another kind, which I have noticed before.[2]

*Feuchtwanger Cent.* –In 1837 Dr. Feuchtwanger, of this city, submitted a "cent" to Congress for their examination, wishing them to adopt it for general circulation. It was refused. It was composed of lead and tin, I believe. On the obverse there is an eagle standing in a very hostile position upon a snake, and underneath the date 1837. On the reverse there is "one cent" on the field surrounded by a wreath, and around the coin, "Feuchtwanger's Composition." The edge is nicely grained. Take it all in all, it is a very fair sample of work, and if Congress can accept such a piece of work as the "new cent,"[3] why didn't they accept that? It was exactly the *size of the present issue,* and has a white color.

Rounding out the column were follow-ups to earlier articles, the first being a reply to "Numismatist" which had penned by "Gus" nearly two weeks earlier:

We have received the following on

### COIN MATTERS

New York, Aug. 3, 1857

*Editor of the Dispatch—Gentlemen:*

Seeing that I am called upon to substantiate my opinion in regard to the "New York Cent," I do so cheerfully. Previous to that assertion there had always been a slight doubt as to the authenticity of that cent, but a few days before that article was published, in looking over a number of the *"Georgia Citizen,"* I came across a skeleton article, that is, a mere outline, on coins struck previous to the establishment of the Federal mint. In that article I saw a description of the New York cent, and glancing toward the end, the following struck my eye:

"These appear to be all the varieties of *authorized* coin struck in and for the States previous to the establishment of the Federal mint."

Now, it struck me, that a coin to be *authorized,* in the sense there meant, meant by the authority of the States in

[1] Gleanings No. 4 (not No. 3), published July 19, 1857, contained the information about the New York copper piece.

[2] Noticed by Sage in Gleanings of Coins No. 1. In many cases Sage's descriptions of coin legends are slightly different from those appearing on the coins themselves; in the present example, it should be QUARTA, not "Quarto." VERMONTENSIUM is one word on the coin, RES PUBLICA is in the form of two words. Moreover, pieces with the VERMONTENSIUM spelling are dated 1786 and are known today as varieties Ryder-6, 7, and 8; those dated 1785 have the spelling as VERMONTS or VERMONTIS.

[3] Reference to the new 1857 Flying Eagle cent, which Sage seems to have disliked.

question, and as New York was among that number, I thought that was enough to remove the doubt from my mind, so I have my opinion accordingly. If that opinion is wrong, I sincerely thank "Numismatist," but if, when I examine the subject thoroughly, (as I intend doing as soon as possible,) and find that *I* am right and *he* is wrong, I will let you know. I have no doubt, however, from the appearance of his letter, that he means well. As regards the State having no *mint*, that is a mere quibble,[1] for coins could have been struck by contract, the same as in England in the time of Charles the Second, who granted the coinage of farthings to Sir Thomas Armstrong for twenty-one years, for a compensation of about £16. Hoping that this will satisfy "Numismatist," I remain, gentlemen,

Yours, &c. Gus.

Another letter from a reader, W.J.H., of 550 Broadway,[2] New York City, was published and included information from the *Report of the Director of the Mint,* December 3, 1795, relating to half dimes, specifically to inform "Gus" that half dimes were, indeed, struck prior to 1796, an irrelevant response to Gleanings No. 1, in which "Gus" had not stated otherwise.

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. VIII.

### August 16, 1857 (Sunday)

"The Power of Coinage," "Coins of Japan," "Seal of Isaacius Angelus" (again), "Derivation of Pecunia" (again), and "Process of Coining in the Royal Mint" were titles of subjects discussed, plus this:

*New Jersey Cent.* –In 1787 there was a cent struck in New Jersey, bearing a female seated on a globe on the obverse, with the inscription "Immunis Columbia," and the date 1787. On the reverse a spread eagle, surmounted by the words or legend "E Pluribus Unum." It is now scarce.

At the end of the column "Numismatist" was heard from. Unlike his first letter, the tone of the present correspondence becomes very argumentative:

### "NUMISMATIST" TO "GUS"

To the Editors of the New-York Dispatch:
New York, August 12, 1857.

*Gentlemen* –The reply of "Gus," though furnishing us with his authority, is very far indeed from satisfying us that the New York copper was struck by "order of the Legislature of the State."

The article alluded to by him must be in every sense, a *"skeleton article,"* for it is very evident that in this instance at least, if there be any flesh at all upon its bones, it falls to pieces at the touch. It seems very surprising to us that "Gus" should have neglected to consult the laws of the State, which were within his reach and almost under his nose, and taken a "skeleton article," in an obscure southern journal as authority for matters relating exclusively to the history of New York. We cannot think that his neglect arose from an ignorance of the existence of printed laws of the State, for such volumes are frequently referred to, and often produced as authority in the courts, not alone of this State but of the United States.

The labor and trouble which "Gus" has taken to procure the article is wholly lost, and his trip to Georgia must therefore be looked upon as nothing else than a wild goose chase, or an attempt to "go to sea in a bowl."

We are glad to see, however, that he has at last found the right road for his investigations, and though we hope he may be successful in finding the object of his search, yet we fear he will require a pair of larger eyes than his own to discover an order of the Legislature of the kind referred to.

As regards the charge of "quibbling" which he brazingly [*sic*] prefers against us, it is like a *"bite against a file,"* for the whole tenor of his so called reply shows clearly that the boot should be placed on the *other leg.*

What he stated in Gleaning No. 4 to be a decided *fact,* he now qualifies into a *belief:* —what will come next can easily be surmised. He seems to have entirely forgotten the point in dispute, which is, not whether the coppers were struck by contract, or where, or when, or in what place they were struck, but simply and solely whether they were struck by *"Order of the Legislature of the State,"* or not. His information respecting the contract with Sir Thomas Armstrong for the coinage of farthings, though not at all new to us, we nevertheless thank him for, but we cannot possibly imagine what that has to do with the History of New York, or with the matter in dispute.

In conclusion, we take leave of "Gus," and hope he may be successful in his contemplated researches, and that after his dreary trip to the Moon, he may come back considerably enlightened, and so much wiser that when he next attempts to floor an antagonist, he will not be so short-sighted as to produce a lame, much less a *"skeleton"* article, to aid him in the performance of the operation. We hope, at all events, in his next communication, should he come back to write one, if he wishes a further reply from us, that he will stand up *bravely and face the music.*

With an apology for again intruding upon you, I remain, Messrs. Editors,

Your obt. Servant,
NUMISMATIST

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. IX.

### August 23, 1857 (Sunday)

This installment began with "The Manner of Distinguishing Genuine Medals from Counterfeit Ones," based upon information from a seemingly arcane source, "A Treatise on the Revenues of the Romans," published in London in 1741. Other topics included Thomas Simon's Petition Crown, the coins of Poland, and this, among other things:

*Carolina Penny.* —In 1722, a penny and twopenny piece were struck for the Carolinas. These bore on the obverse the head of George I, with the inscription, "Georgus D.G.

[1] At this point the first suggestion of discourtesy is introduced into the "Gus"-"Numismatist" exchange.

[2] A slightly later listing (William H. Boyd's *Pictorial Directory of Broadway,* 1859) notes that this is the address of Tiffany & Co. (operated by C.L. Tiffany, G.F.T. Reed, H.R. Treadwell, George McClure, and Alfred Bedford) and also of Andrews & Bro. (jewelers; John R. and George R. Andrews). In 1857, Tiffany advertised its location as 560 Broadway.

Mag. BRITRAET, HIB. REX."[1] Reverse, "Rosa Americana, Utile Dulci, 1722."

Toward the end of the column, this appeared:

[*Note.* –In No. 8, as my readers have probably noticed, were three articles that were in No. 7. It seems that three leaves of my copy of 7 were placed by mistake and sent to the DISPATCH, before the mistake was discovered. The editor thinking all was right, gave it to the compositor. Hence the blunder. The credit of "process or coinage" should have been given to *Brande,* and "Derivation of Pecunia to *Folke.*" –*Gus.*]

A close comparison of the versions of the same articles in No. 7 and No. 8 reveals that the use of italics, the paragraph division, and even the spelling differ between the two. Thus, it can be surmised that the compositor introduced his own style into Sage's work, and that the erratic use of italics, quotation marks, etc., characteristic of the series, may not have been due to Sage. A parallel comparison follows of the "Pecunia" feature.

As in No. 7:

*Derivation of Peconia, &c.* –Rude brass is said to have been current anciently in Rome, even to the time of *Servius Tullus.* Some will have *Janus,* others Numa, to have first stamped it. Then it bore the figures of cattle (Pecus) impressed, whence it was called *pecunia.* Afterwards it had the double Janus on one side, and the ship of Saturn on the other, being so stamped, according to tradition, by Janus himself....

As in No. 8:

*Derivation of Pecunia, &c.* –Rude brass is said to have been current anciently in Rome, even to the time of Servius Tullus. Some will have Janus and others Muna to have first stamped it. Then it fore the figure of cattle (Pecus) impressed, whence it was called *pecunia.*

Afterwards it had the double James on one side, and the ship of Saturn on the other, being so stamped according to tradition by James himself....

It is seen that we have both *peconia* and the correct *pecunia,* that Janus in the second printing appears as *James,* etc.

Then, relative to old business, "Gus" took a verbal swipe at "Numismatist," challenging his status as a gentleman:[2]

New York, Aug. 17, 1857.
To the Editors of the New-York Dispatch:

GENTLEMEN: The first note of "Numismatist" gave the impression that he was a gentleman, but I find, by reading his last communication, that I am vastly mistaken. A man that fills the space of a newspaper with *slang phrases,* deserves no notice; and as "Numismatist" is one of that class, he will not receive further notice from me. GUS.

Closing the column was this:

### A QUESTION FOR "GUS"

New York, Aug. 17, 1857.

Gus. –*Sir:* Will you be kind enough to give me an accurate description of the coin known as the Washington Cent in your next chapter of "Gleanings of Coins." Please, give the exact number of stars over the head of the eagle.

Your most obedient servant, S.J.B.

P.S. If it is not convenient to give it in your next, please give it as soon as possible, as it is to settle a controversy, you being the chosen referee.

S.J.B.

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. X.

**August 30, 1857 (Sunday)**

This week's topics included the coins of Charles I of England, and the "portcullis," a coin made for export under the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Among American notes were these:

*Massachusetts Coin.* –In 1776 there was a copper coin issued in Massachusetts. It was about the size of a half-cent, and had on the observe [*sic*] the head of Janus, and the reverse, "Goddess of Liberty, 1776." It is supposed to have been designed, if not engraved, by that well known patriot Paul Revere.

*New York Coin.* –In 1785 there was a cent struck in this State. It was of the usual size, and had on the obverse an Indian, with the legend, "Libertas Libertatum Defendo" on the reverse an eagle, with the motto "Excelsior," and the date 1785.

*The Washington Cent.* –This coin is now very rare and is eagerly sought after by antiquarians. There are several varieties of the "Washington Cent," but the genuine one may be known by the following description. On the obverse it has the bust of Washington surmounted [*sic*] by the inscription "Washington President,[3] and the date 1792. On the reverse a spread eagle, holding six arrows and an olive branch, and over the [*sic*] *eleven* (11) stars.

There is one variety, of which I have a *fac simile,* having the head of Washington laureated on both sides, the one on the obverse being surmounted by the word "Washington," and the reverse by "one cent." It bears no date, and is the same size of the copper cent.[4]

Another bearing the date 1783, has *Washington, President* on the obverse, over the bust of Washington; on the reverse a female seated holding the cap of liberty on a pole, and the inscription *United States.*

[1] This spelling is very confused. It should have been GEORGIUS: D:G: MAG: BRI: FRA: ET: HIB: REX. (which translates to: George, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Hibernia [Ireland] King).

[2] In the nineteenth century being considered a "gentleman" was far more important that it is today. A few decades before the 1850s, such a comment might even provoke the challenge to a duel. The youthful Sage, who dodges "Numismatist's" questions for the moment and concentrates on "Numismatist's" personality, seems to have brought out the nasty side of the letter writer, no doubt justifiably in "Numismatist's" mind.

[3] No quotation marks after President; as noted, punctuation was erratic.

[4] Today, such a piece is known as the Double Head cent, is believed to have been struck near the turn of the nineteenth century, and is thought to be a genuine issue.

The one having the inscription *Unity* States of America, and one cent on the reverse, and bearing the date 1783, I believe to be worthless.

There is another kind, the reverse being the same as that of the cent of 1806, &c. On the obverse it has the bust of Washington. It bears the date 1783. Any person having a coin of the latter description would oblige me by leaving a *fac simile* of it at this office.[1]

Undaunted by being summarily dismissed as being an ungentlemanly person by "Gus," "Numismatist" decided to attack head-on, and cruelly and somewhat misleadingly dissect Gus's column issue by issue:

### "NUMISMATIST" TO "GUS"

To the Editors of the New-York Dispatch:

New York, August 25, 1857. [Tuesday.]

GENTLEMEN: —The controversy between "Gus" and myself has ended just as I predicted in my last. He has now abandoned his position altogether. He has seized the first chance that offered, and flown from the combat like an affrighted rooster from the cockpit on receiving the first prick of the *spur.*[2] That he has studiously evaded this issue from the beginning has been evident enough to all, and must have excited every feeling of *contempt,* but the *sneaking* manner of his departure must have filled with laughter every reader of the DISPATCH. As the huge mass of "Gleanings" with which this *"Tom Thumb"*[3] compiler has been deluging the public press, and forcing upon the numismatic world, he must not suppose that they will be left untouched. There are always two sides to a question, and I am convinced that the Editors of the DISPATCH will, with their usual impartiality and courtesy, hear what may emanate from *both.* Having lately examined the whole series of these ill arranged and ill assorted "skeleton" documents, I have found them so full of the grossest errors and absurdities , that I am now well convinced in my own mind that they have been written by none other than by some *small* sprout of the great *"Baron Munchausen"*[4] himself, and in order to satisfy others of this fact, a few references will now be given for their consideration.

GLEANING No. 1 —Half dimes were coined in 1827, and half cents in 1813, 1832, 1836, and 1840; and quarter dollars in 1824. There is not a collector that I have ever seen or heard of but has one cent at least of 1823 displayed in his cabinet, to say nothing of duplicates laid aside. So much for Munchausen's "few specimen pieces" of this date. His "Nova Constellatio of 13 stars, and the piece with the same significant number of rings conjoined," were not coined in or for Massachusetts, and the "Washington cents" of 1791 and 1792 were not coined at the "infant mint" as the "infant" Munchausen would lead us to believe. There is not a man living who ever saw a pine tree shilling bearing the legend "MASSACHUSETTS!" What remarkable foresight our forefathers must have had to pass a "Code of Laws in 1752" for the regulation of a mint which was not *thought of* until 1783, not *resolved* upon until 1786, and not established until 1892![5]

GLEANING No. 4. —The New York copper does *not* bear the date "1783," the legend on the obverse is *not* "Nora Eborac," nor "Vir. Et Lib." on the reverse. Who ever heard before of a *head surmounted by an inscription!* Besides this, there is a vast difference between a *Legend Inscription,* as any numismatic work will show.[6] As to its *not* having been struck by "order of the Legislature of the State," that fact we have already decided.

GLEANING No. 5. —Lord Baltimore did *not* coin money at all. He *ordered* some to be coined, but such money was neither coined in "1632" or in "1661," neither date is right. Any Latin dictionary will show "Tom Thumb" what is the Latin word for *increase;* and as for Lord Baltimore's money, there are several complete sets of his silver coins in this country to my knowledge,[7] one of which is in my own possession, but I never saw or heard of any, and no one else, hearing such a word as "CRESITE!"

GLEANING No. 7. —The Pine Tree copper dated 1776 is a mere token, and *not a coin.* Here, in this "Gleaning," we have the *rarest kind of a curiosity,* one which Barnum will surely want to have—a *"Pine Tree surmounted by an Inscription!"*[8]

GLEANING No. 8. —The piece here described as a "New Jersey cent," is not a New Jersey piece at all, and there is *no authority* whatever, beyond the *"skeleton article,"* or *"Tom Thumb,"* or *"Munchausen,"* for the assertion.

GLEANING No. 9. —The Rosa Americana coins were not struck for the Carolinas, nor for any *one* or *two* of the American Colonies, which *fact* together with all the *facts* we have stated, we could *incontestibly prove,* the asser-

[1] This paragraph and also the one before it both refer to the so-called UNITY STATES cent, dated 1783, but believed to have been struck in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The reverse is a copy of a United States cent circa 1803, but with UNITY STATES OF AMERICA, presumably to evade counterfeiting laws. The "fac simile" to be left at the office refers to a pencil rubbing of such a coin.

[2] The reference is to the sport of cockfighting, in which opposing roosters were each fitted with sharp steel spurs.

[3] Charles Stratton (1838-1883), a midget, was showcased by P.T. Barnum under the name of Tom Thumb during this decade. Tiny in actual stature (3'4"), Tom Thumb was decked out in fancy regalia and preposterous uniforms, the very picture of conceit and buncombe. The Tom Thumb name came from an English children's story in which a character was no larger than his father's thumb. Presumably, through this metaphor "Numismatist" intended to portray "Gus" as all show and puffery, with little true substance.

[4] Munchausen (1720-1797) was a German soldier who constantly regaled listeners with exaggerated tales of his conquests, exploits, etc.

[5] Aha! "Numismatist," like "Gus," was the victim of composing errors in the type room at the *Dispatch;* the date intended was 1792. The Code of Laws referred to by "Gus" (but not quoted in the present text) was dated April 2, 1752 and, doubtless, was a typographical error for the correct date of April 2, 1792. Thus, the present 1892 typographical error was a comeuppance of sorts.

[6] The typesetter struck again; probably "*Legend* and an *Inscription*" was intended.

[7] A re-reading of the original text by "Gus" seems to indicate that he was referring to the rarity of the Maryland copper "denarium," not to the Maryland silver coins.

[8] "Numismatist" seems to be straining to make his point. In any event, today, most knowledgeable readers would consider the 1776 piece to be a coin, not a token. From 1841 to 1868, Phineas T. Barnum was proprietor of the American Museum in New York City, which by 1857 was the largest display of curiosities in America. After the 1856 "clock excitement" it was managed by others for a time, although Barnum's name was associated with it.

tion of *"Munchausen"* or the *"skeleton article,"* or the *"moon excursion,"* or the *"slang phrases,"* or the *"gentlemanly"* personality to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Now, gentlemen, here is material enough for a grand discussion *pro* and *con,* for *all the Numismatic readers of the Dispatch,* and as you and I are equally fond of *fun,* I propose that such one shall take place. Let there be a general turn out, so that *all* can come and join in the dance. Let the old and the young come, and the black and the *blue,* and let not the *smallest* be forgotten. We will divide the combatants into two parties, and we will be contenders. *You* shall keep order over *one* division, and I over the *other.* What a glorious treat we shall have. Such a *rattling* among the *old coppers* will never have been heard before!

And now, Messrs. Editors, one word in your ear. We have no doubt but these *"Gleanings,"* when completed, will be republished in *book* form. See that we are put down for twelve copies, by *all means.* We expect, likewise, that *full credit* will be given to us for our *share of the work* as we are quite confident that our *foot notes* will add materially to the sale. I have no doubt but the *"blue man"* will gladly undertake the sale of the first edition, provided *"Tom Thumb"* will let him take his stand under his *"head quarters."* The author of the "skeleton article" will probably aid the enterprise by the loan of his *wood cuts,* while the fracks [*sic;* probably *flacks* was intended] of his *"M.C."* friend will send the books free and clear of all cost and expense from one end of the Union to the other.

"Gus," or rather, *"Tom,"* is very willingly excused from *"noticing"* this, for we assure him we have not the slightest inclination to enter the lists again to *floor* so *small* and insignificant an opponent.

Hoping we will not be considered as trespassing too much upon your time and good nature by requesting the insertion of this, we remain, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant. NUMISMATIST.

## GLEANINGS OF COINS NO. XI.

### September 13, 1857 (Sunday)

What would prove to be the final chapter in the "Gleanings" series appeared two weeks after Gleanings No. X. The column commenced with an account of a counterfeiter named Banton, whose activities were reported in the *Nashville Republican* in January 1829. It seems that the fellow in question made imitation Spanish and Mexican dollars in silver. After conflicting reports by "experts" were heard, an assay revealed that the fake coins contained just 22% to 63% silver, while the genuine had 89%.

An account of Massachusetts silver coinage of the era beginning in 1652 told of the dissatisfaction of the British crown with minting activities in America and, as part of the narrative, the tale that the daughter of mintmaster John Hull received for her dowry her equivalent weight in Pine Tree shillings.

At the conclusion of this and other matters, a letter from "Gus" was printed, again in a formal manner (why "Gus" did not reply in the text of his column is not known):

*To the Editor of the New-York Dispatch:*

New York, Aug. 31, 1857. [Monday.]

GENTLEMEN: I was somewhat surprised yesterday in reading the DISPATCH to see such a long list purporting to be errors made by me in compiling this series. Now, gentlemen, I am prepared to refute the principal ones.

GLEANING No. 1. —Here "Numismatist" states that *"dimes were* coined in 1827," and "half cents in 1813, 1832, 1836 and 1840." and "quarter dollars in 1824," and cents in 1823. Now, Mr. Editor, the only error in the article in question, this man has failed to discover, that is, no quarter eagles from 1809 to 23, inclusive, instead of 1807, quarter &c. The rest are *facts,* and if any reader wishes to be thoroughly convinced, he can refer to the work called "Coins of all Nations," page 204. It is commonly called the "Assay Manual." Again, this man says, "His Nova constellation[1] of 13 stars, and the piece with the same significant number of rings conjoined, were not struck in or for Massachusetts, and the Washington Cents of 1791 and 1792 were *not* coined at the *infant* mint," &c. Proof for *my* assertion, page 141 of the above work. "There is not a man living who ever saw a pine tree shilling bearing the legend *Massachusetts."* He was altogether anticipated here, for the V being printed U is the printer's blunder, and as for the double T *that* was to have been corrected in the errata, to be placed on the end of the series. Again, "What remarkable foresight our fathers must have had to pass a *code* of laws. In 1752, when the mint was not established till 1892 made mine 1752, the printer's mistake, as he would have found had he read a few lines further, "since the act of 1792."

GLEANING No. 4. —He says here, "the New York copper does not bear the date 1783, the inscription on the reverse is not "Nova Eborac,' nor 'Vir. et Lib.' on the reverse." Now bear him in his first letter: "There are several varieties of New York coppers, besides the one described," &c ; and again— "If the copper he described has been struck by authority: it would have been a coin, whereas *it is* nothing more than a token &c"-two flat contradictions. Now, which shall we believe? In regard to "No ra," it should read "Nova." There is such a re emblace [*sic*] between the old *r* and the *v* that the printer mistook the one for the other. He says truly, there can be two sides to every question; and, faith, he tells both sides with equal coolness. If people never did hear of a head being "surmounted by an inscription," they surely will, if Fowler can but obtain that remarkable individual's noddle, Now, in regard to his having decided in regard to the New York cent's "authenticity," it bears the impress of falsehood upon its face. I said that at my earliest convenience I would give the subject a thorough investigation, and such I will do.

GLEANING No. 5. —"Lord Baltimore did not coin money at all. He ordered," &c Another quibble. It seems that this man has a remarkable penchant for picking out *flaws(?)* in all quoted articles. And as for Lord Baltimore's coining money, we can say so with propriety, not meaning him the instrument, but the *power.* The date should be 1662. *Cresite* should read *Crescite,* a blunder in writing which is now *corrected.*

GLEANING No. 7. —Though not correct according to numismatic rules, still we can call *tokens* COINS, for are

[1] Probably the compositor's misreading of "constellatio."

not tokens *coined?* And as for the rare curiosity, I refer to the foot note of this week's Gleanings.

GLEANING No. 8. —If the man can bring forth any substantial proof to the contrary, I would like to see it.

GLEANING No. 9. —The *Rosa Americana* coins *were* struck for the Carolinas in connection with several other colonies.

Now, Mr. Editor, I must apologise for noticing this man, as it was my resolve not to do so. Now, *Numismatist* (?) need not put himself to any trouble to form *erratas* for me, unless he can make truthful ones. If this man thinks that I will return ridicule for ridicule, he is vastly mistaken. This course of his reflects but dishonor upon himself, as every impartial reader of the DISPATCH will admit. This man states that he can *"incontestibly"* prove all that he has said ; now, gentlemen, if he can't do this, he deserves, and will receive the condemnation of every reader of the DISPATCH. Yours, &c., GUS

As part of the above, "Gus" on his own initiative included several errata including:

NOTE.—In No. 10, in the article Chas. I. Coins, &c, *vintage* should read *mintage*. In article *Washington Cent,* between *the* and *eleven* insert *eagle*. Period after Folke in Portcullis.

"The variety bearing date 1783, should read on the obverse *Washington and Independence* instead of *Washington, President."*

"Here one of the greatest English writers uses *inscription*. I have been blamed, even ridiculed [for] doing the same. I used it exactly in the same sense, taking for granted any thing that is inscribed is an *inscription,* never mind where this placed.

Ruding thinks Charles' eyesight was very bad.

The column concluded with two letters from readers, one signed "Outsider" and the other "R.S.":

*Mr. Editor.*—I have been much amused by reading the controversy in the columns of the DISPATCH (concerning old coins) carried on between Gus and Numismatist. I have dealt considerable in old American coins and may be able to give collectors some valuable information. Mr. Moses Stickney, of South Danvers, Massachusetts, has a copper coin with three faces on the obverse, and on the reverse a pine tree with a rattlesnake coiled at the roots. Its motto is simply N.E., and I think numismatists may set it down as a rarity—date 1662.[1] He also has in his cabinet a silver dollar, struck by Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, with the head of Washington on the obverse, (the reverse I do not recollect), date 1776-quite rare.[2] John M. Sigfried, of Easton, Pa., has in his cabinet a New Jersey cent in very fine condition, with the plough on one side and the motto Nova Cesara, but on the other, a globe, female, and the motto Immunis Columbia. It is not two coins joined together, but a perfect specimen—rare. Mr. Brown, of Salem, Mass, has in his cabinet a pine tree shilling, in fine condition dated 1650 (a date fair and plain.) He has nineteen other different dies of 1652, but numismatists may set down 1650 as a trifle rare.[3]

Mr. J.J. Mickley, of Philadelphia, has in his cabinet a copper coin with the head of George III on one side, and Immunis Columbia, with the usual device on the other; date, 1783—rare. He has also two silver half dollars with the head of Washington, bearing the date 1792. This is a good chance for some numismatist who wishes to exchange, which will be quite easy, if he has some American coin not in Mr. Mickley's cabinet. As Mr. Mickley has two of the Washington half dollars, we will not put that coin down as rare. He has also a dime bearing date 1792 and the American half cent of that date—rare. William Long of Philadelphia has in his cabinet an American cent dated 1815 in very fine condition. It is not an altered date but a genuine article. We do not recollect of ever having seen any other of that date, so we will put 1815 down as something rare.[4]

Joking aside the coins I have mentioned are in actual existence and owned by the parties I have named. They are all of the greatest rarity. The Mint statistics up to 1830 is a batch of mistakes. The quarters of 1824 are very common, also the coins of 1823. In 1827 only four quarters were struck from the die. Mickley, of Philadelphia, has one. Long, of the same city, another, Graves & Weston, proprietors of the American Union, of Boston, the third, and the fourth I have not got the run of.

I do not know of any cabinet in the country that can show a half cent of 1799, a dime of 1810, a quarter of 1797, a half dollar of 1804 or 1816, or a dollar of 1805. Don't get angry, Numismatist, (because I am an outsider) but I will give two and a half merely to look at a half dime of 1827 and a half cent of 1813. OUTSIDER.[5]

P.S. Many of the coins mentioned as scarce by Gus, are not considered so by staunch numismatists. For instance the half dime of 1794 is not considered a rarity among able collectors, while the New York cent of 1785, with the Indian and the motto Libertas Libertatum Defendo, which he has not put down as rare, is of the greatest rarity. One sold two years ago at a coin sale in Philadelphia for $14.50, and had it been in good condition, it would have brought $25. I only know of one Washington cent of 1792, and that is in the cabinet of J.J. Mickley, Philadelphia. Can Gus tell us of another? It is of the same size and weight as the 1791 large eagle Washington cent, of which I have been informed 468 were struck from the die.

## A QUERY TO "GUS"

SIR: In the last number of your paper I noticed that "Gus" describes the 1792 Washington cent as the genuine one. I did not know before of one of that year. I have seen

[1] A mis-description of the *1776* "Janus" Massachusetts copper coin owned by *Matthew* Stickney of *Salem,* MA. This unique coin later went into the Garrett Collection and was sold at auction in 1979.

[2] A description of a "dollar" said to be the work of Perkins (see Andrew W. Pollock III, *United States Patterns and Related Issues,* p. 438, No. 5067, and the related No. 5070).

[3] A forgery by Thomas Wyatt. Other errors in this letter could be cited as well.

[4] Concerning Long, see the mention of him and his "1815" cent in Chapter 3.

[5] Dr. Joel J. Orosz suggests that "Outsider" may have been John K. Curtis, the New York City dealer who had been collecting since the early 1840s, and who was one of only a few individuals who in 1857 could truthfully state that "I have dealt considerable in old American coins." According to Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 21, Curtis purchased the Sigfried Collection for $700 in 1858, another connection.

one of the date 1791, in the possession of Mr. Reill, of the Star Hotel, in Lispenard street, which was pronounced by a number of persons to be the one shown to the General Washington.[1] Perhaps both of these may have been shown. I should feel very much obliged to "Gus," if he would inform me how he came by this information; if in a book, will he tell me where it can be purchased? I take a great interest in the matter, and would like to get all the information I can about it. If he will inform me in his next number, I will be very much obliged to him. R.S.

## *NEW-YORK DISPATCH,* NOVEMBER 22, 1857

In the *New-York Dispatch,* November 22, 1857, the editors of the paper replied to an inquiry from a reader, A.W.M:

> *A.W.M.* –This correspondent will find "Numismatist's" reply to "Gus" in this number of the DISPATCH. We cannot admit a reply to it.

### "Numismatist" to "Gus"

We had determined to devote no farther space to the controversy between the contributors above-named, but at the earnest request of "Gus," we made room for the following, which must positively be the end of the whole matter as far as the *Dispatch* is concerned:

*Reply of "Numismatist" to the "Assay Manual"—A Giant floored, and his Throat cut with his own Weapon—Another Foot Note to the "Gleanings"—A few more "Truthful Erratas" for "Gus"—A piece of Advice, and some more new Information for him.*

This introductory comment indicates that there must have been some meeting of the minds between "Gus" and "Numismatist," that the deep thrusts toward "Gus" had been blunted, and a new "antagonist" (in the words of "Numismatist") had appeared, seemingly representing the culprit all along. However, there are still some "cheap shots" directed by "Numismatist."

The departing comments by "Numismatist" were then printed—more than two months after they had been sent to the paper. Obviously, the situation was no longer of importance to the periodical:

> Editors of the New-York Dispatch:
>
> NEW YORK, September 15, 1857.
>
> GENTLEMEN.—We find that a new customer[2] has appeared—an antagonistic of gigantic proportions has been brought forward to floor us. Several attempts have already been seen to all of our opponents. Hitherto, we have fought with "skeletons" and "pigmies"—and, of course, we did not take any pride in *such* combats—now, we have an opponent whose size we can respect, for he is a "Man." This new comer is none other than the "Assay Manual," or the "Mint Book," or anything else you please, for it passes by a score of names. Now, some *smaller* specimens of humanity would be terribly frightened to find themselves opposed by such a *monster* of typography—such a *great* authority—the only *semblance* of an authority which has yet been placed before us,—but as we know our *strength,* and carry a long sword besides, we enter the lists with perfect confidence, and what is more, we promise to show you clearly that this *great monster,* is really *no great thing at all,* and that we can handle him with as much ease as we have heretofore handled the *"Skeleton Article" or "Tom Thumbs Gleanings,"* or any of the *other opponents* with which we have been brought into conflict. This *great monster,* emanating as it did from the "Mint," ought to be a first class authority, but that such is *not* the case, we will clearly show by a few instances out of many which could be selected—enough, however, to satisfy the readers of the DISPATCH of our full ability to do what we promise, which is, in the first place, to give this monster an *awful thrust into his very vitals,* and lastly, to *cut his throat with his own weapon.* And now for the tussle.
>
> This *great* authority (?) speaks of the piece with "Thirteen links conjoined," commonly called the "Mind your Business Cent," and positively declares it to have been "coined by Massachusetts." That this declaration is wholly false and untrue, read the following, and tell us you *"little pigmies"* who is the "Numismatist" *now*?
>
> *"Resolved,* That the board of treasury direct the contractor for the copper coinage to stamp on one side of each piece the following device, viz: Thirteen circles linked together, a small circle in the middle with the words 'United States' round it; and in the centre, the words "We are one;' on the other side of the same piece the following devices, viz: A dial with the hours expressed on the face of it; a meridian sun above, on one side of which is to be the word 'Fugio,' and on the other the year in figures, '1787' below the dial, the words, *'Mind your Business,' "* a piece of *advice* which "Gus" would do well to follow, and leave "Fowler" to take care of his. As for ourselves, we are not only *able* to attend to our own affairs, but find time enough in addition, as our readers will admit, to attend to the business of others when they prove *deficient,* besides giving a lesson, now and then, in Numismatology to compilers of "Gleanings" and "Skeleton Articles."
>
> For the resolution which we have quoted above, and which was passed on the 6th of July, 1787, see *Journals of Continental Congress,* vol. xii, page 83. For the name of the contractor, the amount coined and other particulars of the (not Massachusetts) *Continental Congress* piece, see the same work, ult supra citat.
>
> We have now performed our first promise, and we will not disappoint our readers in the second, as what follows this will show. ("Gus" will admit *"we tell both sides with equal coolness."*).
>
> In another part of this *great* authority, (?) is the following: *"In the United States, while the newly established Mint was trying its powers in an experimental way in the years 1791-2, the head of Washington, then President, was stamped on the copper cent,"* and again *"The Washington cent of which a few specimens escaped the Mint is now one of the greatest numismatic curiosities,*

[1] The reference is to The Star, a coffee house on Lispenard Street, operated by Henry Reill, who served in the War of 1812 and who at one time was a manufacturer and tobacco merchant (trading as Henry Reill & Co., 81 Front Street, circa 1823-1829; Stephen Storm, earlier a grocer, was a partner). Reill's son, also named Henry, became prominent in politics.

[2] Probably intended as "contender."

*and is eagerly sought after by the collectors. There were two dies materially different."*

NOW, turn to the volume entitled "Pledges of History," emanating from the same source as the "Assay Manual" or the "Mint Book," and of which at least two editions have been published, and read with staring eyes the following:

"The Washington cent of 1791, of two varieties or reverses, coined by one *Hancock, of Birmingham, in England,* but at whose instance cannot be ascertained, it was however, disapproved of, and a large copper coin bearing the head of Washington, and the date of 1792, from a die which was also used in restamping half crowns—the *enterprise of some individual.*

Compilers of "gleanings" should be very careful, from the experience they now had, how they quote the "Assay Manual" in future as authority particularly in reply to us and "R.S." for as we all have seen, the "Mint" is a *sword that cuts both ways*—or in other words, a sort of *electrical eel,* or a *galvanic battery,* and very apt to discharge *most violent repulsive shocks.*

"——as some musquets so contrive it.
As oft to miss the mark they drive at,
And though well aim'd at duck or plover,
Bear wide, and kick their owner over;
*So far'd our squire,* whose reas'ning toil
Would often on himself recoil,
And so much injur'd more his side,
The stronger ar'gments he apply'd;
And old war elephants, dismay'd,
Trode down the troops they came to aid,
And hurt their own side more in battle
Than *less and ordinary cattle."*

As to the "Nova constellatio of thirteen stars"—it having been found in bad company, it must share the fate of its companion. When some more "truthful" authority is produced, we shall produce a *rebuff* for that, and not before. We enclose a duplicate half cent of 1832, and a sealing wax impression of a half cent of 1836, for the Editors of the DISPATCH, with our most respectful compliments. As to the other pieces, we have seen them in collections, and *know* them to be genuine.

We find, Messrs. Editor, that *"Ruding"* has been brought forward as authority to show that a *Legend* is an *inscription,* and vice versa. Now, if "Ruding" ever committed such an error as to speak of an inscription when he should speak of a legend, he is the more to be blamed, for *he* knew better. That the faults, and not the virtues, of "Ruding" should be copied, is not at all surprising, considering how much easier it is to copy the former than the latter in an *author.* We have no doubt that if either "Ruding" or "Folkes" had worn a *ring in his nose,* or a *ribbon around his big toe,* there would be found *one small* specimen of humanity, at least, who would be *weak and silly enough to follow his example."*

We now take leave of you, Messrs. Editors, promising another call should another giant Mint book be brought forward to measure swords with us. Should that other monster, the *"Order of the Legislature,"* which has been so long in training, be in "order" yet, let him be well greased and brought forward. Our quiver is full of arrows, and we have plenty of grape and small shot, darts, javelins and slings, including also galvanic batteries and torpedoes—and what is more, we do not require training, are always in *good humor,* willing to *receive* as well as to give, and always ready at a moment's notice. In conclusion, we re-affirm to the end of time, the truth of all the statements made in our former articles, and everything to the contrary we brand to infinity, as most basely and designedly *false.*

With our best respects, Messrs. Editors,

We remain, most truly yours,
NUMISMATIST.

## "NUMISMATIST" UNMASKED

During the year 1857, Augustus B. Sage ("Gus") was a frequent visitor to the Astor Library, where he encountered his various local numismatic friends, did research, and discussed the hobby. All in all, Sage was a convivial fellow. It seems evident that "Numismatist" was not personally known to Sage, and, equally likely, did not fraternize among local collectors, or he would have known "Gus." In sharp contrast to Sage, "Numismatist" seemed to have pursued his own solo course.

No doubt "Numismatist" was a student *par excellence.* He reveals that he had searched various records of the New York State Legislature and, further, was well versed in coinage laws and in numismatic technicalities. Moreover, his personal cabinet was impressive and contained, among other things, a complete set of the silver coinage of Lord Baltimore.

Further, "Numismatist" seems to have been of an especially combative turn of personality, often crafting his own phrase or opinion, then repetitively building upon it so that in time it seemed to be an established fact. Such contrivances as "Tom Thumb," "Munchausen," trips to the moon, etc., were strictly from the mind of "Numismatist," and had no basis in anything that "Gus" had written. By clever (?) use of metaphors, he characterized "Gus" as incompetent, or worse. The smallest technicality on Sage's part was magnified by "Numismatist" to become, in his view, an inexcusable error.

"Numismatist" was none other than Charles I. Bushnell.

## CHARLES IRA BUSHNELL

Bushnell, a relatively young (age 30) New York City attorney and numismatist, had been a scholar of coins and their history for several years or more. Using methodology no doubt derived from his legal background, he carefully

**Charles I. Bushnell as depicted on a token engraved by George H. Lovett and issued by Augustus B. Sage.**

searched records in an effort to learn how and where certain colonial and state coins were minted. Tokens were another interest, and by 1856 he had compiled a list of several hundred different varieties that had come under his view.

Bushnell was a private person, often kept his own counsel, and, for example, was not involved in the formation of the American Numismatic Society in the city in 1858. Various comments published in later years indicated that Bushnell rarely showed or discussed his collection with other numismatists, nor did he seem to have any close friends in the hobby. Perhaps if he felt that he had no faults, and others had many, any newfound friends quickly went away.

To paraphrase the legend on a later token, Bushnell may have beaten Sage in historical technicalities (although much can be laid at the doorstep of careless typesetting), while Sage was the clear victor in courtesy.

When "Gus" and "Numismatist" finally met in person has not been recorded. Perhaps it was sometime before September 15, 1857, at which time "Numismatist" wrote to the *New-York Dispatch* to identify the villain as the 1842 book by Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. Dubois, *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations, Struck Within the Past Century.* This volume then became the primary target for Bushnell's spleen, and, apparently, Augustus B. Sage became a friend.[1] Sage must have been of an exceptionally forgiving nature.

Regardless of the controversy stirred up by "Numismatist" and the resultant desire of the editors of the *New-York Dispatch* to drop the "Gleanings" column and go on to other things, the Sage-Bushnell discussions did much to advance the interest in coin collecting about the time of the changeover from the copper "large" cent to the new and much smaller copper-nickel Flying Eagle cent.

Years later, Sage would recall:[2]

> About the year 1858 I first met Mr. Charles Bushnell, a gentleman who has probably done as much as any other in the country to advance the interest of numismatology. Mr. Bushnell then had his office at No. 63 Wall Street, engaged in the practice of his profession, as a lawyer, and was then, and is still engaged, I believe, on a work which if ever completed, published I should say, will rank as the only authentic history of American coinage ever published in this country.[3]
>
> During my time there have been numerous efforts by 'historians of an hour's growth' to send their name (and the printer's) to posterity, on the title page of an American numismatic work.[4] [Such have been of little value.] Mr. Bushnell has published a work on American tokens, the letter press consisting mostly of descriptions of such tokens as came within his observation prior to its publication. What with the thousands of "store cards" and copperheads [Civil War tokens] that have been uttered since, I fancy such a work would now prove rather voluminous.

The preceding does not seem to reflect that Bushnell had been an admirer of Sage and, in fact, *had a medal made in his honor,* probably subsequent to their in-person meeting in 1858 (or whenever it occurred; certain dates in various reminiscences by Sage err by a year or two).

## THE MEDAL

To design and create a medal requires no little effort. Perhaps Bushnell felt a tinge of remorse and desired to apologize to Sage in this manner. The complete nature of Bushnell's feelings will probably never be known.

The obverse of Bushnell's medal showed a standing figure of Hercules with a club resting over his left shoulder in the manner of a baseball bat, and with his right hand pointing to a fallen goddess (representing the Eckfeldt-Dubois *Manual*); the inscription BEHOLD THE MANUAL surrounding. The reverse was inscribed NUMISMATIST TO GUS. FOR VALOR.

Three examples were made: one for Sage, one for the *New-York Dispatch,* and the third for Bushnell himself. Years later in 1864, Sage donated his personal specimen to the organization recently renamed the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.[5]

**The famous token prepared to the order of Charles I. Bushnell and presented to his new friend, Augustus B. Sage. The piece was later presented to the American Numismatic Society by Sage.**

[1] According to Howard Adelson's *American Numismatic Society 1858-1958* book and other commentaries.

[2] Letter from Sage published in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1867, penned February 23, 1867. *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* June 1867, commented on Sage's earlier articles, probably picking up the information from the *American Journal of Numismatics.*

[3] This book was never published, but much valuable information gathered by Bushnell concerning colonial and early American coins was used by Sylvester S. Crosby in the early 1870s during the preparation of the latter's *Early Coins of America.* Further, could this be a commentary that Dickeson's 1859 work was not "authentic"?

[4] Could this be a reference to Professor Daniel E. Groux? See Chapter 2 for more information about Groux. Or, could it be a reference to Dickeson?

[5] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* pp. 10-11, drawing upon various sources including Richard D. Kenney, "The Issues of Augustus B. Sage," *The Coin Collector's Journal,* XV, No. 5 (September-October 1948), pp. 99-105; XVI, No. 2 (March-April 1949), pp. 30-31. The donation of the medal by Sage was recorded in the Society's minute book under the date of June 9, 1864. The accession records of the ANS also comment on the Bushnell-Sage relationship. Also see Edward Groh, "A Rare Medal," American Numismatic Society *Proceedings,* March 18, 1901, pp. 69-70.

**Advertising store card in lead, made by S.H. Black, well known electrotyper. Designed in approximate imitation of the old U.S. copper cent, this and several varieties of a similar nature are said to have aroused the attention of authorities.**

## ELECTROTYPES

The Bushnell-Sage medals in question were not struck but, instead, were made by the electrotype process. By electrically depositing metal, various art objects could be made in small production runs without the necessity of creating dies. Although it is not known who made the Sage-Bushnell medal, surely a candidate is Nelson C. Rexford of New York City. Rexford, a merchant by trade at 29 Moore Street, was well-known as an electrotypist in the late 1850s, and in 1858 was introduced to Sage by Bushnell. Rexford made electrotypes not for deception, but to obtain examples of pieces he and other numismatists might never own otherwise.[1] He had technical numismatic knowledge as well and was a contributor to John Hickcox's 1858 book, *An Historical Account of American Coinage.*

Another strong contender is Samuel H. Black, who advertised as an electrotyper and whose addresses in New York City in the 1850s included 410 Broadway, 75 Howard Street, 43 Lispenard Street, and 142 Elm Street.

Later, Sage was to recall:[2]

> I remember the first time, on my way down Broadway one morning a few years since, of my seeing a case of electrotype copies of medals in front of the place of business of Mr. S.H. Black. Mr. B. has been for years a professional electrotypist, and has made some very fine copies. You may remember the leaden token he put in circulation about 1857.[3] It was made in imitation of the old copper cent, the token being cast in lead and covered with a thin coating of copper, and had on its reverse the business address of the maker. That token came very near getting Black into trouble. He was indicted and tried for the offense of making his own business cards; but, after an impartial trial, honorably acquitted. Mr. Black was the originator of the large salver containing copies of the Washington, Clay and Webster medals by Wright.

Among Black's productions were plaques featuring historical scenes (such as Trumbull's depiction of the signing of the Declaration of Independence) and individuals (Washington, Henry Clay, *et al.*). One of his specialties was the electrotyping of early medals such as the Comitia Americana and other congressional award pieces in the years before restrikes of these medals were generally available from the Mint. Such copies were not considered either deceptive or illegal, but were intended to provide substitutes for specimens that might otherwise be unavailable or very expensive.

Electrotypes were bought, sold, and traded by all numismatic dealers and appeared—identified as such—in listings prepared by all of the leading rare coin auctioneers. Further, in later years the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society generously made available electrotype copies of medals in its cabinet, as did other numismatic museums (such as the coin division of the British Museum, London). Even the Philadelphia Mint made electrotypes upon occasion in the 1850s (such as for the 1854 pattern cent and some plain-edge copies of the 1804 silver dollar).

Human nature being what it is, many electrotype copies were eventually offered as genuine, and numerous problems developed as purchasers were gulled. Today, electrotypes are widely viewed as being deceptive, and they are seldom offered for sale in catalogues.

## BUSHNELL THE HISTORIAN AND COLLECTOR

A few biographical notes concerning Charles Ira Bushnell may be of interest:

Born on July 28, 1821,[4] Bushnell developed an interest in coins and history at an early age. In the 1850s he became an active antiquarian and conducted extensive research concerning the origins of colonial coins, tokens, and other fields of interest to him, joining various historical societies in the meantime.

Although Bushnell studied history and numismatics intensely, relatively little reached print under his own name. He compiled the "Memoirs of Samuel Smith, a Soldier of the Revolution, 1776-1786, written by himself," which contained information about the Rhode Island medal of 1778-9.[5] Better known was his *magnum opus* published in autumn 1858, *An Arrangement of Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens, also, Election Medals, Medalets, Etc. Current in the United States of America for the Last Sixty Years, Described from the Originals, Chiefly in the Collection of the Author, With Engravings.* However, relatively few copies were distributed, and examples were soon scarce.[6]

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[1] Recollection of Sage in *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1867, penned February 23, 1867.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1867, recollection penned March 26, 1867.

[3] Such issues, actually first dated 1858 and continued until 1861, are described in detail by Russell Rulau in the *Standard Catalogue of United States Tokens 1700-1900.* Certain issues dated 1860 were signed Friend & Black (as well as separate issues signed S.H. Black).

[4] Revised 1821 birth year from William Swoger from genealogical and census search and differs from the normally published date of 1826.

[5] Cited in *American Journal of Numismatics,* October 1867.

[6] Bushnell's book was favorably reviewed in *Historical Magazine,* December 1858, pp. 368-369. The title may vary slightly among examples,

**Plate I in Charles I. Bushnell's 1858 book, *An Arrangement of Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens, also, Election Medals, Medalets, &c. Current in the United States of America for the Last Sixty Years....* Shown are the 1789 Mott token and 1794 and 1795 Talbot, Allum & Lee cents. (Reduced illustration)**

The book was dedicated to the memory of engraver Charles Cushing Wright, a friend of Bushnell's. His introduction to the work, dated June 3, 1858, noted that the work had been completed two years earlier, but that ill health had prevented its publication at that time. Tantalizingly, Bushnell commented, writing in the third person:

> He would further say that he is now, and has been for several years past, engaged in the preparation of two other works connected with the Numismatology of this country, but of a more extensive and elaborate character. A vast amount of interesting and valuable material has been gathered together, and the result of his labors will be given to the public in due course of time.

Unfortunately for posterity, the "two other works" never materialized. These books were will-o'-the-wisps in the manner of Prof. Daniel E. Groux's much-heralded three-volume work on American numismatics announced in 1856. Some of Bushnell's notes were utilized by Sylvester S. Crosby in the 1870s during the preparation of the latter's *Early Coins of America*.

Bushnell's 1858 book on tokens described in detail several hundred pieces, primarily giving the inscriptions and motifs on each, the edge style, the size (on the Mionnet Scale; see Appendix VIII), the metals in which they were struck, and the identity of the engraver (when known). In a few scattered instances other notes were given. Four plates at the back of the book were engraved by J.M.A. Will and illustrated a small selection of pieces.[1] Another page listed selected tokens and their prices from the Flandin and Kline auctions of 1855 and the Winslow J. Howard Collection sale in 1856.[2]

Bushnell's 1858 book was a handsomely prepared work, nicely arranged, and with excellent information. In terms of style and content it was much better done than Benjamin P. Wright's study of American store cards published 40 years later.

In 1859 an expanded commentary on the 1789-dated Mott token and the 1794-1795 Talbot, Allum & Lee tokens was published as an 18-page booklet by Bushnell under the title of *An Historical Account of the First Three Business Tokens Issued in the City of New York*.

In response to an inquiry, the editor of the newly-established *American Journal of Numismatics* commented in the issue of July 1866, p. 24:

> The best collections in the country, in our opinion, are those of Joseph J. Mickley, Esq., Phila., Charles J. [*sic;* a common error, should be I] Bushnell, Esq., New York, and M.A. Stickney, Esq., Salem, Mass.

At the October 28 to November 2, 1867, sale of the Mickley Collection, catalogued by W. Elliot Woodward, Bushnell was a major buyer, although for the majority of his purchases he did not bid under his own name, but bought as "Stephens"[3] and, possibly, other designations. It was often the practice of well-known collectors to do this so as to draw attention away from themselves, lest others ride on their coattails and take advantage of their knowledge.[4]

On February 13, 1868, Bushnell was elected to honorary membership in the American Numismatic and Ar-

and versions are known with or without plates.

[1] At least two versions were issued, including a large-paper edition, the latter apparently without plates (cf. George F. Kolbe, letter, May 12, 1997).

[2] The 1856 Howard sale is not cited by Attinelli; a cross-referencing of the Bushnell citations with extant unnamed catalogues dated 1856 (of which four candidates are listed by Attinelli) might serve to identify the cabinet sold in one of these sales.

[3] Identified at the time as "acting for the British Museum." However, many of these purchases went into the Bushnell Collection and were later sold by the Chapman brothers in the 1882 offering of his estate. (Information from Karl Moulton, letter, May 19, 1997; also see the note by the Chapman brothers in the 1882 sale of the Bushnell Collection, Lot 184, there as "Stevens.")

[4] Karl Moulton has analyzed Bushnell's unpublicized participation in the Mickley Collection sale and concluded that he was the "biggest buyer." (*Ibid.*)

chaeological Society. However, he declined "for personal reasons."[1] Meanwhile, he continued to enjoy his collection, adding to it now and then. In the *American Journal of Numismatics,* December 1868, Joseph N.T. Levick called Bushnell's collection of store cards one of the "most perfect" in the country. Levick was an especially qualified observer, as he was one of the leading exponents in the token field. In the very late 1850s and early 1860s, Levick is believed to have induced the Scovill Manufacturing Company of Waterbury, CT, to make restrikes of certain tokens struck earlier by that firm.[2]

Circa 1873, numismatist Henry Russell Drowne visited Bushnell, calling him "that great collector of the American series," and further noting:[3]

> He then resided in a house on the east side of 4th Avenue, I think between 29th and 30th streets. I was impressed with the fact that it had no front stoop. Mr. Bushnell, who was then quite advanced in years,[4] had his coin cabinet in a small room near the rear of the house on the second floor. I remember particularly his showing me his rare varieties of the 1793 cents—Wreath, Chain, Liberty Cap, etc., which I had not seen before; also some of the differences in the cents of 1794. He also showed his "Good Samaritan Shilling"[5] as something of special interest (of which our good friend Mr. Ryder is now the fortunate possessor), and also the New England and Pine Tree Shilling series. He gave me several coins and medals, some of which I still have.

## THE BUSHNELL COLLECTION AT AUCTION

On September 17, 1880, at his New York City home, Charles I. Bushnell passed to his final reward. Soon afterward, Édouard Frossard commented:[6]

> Mr. Bushnell relinquished his interest in numismatics some years ago, upon the death of a daughter,[7] who is said to have been his companion and amanuensis in his numismatic studies. He leaves a large and extremely fine collection of American coins, very rich in fine and rare colonials, among which is the unique Lord Baltimore copper penny, purchased by him at the Mickley sale.

In time, Bushnell's collection was offered intact by his son for $10,000, a sum that was not reached.[8] The highest tender received was from Lorin G. Parmelee, a Boston bean baker whose collection of regular issue United States coins was considered the finest in America, who purchased it for about $8,000. Parmelee selected Samuel Hudson Chapman and Henry Chapman, said to have been nephews of Bushnell,[9] to conduct a public auction sale of the remainder, much to the dismay of other older and, presumably, wiser dealers who viewed the Chapmans as brash upstarts.

The Bushnell holding was well known for its size and value, but few knew anything about its contents. In this connection, Frossard commented in the May 1882 issue of *Numisma:*

> Until the appearance of the catalogue the collection of Mr. Bushnell was in one sense a mysterious one; but few even among his most intimate friends knew exactly what he had, few had seen his entire cabinet, he bought secretly and generally through others and under an assumed name.[10]

From June 20 to 24, 1882, the cabinet was offered by the Chapman brothers in a work titled *Catalogue of the Celebrated and Valuable Collection of American Coins and Medals of the Late Charles I. Bushnell.* The catalogue, over 140 pages in length and printed on folio sheets, described 3,000 lots. The publication was of unprecedented magnificence in American numismatics and caused great consternation and jealousy among other dealers, much of whose envy was reflected in print in their own catalogues, where every typographical or numismatic error that could be found in the Bushnell opus was reprinted with glee.[11] After all, the brothers were mere youths, not bearded oracles from the old school.

Regarding Bushnell, W. Elliot Woodward, under Lot 638, in his sale of July 11-12, 1882, presented a commentary concerning a list of C. Wyllys Betts' fabrications offered by Woodward years earlier on May 21, 1864, pointedly noting, "I purchased nearly all of these pieces, and loaned them to the late Charles I. Bushnell; their return

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[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1868. Why Bushnell did not participate in the activities of the Society remains an interesting question; he did belong to multiple *historical* societies in various states.

[2] Levick was not alone in this activity; Henry Davenport, who was a numismatist as early as the 1830s and in 1860 was a founder of the Boston Numismatic Society, had various restrikes and mulings made to his order. In his 1899 work, *Hard Times Tokens,* Lyman H. Low ascribes several restrikes and off-metal pieces to Charles I. Bushnell, together with unfavorable commentary about Bushnell. However, the record seems to suggest that Levick and Davenport commissioned the making of such pieces. Apparently, Low was unaware of the activities of these two men. (cf. John J. Ford, Jr., 1997, who clarified this activity.)

[3] Recollection published in *The Numismatist,* April 1921.

[4] All of 47 years old!

[5] A fraud that did, indeed, dupe "Numismatist" (Bushnell).

[6] *Numisma,* supplement to the November 1880 issue, p. 1, "Death of a Prominent Numismatist."

[7] Anne Bushnell, born circa 1854, died September 6, 1872.

[8] Joel J. Orosz suggests that this figure might have been inspired by the $10,000 amount for which Joseph J. Mickley is said to have sold the remainder of his collection to W. Elliot Woodward in 1867 (cf. Orosz, "Mickley Countermark Mystery," *The Numismatist,* August 1995; also letter to the author, May 11, 1997).

[9] The author has not been able to confirm their "nephew" status.

[10] The secretive Bushnell was the social opposite of the gregarious J.J. Mickley. On the other hand, Mickley's coins were stolen (in 1867), while Bushnell's remained unknown to the public and secure on the second floor of his home.

[11] Frossard in particular was critical and in *Numisma* presented a list of the errors he could find. However, a perusal of Frossard's own printed works would also disclose many errors.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

CELEBRATED AND VALUABLE COLLECTION

OF

AMERICAN

COINS AND MEDALS

OF THE LATE

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL, ESQ.

*OF NEW YORK.*

CATALOGUED BY

S. H. & H. CHAPMAN,

PHILADELPHIA,

AND TO BE SOLD AT AUCTION

MESSRS. BANGS &

*Nos. 739 & 741 Broadway,*

ON

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Frida

20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th o

1882,

*Commencing at 3 o'clock, P. M., o*

**Title page of the Chapman brothers' *magnum opus,* the 1882 catalogue of the Bushnell Collection. The sale was one of the watershed events of the decade and served to project S. Hudson Chapman and Henry Chapman into the forefront of American numismatics.**

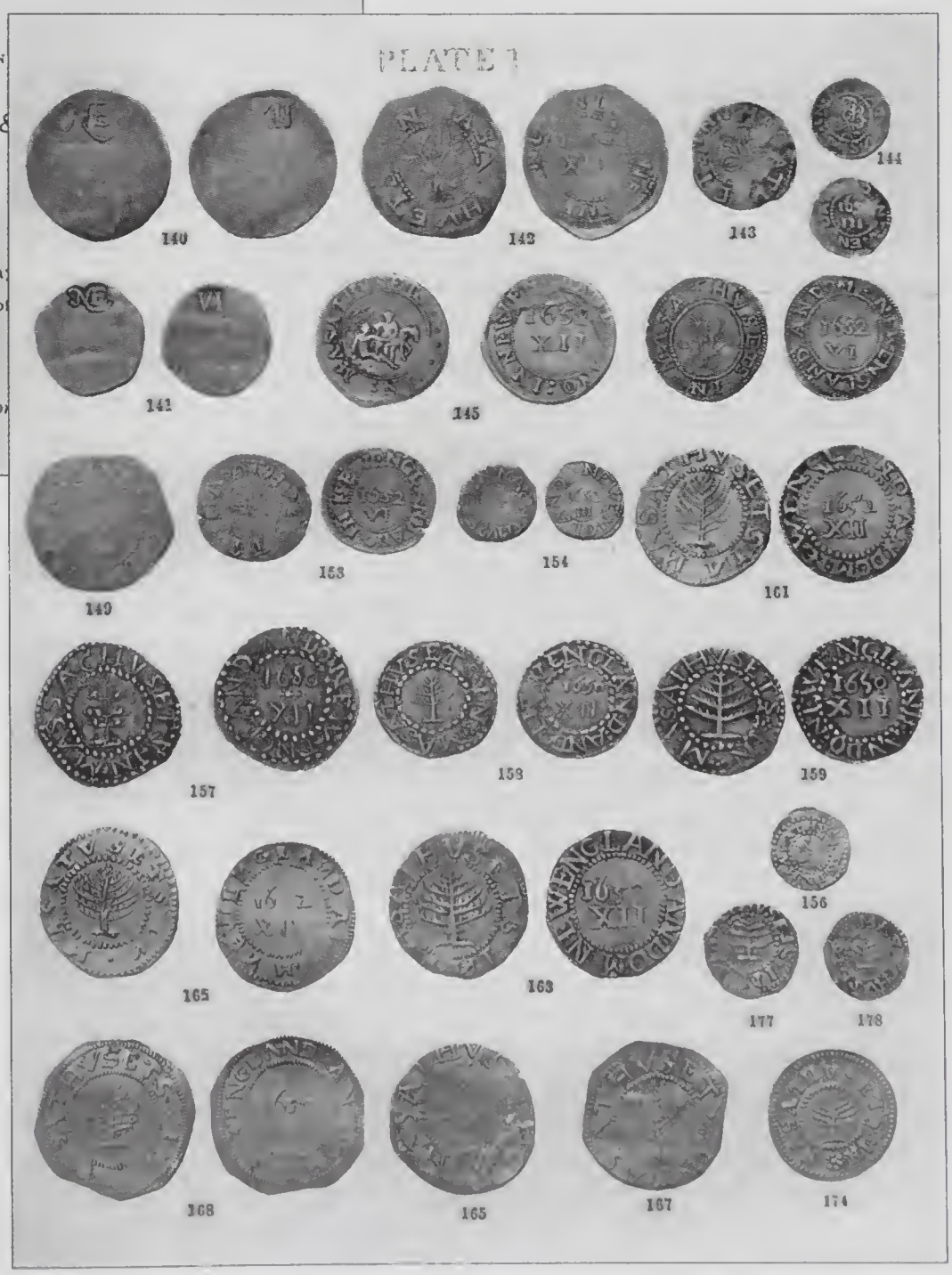


**Plate I of the Charles I. Bushnell auction catalogue, 1882. Depicted are coins attributed to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, including the curious Good Samaritan shilling (Lot 145).**

was repeatedly promised." Bushnell died, the family did not return them, and the result was that these and other fakes made their way into the Bushnell Collection. Among the forgeries singled out was the Good Samaritan shilling. A 1793 Washington half cent was attributed as the work of Edwin Bishop, "an ingenious mechanic [who] kept his shop in Dutch Street, New York."

Woodward could not resist the temptation to point out many errors in the Bushnell catalogue, noting, for example, that the Chapman brothers had relocated Harvard from Cambridge to New Haven (Bushnell Lot 328), had moved the Charitable Mechanic Association from Massachusetts to New Jersey (Lot 2117), had George Washington posing as a seated kangaroo on a medal (Lot 1230), etc. Similarly, Woodward's sale of October 16-18, 1882, began with a long diatribe against the Chapman brothers, their puffery, misuse of terms, etc. More anti-Chapman comments appeared in his sale of January 8-10, 1884, among other places.

No matter, the collecting fraternity loved the Chapmans' catalogue of the Bushnell Collection (which was also available in a high-priced $5 deluxe edition) and the auction sale itself, and a coin bearing the Bushnell pedigree was considered to be quite special for a long time, indeed, even today.

While many coins, tokens, and medals were described in detail, the Chapmans told virtually nothing about Bushnell, his life of collecting, or the specific pieces that Lorin G. Parmelee was said by some to have extracted before consigning the balance to the sale room, although it was noted that "Mr. B. told us that he cared but little for the dates of the U.S. Mint silver issues." Notwithstanding this comment, most believed that Bushnell in his time had acquired many prizes among federal copper, silver, and gold coins. Parmelee, the numismatic opposite of Bushnell, was not interested in tokens and medals and may have limited his pre-sale extractions to gems in the regular United States series. In addition to any pieces that Parmelee may have taken from the Bushnell Collection prior to its public sale, he also bid at the auction itself including through agents and under other names. Success was assured, for he already owned the coins.

Curiously, the Bushnell catalogue contained no evidence that Bushnell's extensive memoranda (the basis for the anticipated two-volume work on American numismatics that he had mentioned in his 1858 book on tokens) had been utilized, although the catalogue was laden with opinions and historical information from the minds of the Chapmans. Sadly, none of Bushnell's notes and correspondence used by Crosby in 1875 and perhaps available to the Chapmans in 1882 are known to have survived. Also, it was not generally realized that Bushnell's collection of "fifty or sixty dies of old and rare medals" was withheld from the offering, to be sold later.[1]

At the sale itself, venerable dealer Edward D. Cogan was at the podium assisting the auctioneer. No one could have known that this was Cogan's swan song, his last public appearance before his death (on April 7, 1884).[2]

Ringing down the curtain on the Bushnell holdings, on April 2 to 6, 1883, Bangs, Merwin & Co. offered the 286-page *Catalogue of the Library, &c. of the Late Charles I. Bushnell, Esq. Comprising the Extensive Collections of Rare and Curious Americana, of Engravings, Autographs, Historical Relics, Wood-Blocks Engraved by Dr. Anderson, &c. &c.*, comprising 3,452 lots.[3]

[1] *The Coin Collector's Journal*, February 1882, p. 32. "The entire collection will be sold, with the exception of the medal dies, which, we presume, are reserved for another sale; this will certainly be quite a sensation, as we have no recollection of fifty or sixty dies of old and rare medals have ever been offered at auction before." John J. Ford, Jr., has suggested that these dies were never sold, but in the 1930s were stored among other Henry Chapman memorabilia and oddments by his successor and former secretary, Ella Wright; no description of the dies is known to have been published (Ford, conversation with the author, July 22, 1997).

[2] *The Coin Collector's Journal*, May 1884, p. 79. For additional reading see "The Bushnell Sale," by John J. Ford, Jr., *The Coin Collector's Journal*, March-April 1951.

[3] Dr. Anderson is noticed in Chapter 6 in connection with Benson J. Lossing.

# CHAPTER 6

# *The American Numismatic Society*

## *(1858-1859)*

### A SOCIETY IN 1857?

Today it is generally believed that the American Numismatic Society had its inception early in 1858. However, in 1892, Society "historiographer" William R. Weeks, in preparing a history of the group, made a case for Sage having been involved the previous year, this based upon studying Sage's recollections published in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* February 1867.[1] At that time Sage had commented:

> You remember no doubt the first meeting of our society in 1857 at the house of A.B. Sage in Essex Street. I can never forget it.
>
> There were present, if I remember rightly, Foskett, Oliver, Groh, Fiske, Dr. Gibbs, Thos. Dunn English, Mayers, Boughton, Norton, Ez. Hill, and A.B. Sage.
>
> We organized by electing I.H. Gibbs, president; F.H. Norton, recording secretary, Jas. D. Foskett, librarian; Ed. Groh, curator; and A.B. Sage, corresponding secretary.

The preceding refers to "our society" and was published in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* organ of the society in question. Thus, there can be no doubt that Sage was recalling the formation of the American Numismatic Society.[2]

In 1892, historiographer Weeks commented concerning Sage's reminiscence:

> [He] claims that the first meeting of the New York Society was held at his house in 1857; but the persons he mentions as present, and the officers elected, do not coincide with the facts as stated in the regular minutes of the meetings of the Society as organized in the spring of 1858.
>
> He mentions as present, Messrs. Fiske and Norton, who did not become members until the meeting held May 11, 1858; and Mr. Mayers, who became a member at the meeting held July 13, 1858; and he fails to mention Messrs. Atkinson, Melber, Vail, and Whitmore, who were present at the meeting held April 6, 1858.
>
> The officers he mentions differ from those elected April 13, 1858, as follows:
>
> He does not mention the election of Messrs. Vail and Whitmore as vice-presidents. He speaks of Mr. Norton as recording secretary, instead of Mr. Oliver; of Mr. Foskett as librarian, instead of actuary; and of Mr. Groh as curator, when no such office existed.
>
> These cannot be mere chance differences, arising from defective memory of the events and persons but are clearly a recollection of a meeting held at some time in the year 1857, of which the Society has no written minutes, and which may have preceded the organization in December 1857 of the society at Philadelphia.
>
> There is no proof that any further meetings were held, or that the Society was intended to be merged into the one organized in 1858, except that all its members afterward became members of the later society.

In the nineteenth century there was some rivalry as to which group organized first: the Philadelphia Numismatic Society, which held its formative meeting on December 27, 1857, and formally organized on January 1, 1858, or the American Numismatic Society, otherwise credited for being established in March or April 1858. The Sage recollection, if true, would give the American Numismatic Society precedence. In the *American Journal of Numismatics,* June 1867, the editor seemingly seconded Sage's reminiscences and took issue with the Philadelphia society antedating the American Numismatic Society, noting that while the Philadelphia group obtained its *charter* earlier, the ANS was *organized* first.

Historiographer Weeks, while considering the 1857 possibility, was aware of the "standard version" of the formation in 1858, and, in fact, quotes the March 8, 1858 invitation in his chronicle of the Society. The present writer tends to believe that Sage remembered events incorrectly, and the first meeting was held in 1858, as recited below.

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[1] William R. Weeks, *History of The American Numismatic and Archaeological Society,* 1892, p. 5.

[2] Direct transcriptions from Society minutes and records of 1858-1859 are reproduced in Appendix V of the present work.

## MARCH 1858

Under the date of March 8, 1858, five socially-minded numismatists—Augustus B. Sage, Henry O. Hart,[1] James D. Foskett, Edward Groh, and James Oliver—affixed their names to a circular letter which invited interested collectors to meet at Sage's family residence, rooms upstairs at 121 Essex Street, New York City, at 7:30 p.m., March 15, to establish what became the American Numismatic Society. Sage, about two months shy of his 17th birthday, became a founding member.

Sage's home became a beehive of activity, and informal meetings of the Society were held there on the evenings of March 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, and 29, according to notes in a diary kept by Groh and other sources.[2] One can imagine all of the enthusiasm prevalent.

The very first official gathering was on March 15. Present were James D. Foskett, James Oliver, Dr. Isaac H. Gibbs,[3] Henry ("Harry") Whitmore, Henry O. Hart, Ezra Hill, Theophilus W. Lawrence and "a number of others," according to informal notes kept by Edward Groh, who was also there. The "number of others" necessarily included Sage and may have referred to others as well. Gibbs was elected president *pro tem.*

Those who had signed the invitation—Messrs. Sage, Hart, Foskett, Groh, and Oliver—were all present and accounted for.

## FOUNDING MEMBERS

The following individuals were later recognized as founders of the Society, having signed on by April 6, 1858, this being the first official meeting of the Society, although certain other individuals attended early meetings, but did not join:[4]

Dr. Isaac H. Gibbs. 215 Delancey Street, New York City.
Henry Whitmore. 162 Henry Street, New York City.
James D. Foskett. 200 South Street, New York City.
Alfred Boughton. 48 First Street, New York City.
Ezra Hill. 248½ Broadway, New York City.
Aug. B. Sage. 121 Essex Street, New York City.
Edward Groh. 30 Rose Street, New York City.
Asher D. Atkinson, M.D. 230 Greenwich Street, New York City.
John Cooper Vail. 14 & 16 Ann Street, New York City.
W.H. Morgan. 13 Bank Street, New York City.
Thomas Dunn English, MD., LL.D. [number not clear, ends in 2] Houston Street, New York City.
James Oliver. 396 Broadway, New York City.
Theophilus W. Lawrence. 32 Fleet Street, Brooklyn.
Jacob J. Melber.[5]

At the second official meeting of the newly formed American Numismatic Society, April 13, 1858, Dr. Isaac Hand Gibbs was elected as president, John Cooper Vail and Henry Whitmore as vice-presidents, James Oliver as recording secretary, Sage as corresponding secretary, Theophilus W. Lawrence as treasurer, and James D. Foskett as actuary.

## THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH

At the suggestion of the group that held meetings in March 1858, Dr. Thomas Dunn English drafted a constitution and by-laws. These were adopted at the April 6 meeting, with printed copies distributed on the meeting held on May 11.

Dr. English was a purist and preferred scholars to those who sold or exchanged coins. He left the Society, later giving as a reason his displeasure with the "intent of one or two of the members...to turn the affair into a machine for trading coins." Years later, on January 22, 1896, he accepted an honorary membership in the group and noted with apparent satisfaction that the Society was now one of "gentlemen of science and ability," this in contrast to the "coin traders" of circa 1858. Presumably, dealers Augustus B. Sage and Ezra Hill were the offenders. Dr. English was never one to withhold his comments, as a synopsis of his varied career outside of numismatics reveals:

Born in or near Philadelphia on June 29, 1819, of Quaker parentage, Thomas Dunn English completed his basic education[6] and then entered the University of Pennsylvania to study medicine. He attained his M.D. degree in 1839 with the acceptance of his thesis on phrenology.[7] About this time he decided to become an attorney instead, and embarked three years of training in law. Meanwhile,

---

[1] His middle initial is given as E in Groh's notebook. Other listings are as Henry O. Hart, the style used here.
[2] Groh's diary preserved by the A.N.S.; William R. Weeks, *History of The American Numismatic and Archaeological Society,* 1892, p. 6.
[3] Dr. Gibbs, who lived at 215 Delancey Street, New York City, was very active in the early days of the Society. Later, he faded from the scene.
[4] Listing in order as per an individually signed roster created in early 1858; original preserved by the American Numismatic Society. Most probably, a register was kept at the meetings, and members signed it at their convenience; thus, the listing probably has no significance as to who was the first, second, etc., member. This listing order differs slightly from a listing in the *Proceedings* of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting, American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, March 18, 1879, which omitted W.H. Morgan, but added Jacob J. Miller. The order of names published in 1879 is different: Groh, Oliver, Whitmore, Sage, Hill, Foskett, Atkinson, Gibbs, English, Vail, Boughton, Miller, Lawrence, this being the order of "resident members" later assigned, with out-of-towner (across the East River) Lawrence finishing the roster.
[5] A list published in 1879 erroneously gave his surname as "Miller." Melber did not sign the original 1858 signed roster, but is listed in some (but not all) later accounts as an A.N.S. founder.
[6] Including at the Friends' Academy in Burlington, NJ, which his cousin, numismatist Asher T. Atkinson, also attended.
[7] A quasi-medical practice whereby practitioners studied the shape of the skull and various cranial bumps in order to determine personality characteristics. The leading promoter of phrenology was Orson S. Fowler, who also wrote books and proclaimed himself an expert on such other subjects as human sexuality, octagonal houses, and the water cure.

| Names: | Residence | P. O. |
|---|---|---|
| Isaac Hand Gibbs. | No. 215 Delaney St | N.Y. |
| " | " 162 Henry St | N.Y. |
| Sol. De Forest. | 200 South St | N.Y. |
| Alfred Poughton. | 48 First " | N.Y. |
| Ezra Hill. | 248½ Bowery | N.Y. |
| Aug. B. Sage. | 121 Essex St | N.Y. |
| Edward Groh. | 30 Rose St | N.Y. |
| Astor D. Atkinson. | 230 Greenwich St | N.Y. |
| John Cooper Vail. | 144 16 Ann St | N.Y. |
| W. H. Morgan | 18 Bank St | N.Y. |
| Nicholas English. | 62 Hester St. | N.Y. |
| James Oliver. | 396 Broadway | N.Y. |
| T. W. Lawrence. | 32 Fleet St | Brooklyn |
| June 13/58. Frank H. Norton | Astor Library | N.Y. |
| " Robt J. Hodge | 137 E 13 | NY |
| J. E. Bofsel. | 524 Grand St | N.Y. |
| June 27/58 Wm & Fred. Allayer | 13 Frankfort St. | N.Y. |

An early roster or check-in sheet kept by the American Numismatic Society. The names from Isaac Hand Gibbs (at the top of the list) down to T.W. Lawrence represent those who signed up as early members, after which additional names were listed on June 13 and 27, 1858.

beginning in 1839 he commenced writing popular articles including some that were published in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*. In this he achieved some success and came to know a circle of writers, including Edgar Allan Poe, whom he considered to be a close friend.[1] In 1843 he was admitted to the bar, at which time he was fully qualified to practice both law and medicine, but afterward he did neither for a long time. In the same year the editors of the *New Mirror,* George P. Morris and Nathaniel P. Willis, asked English to write a poem. "Ben Bolt," which was based upon real people, was the result. The poem became famous and was set to music.

Enlarging upon his already multi-faceted career, in the early 1840s Thomas Dunn English joined the ranks of supporters of the re-nomination (ultimately unsuccessful) of President John Tyler, who had succeeded to the office in 1841 after President William Henry Harrison caught cold at his inauguration and died a month later. English edited the *Aurora,* a pro-Tyler daily paper, but later commented that during his brief tenure he had been unnecessarily offensive and had alienated many people. After leaving the editor's chair he was appointed collector for the Port of New York City. The next year saw him edit the *Aristidean, a Magazine of Reviews, Politics, and Light Literature.* Although contributors included such writers as Poe and Walt Whitman, the journal lasted only for six issues. English and Poe became bitter enemies and exchanged slings and arrows in print. After living for a time in Washington, DC, English went back to his native Philadelphia, where he launched a weekly humor paper, *John Donkey,* which, after printing sensational accusations and revelations about leading citizens, expired in a quagmire of lawsuits.

Undaunted, English moved to Virginia in 1852 and hung out his shingle as an attorney. Later in the decade he moved to Bergen County, New Jersey. There he practiced law and, later, medicine. It was this background that resulted in his being asked to draft the constitution and bylaws for the American Numismatic Society in 1858. At this time he had an office on Houston Street, New York City, not far from Sage's home.

In the early 1860s he served for a time in the New Jersey State Legislature. In 1870 English acquired a political journal which railed against Republican policies, but failed a year later. In 1890 he was elected to the United States Congress on the Democratic ticket, served two terms 1891-1895, but did not succeed in his bid for re-election. He died on June 17, 1899.

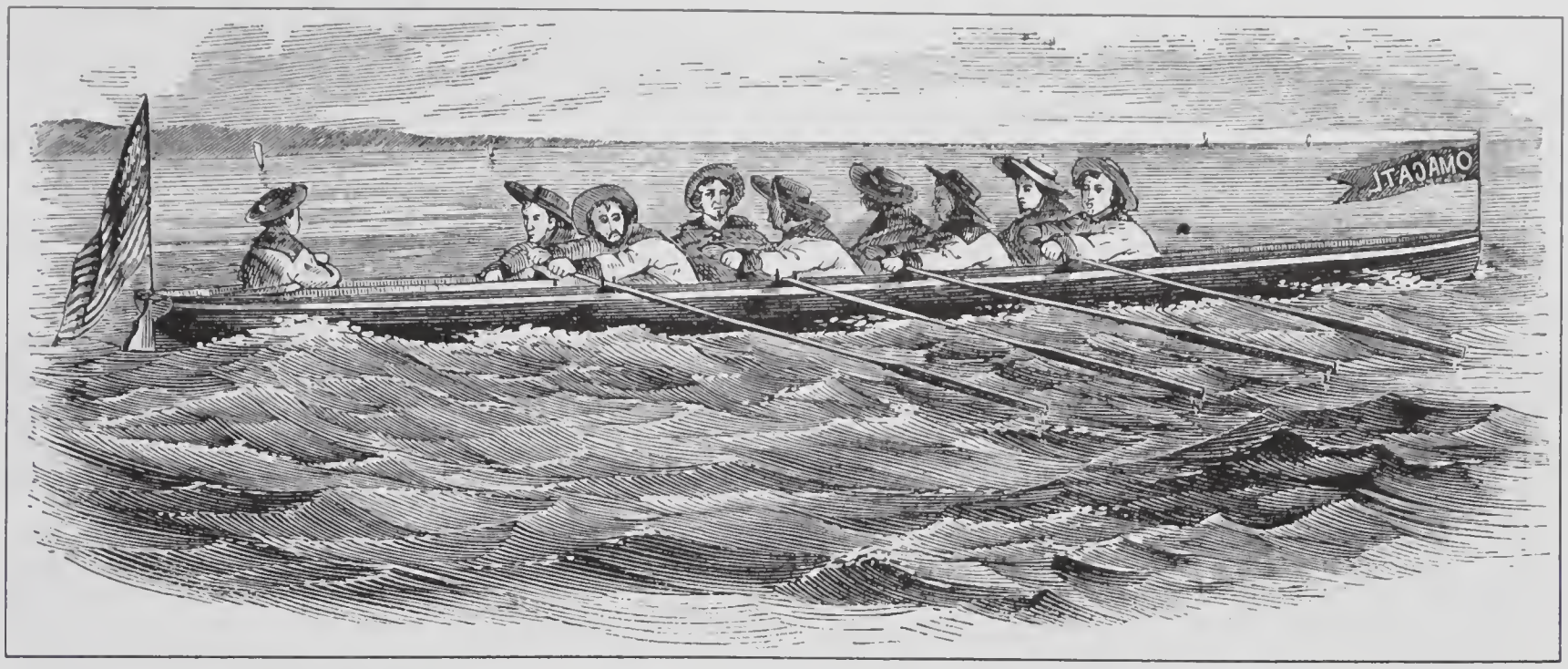
## SAGE AND THE SOCIETY IN 1858

Sage, who, despite his young age, could be called the "Father of the American Numismatic Society," or at least one of the fathers, should any historian care to do so, took the newly-founded group's interests to heart. All of the early meetings were held in his home, and he seemed ever-willing to help the Society in any other way possible. On May 3, 1858, he wrote to Peter Cooper, founder of the Cooper Institute,[2] to inquire about securing meeting rooms for the group. Cooper replied on May 6, suggesting a meeting between the two, but no further action seems to have been taken by Sage.

**Where history was made: In upstairs facilities in this building at 121 Essex Street, New York City (shown here in a photograph taken by the author in 1997), Augustus B. Sage and his family members made their home in 1858. It was here that Sage began his rare coin business, and it was here that the American Numismatic Society had its first meetings.**

[1] Manuscript biographical notes by English are preserved by the New York Public Library. English is listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[2] The cornerstone of the Cooper Institute, as it was usually referred to in Sage's day, was laid on September 17, 1853, at the corner of 7th Street and 4th Avenue, New York City. The facility occupied the block bounded by Third Avenue, Fourth Avenue, Seventh Street, and Eighth Street; on the north it faced the Bible House. It was incorporated in 1857 as the Peter Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. Cooper, an inventor, had made a fortune in the railroad and telegraph industries. The Cooper Union was intended to be a center of learning replete with classrooms, lecture halls, museum exhibits, an art gallery, scientific collections, laboratories, meeting rooms for societies, and a cosmorama (an exhibition of painted scenes viewed through an aperture to allow for special effects of lighting and perspective; alternatively, a large painted diorama that was mounted so as to move sideways in front of an audience, to depict scenes from history, travel on a river, etc.). Not all of Cooper's plans came to pass, but the Cooper Union did prove to be very popular with the public. It was there, in 1860, that Abraham Lincoln made his first nationally-noticed speech.




**Omacatl Club members enjoying themselves. In October 1858 the group made its comfortable club room on Broadway available to the American Numismatic Society for its first "semi-annual meeting." (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* May 17, 1856)**

On September 14, 1858, Sage, James D. Foskett, and Frank H. Norton were named to a committee in the continuing effort to find suitable rooms for a meeting place for the Society. The comfortably appointed facilities of the Omacatl Club, on Broadway, served the purpose for the first "semi-annual meeting" held on November 3. Relative to this venue, the following appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper:*[1]

> OMACATL BOAT CLUB: The boat clubs of our city, which contain so many good fellows, are getting their beautiful crafts ready for the summer campaign. The 'Omacatl Club,' launched on Saturday, the 3d of May, an eight-oared craft bearing the club's name, and the event, by good taste and liberality of the club, was made an occasion of elegant festivity. The boat house is at the foot of Christopher Street, North River, and is a model of beauty and neatness; in fact, the little parlor, or more nautically speaking, the cabin, where the members of the club transact their business, and keep their uniforms is quite equal in furnish to the interior of our first rate steam ships.
>
> The boat house is as neat and convenient as possible; in the upper part of it hang two 'old friends,' which have done good service and now are suspended on their laurels. The smallest is the 'Wave,' upwards of 15 years old, the second the 'Old 76,' which is 36 feet long. Those boats have given way to the 'Omacatl,' 40 feet long, eight oared, and pronounced by good judges to be the most highly finished specimen of boat architecture ever seen in New York; in fact, so fine are its equipments, that it looks rather like an ornament for some ladies' *boudoir,* rather than a craft designed to do battle with the waves, and receive the rough usage of a club boat. In justification of this ornate style, we must remark that the 'Omacatl' is intended more especially for the amusement of the lady friends of the members of the club, and nothing could be too good, or too luxurious, when dedicated to their service....
>
> The club was established on the 9th of December, 1853, and was composed of 25 members, including young men of highest respectability, who were determined to combine with pleasure the utmost propriety of conduct. The uniform of the club consists of a striped silk undershirt, white flannel shirt over it, with blue cuffs and collars, and blue pants, straw hat, with broad ribbon, on which is neatly wrought the letter "O" with boat hook and oar crossed, forming a pretty and appropriate device....
>
> The name "Omacatl," which is hard to pronounce and unfamiliar to most American ears, by one of those strange similarities of language, in the Hebrew means mirth, and in the Mexican stands for the Goddess of Mirth.
>
> The club has a commodious room on Broadway, where the members assemble during the long evenings of the winter months and enjoy the facilities of a well furnished reading room and library....

Apparently, this seemingly idyllic Omacatl Club room was available only temporarily, as nothing further was recorded concerning it in the American Numismatic Society minutes.

On December 16 a meeting was held in a room at the Bible House on Astor Place under an arrangement whereby a monthly rent of $12.50 would be paid through May 1, 1859.[2] In return, the American Numismatic Society had

[1] May 17, 1856, p. 357. Accompanying illustrations showed the *Omacatl,* an eight-oared wooden racing shell suitable for pleasure excursions on the water near Manhattan. The name is misspelled "Omactl" in A.N.S. records and in Adelson's history of the Society. In the late 1850s there were relatively few publicly-advertised *clubs* in the city; such included the Athenæum, Century, City, Eclectic, Farmers', German, Gymnasium, Harmonic, Hearthstone, New York, New York Chess, Omacatl, Polytechnic, Union, Waverley, and Yacht. *Societies,* as opposed to clubs, were much more numerous in directory listings. Boyd's. *Pictorial Directory of Broadway,* 1859, gives Benjamin V.R. Corwin, grocer, as the only business at 811 Broadway; presumably, the club room, used only occasionally and not open to the general public, was not considered worthy of notice. However, *Carroll's New York City Directory,* 1859, lists the Omacatl Club at that address.

[2] The Bible House, six stories high, occupied the block bounded by Fourth Avenue, Astor Place, Third Avenue, and Ninth Street.

The Bible House (far left), Cooper Institute, and Tompkins Market in lower Manhattan. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* 1861.)

exclusive use of the room and could store its books and other items there. At the meeting of April 21, 1859, members voted that the room lease arrangement be terminated upon its expiration.

The first meeting of May, held on the 12th, took place at Augustus B. Sage's office at 24 Division Street. In the meantime, inquiries had been made at the Cooper Institute, a seat of public learning and accommodation for scholarly pursuits. Information was received to the effect that if the American Numismatic Society would make a suitable presentation, a room probably would be made available in about two months. Sage's office continued to serve the Society's purpose, until June 9, when a meeting was held at 839 Broadway (at the corner of East 13th Street), followed by use of the room of the American Geographical Society in Clinton Hall on June 14, after which the Society suspended meetings for the summer, a departure from the preceding summer (of 1858) when meetings were held during the hot months of July and August. It seems that at the end of the school term in spring 1859, Sage resigned as a teacher from School No. 12 in the Seventh Ward, and decided to become a full-time numismatist and book dealer.

The first meeting of the autumn was held at Sage's office on October 13, at which time it was announced that arrangements had been made for "the temporary gift of a room in the Cooper Institute." On October 20, 1859, the new room was utilized at a meeting which included Mark W. Collet, M.D., of Philadelphia, as a guest and featured speaker. Collet was a luminary in his own home town, was a leading figure in the numismatic society there, and was highly respected. Unfortunately, his life would be cut short during military service in the Civil War.

It was soon learned that the temporary gift of a room at the Cooper Institute was, indeed, temporary, and the Society could no long meet there.

What happened next is not known with certainty. Local dealers Sage and Hill may have incurred the displeasure of some of the older members, there may have been internal dissent that was not recorded in Society minutes, or perhaps the activities were suspended until another meeting room could be found, or perhaps something else went awry. Apparently, the spark was gone. No more meetings were held by the American Numismatic Society. For all intents and purposes it expired.

Later, it was popular to state that the unsettled political activity of America furnished the reason for the Society's end. However, the Civil War was still more than a year away and, besides, the year of 1860 was alive with numismatic activity including numerous auctions in New York City and Boston, the issuance of numismatic store cards and medalets in unprecedented numbers, etc.

The true reason is not known.

As it developed, the Society was comatose, but not dead. In early 1864 there was a stirring, and on February 5, at the invitation of George H. Perine, M.D., a gathering of collectors was held at his home at 6 East 22nd Street, New York City. In attendance were Mortimer S. Brown, Isaac J. Greenwood, Edward Groh, Frank H. Norton, James Oliver, and Dr. Perine, which included old members plus the new face of Perine. Enthusiasm must have prevailed, for another meeting took place on March 11, at which time the name of the group was changed to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, probably in an effort to appeal to a wider population than just the numismatic community.[1]

Sage was not active in the Society after its rebirth, although he was in touch on a few occasions.

## SAGE AND THE INDIAN CENT

Returning to the account of the affairs of the American Numismatic Society and Sage's involvement in 1858-1859:

In spring 1858 the Mint began preparing designs for a new motif for the small copper-nickel one-cent piece. The Flying Eagle cent had been in circulation since May 25, 1857, but was considered to be unsatisfactory from a production viewpoint. The design was such that during the normal coining procedure many pieces were weakly struck, particularly on the obverse at the eagle's head and tail.

Chief Engraver James B. Longacre prepared the Indian Head motif featuring Miss Liberty wearing a ceremonial Indian feathered headdress (which, in real life, was typically worn by a *male* Indian). Collectors were interested in new coins of any kind, and the modified cent design was no exception. Knowledge of pattern coins featuring Longacre's Indian design was certainly widespread by late spring or early summer, for R. Coulton Davis, a Philadelphia druggist who was an avid collector of pattern coins, wrote to Mint Director James Ross Snowden on June 24, indicating that a Boston newspaper had just carried a favorable story about the proposed new Indian design.[2]

**Pattern Indian Head cent by James B. Longacre, style with ornamented shield on the reverse. In the summer of 1858, Augustus B. Sage learned that such pieces had been made, and he submitted a request to the Philadelphia Mint for a specimen for the American Numismatic Society and another for his own cabinet.**

[1] The American Numismatic and Archaeological Society name was used until July 1, 1907, at which time the American Numismatic Society title was resumed; this style has been continued to the present time.

[2] Citation from R.W. Julian, letter, April 16, 1996. Additional information from Walter Breen, letter, February 12, 1992. Also, letter from R.W. Julian, March 20, 1992. Robert Coulton Davis was one of the earliest specialists in pattern coins and wrote the first serious study on

Word of the novel cent reached Augustus B. Sage. On June 26, 1858, writing on behalf of the American Numismatic Society, he contacted Snowden, seeking to acquire a specimen of the new Indian Head cent for the Society and another for his personal collection.[1]

In the meantime, on June 17, 1858, Sage had proposed to the American Numismatic Society that a committee be formed to contact Congress to protest one of Snowden's pet projects, the establishment of a Medal Department at the Mint. In due course a committee was set up, but it found that there was no cause for complaint about the Medal Department, and the matter was dropped.[2] Sage may have reasoned that as a dealer he did not want the government as a competitor to him in the medal business, or he may have had another reason for his disapproval.

**Howell Cobb was secretary of the Treasury in the late 1850s when the Flying Eagle cent was introduced (May 1857) and during the era of Sage's numismatic activity. With Cobb rested many of the decisions pertaining to activities at the Philadelphia Mint, including the functioning of the Medal Department. Before the Civil War he declared his affinity with the cause of the South, eventually helping Georgia to secede from the Union, and achieving prominence in the Confederacy. (*Book of Anecdotes of the War of the Rebellion,* 1866, page 89)**

## SAGE AND LOSSING

On the same date that Sage proposed that the Society form a committee to complain about the Mint, June 17, 1858, the American Numismatic Society elected noted American historian Benson J. Lossing as its first honorary member.[3]

121 Essex Street
New York

June 24, 1858

Benson J. Lossing, Esq.

Dear Sir:

It is my pleasurable duty to announce to you, that at the last meeting of the American Numismatic Society you was [*sic*] unanimously elected an honorary member of the association.

The interest you have taken in advancing the Science of Numismatology through all your work led to this step. The Science is still in its infancy on this side of the Atlantic, but by making the effort, we may yet make it equal in interest to those others the Americans have raised to a degree hitherto unknown. By signifying your acceptance, oblige.

Your obdt. Servt.
Aug. B. Sage

On July 2, Lossing sent this acknowledgment:

Poughkeepsie
July 2, 1858

My Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo. (forwarded to me by Harper & Bros.) announcing my election to honorary membership in the American Numismatic Society.

While my limited knowledge of the interesting and highly important subject which forms the object of your

them, which appeared serially in *The Coin Collector's Journal,* 1885-1887. His collection was catalogued by David U. Proskey and auctioned by the New York Coin & Stamp Co., January 20-24, 1890. Davis had an 1804 silver dollar which the Mint had obligingly certified not only as genuine and original, but actually struck in the year 1804. It was Davis who circa 1858 informed Director Snowden that someone at the Mint was secretly restriking 1804 dollars and peddling them to coin dealers; these were the plain-edge varieties subsequently bought back by the Mint (for details of the plain-edge coins see Newman and Bressett, *The Fantastic 1804 Dollar*). Davis also owned a set of 1866 silver coins without the IN GOD WE TRUST motto, probably struck to his order. Walter Breen stated that druggist Davis secretly supplied laudanum to employees in the Mint Medal Department and in return received many special restrikes and mulings. However, as at the time it was perfectly legal to buy opiates at any drug store (Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup was among the opium-laced products widely advertised), and the supplying of such would not have been a rare favor, it seems unlikely that this would have been a major factor.

[1] Citation provided by R.W. Julian, letter, April 24, 1996.

[2] However, William R. Weeks' 1892 "History of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society," p. 7, notes this: "June 10, 1858, the Society sent a memorial to Congress, protesting against the establishment of a medal department in the U.S. Mint. While the protest was without avail, it showed of what metal the members of the Society were made." Weeks does not elaborate on his pun, "what metal the members of the Society were made," nor does he give any reason for the Society's opposition.

[3] Other honorary members of the 1858-1859 years included, in order of election: John H. Hickcox (January 6, 1859), William S. Frederick Mayers (February 17, 1859), Rev. Joseph Barlow Felt (February 24, 1859), M.W. Dickeson, M.D. (March 24, 1859), Henry Stevens (March 31, 1859), David T. Valentine (July 28, 1859).

association, would not entitle me to active membership. Therein, I assure you that I feel a deep concern in such investigations, so kindred to those in which I have been engaged.... As a fellow delver I most cheerfully accept the profound honor, and beg you to receive my cordial thanks, and my earnest wishes for the success of your enterprise. It is the hand-maid and worker with history, and is one of its most reliable aids in discovering truths and errors in the chronicles of the race.

Enclosed I send you a rough sketch of brass medal or coin that was taken from the earth in this county, six feet below the surface, of few weeks ago. It was left with the Cashier of one of our banks, who handed it to me for examination. This sketch shows the two sides. The date, you perceive, is 1699, and I can trace in the much worn letters, portions of the words, Portugal, India and Æthiopia. Can you give me any clue to its origin and purpose? The picture gives you its exact source and the lettering and devices. It is much worn.

Any information you may be able to impart to me explaining it will be gratefully received. The piece has been returned to the owner. I shall esteem it a favor if, when you shall have investigated the matter, you will return this sketch to me, where I will make a better drawing to the deposited in the archives of the Society.

Accept for yourself and associates, the assurance of my personal regard.

Very truly yours,

Benson Lossing

Augustus B. Sage, Esq.

Sec'y
121 Essex St.

P.S. This [Poughkeepsie] will be my place of residence until October or November.

Lossing's words concerning truths and errors in the chronicle of the human race could well be heeded by historians today, most of whom do not realize the importance of coins, medals, and paper money in the story of mankind and know very little about numismatics.

On July 7, 1858, Sage wrote to Lossing in a letter that when read today is reflective of Sage's great care to do his best to help with his inquiry:

July 9, 1858
Benson J. Lossing, Esq.

Dear Sir:

I received your note of the 2nd a day or two since.

Since that time I have investigated the history of the coin, of which you enclosed me a drawing.

On the obverse, instead of "India, Portugal, Æthiopia," as you supposed, the correct legend is, Petrus II. D.G. Portug. R.D. Æthiop. On the reverse, "Splendeat Usu Nioderato," which I translate. "It shines by moderate use," probably an adoption from Horace, who if I recollect aright says, "Gold and Silver shine by moderate use."[1]

The piece, as you perceive, is Portuguese, of the value of twenty milreis struck for circulation in Portugal and her colonies.

I can find nothing that bears upon the piece, in any of the numismatic works that I have access to.

I correct the legend &c. from a better specimen (as regards the edge), in the cabinet of one of our members.

Enclosed please find the drawing. We shall be very happy to have a larger one, but the one you send us is a very good representation of the piece.

In your "Field-Book" you mention that a medal was presented to Baron Steuben, by the King of Prussia.

Was such medal engraved, or struck from the die? I should like to be enlightened on the above points, and also to have a description of it, for soon there will be a fine medal issued in his honor, here.

There certainly can be no harm in multiplying the likenesses of such men as Steuben. I shall first issue by subscription a fine medal of Dr. Kane, having his bust for the obverse.

Probably you would like to know the condition of our Library and Cabinet— In our library we have the first English work on the subject— "Rice Vaughns, Discourse on Coin and Coinage, 1675," also the first Edition of Pinkerton's "Essay on Medals," "Wyatt's "Genls. and Commanders," Ludwig's "Introduction to German Numismatics," &c. In our Cabinet, "Hartstein, Duncan, Franklin, Washington," and various other medals.

In our Constitution observe, connate matters. Under that we gather everything in every language that bears upon the subject of Numismatology. I shall be pleased to hear from you whenever you have leisure. I am,

Very Respectfully

Your Obdt. Servt.
Aug. B. Sage
Corr. Sec. A.N.S.

The reference to Sage's anticipated issuing "a fine medal of Dr. Kane" is believed to refer to a 51 mm. medal of Kane struck from dies made by George H. Lovett in 1858 (see Chapter 8).

Of the several books Sage mentioned to Lossing as being in the library of the Society, only one had anything to do with American numismatics, this being Thomas Wyatt's 315-page volume, *Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores, and Other Commanders, Who Distinguished Themselves in the American Army and Navy During The Wars of The Revolution, and 1812, and Who Were Presented With Medals by Congress, For Their Gallant Services. Illustrated by Eighty-Two Engravings on Steel from the Original Medals,* published by Carey & Hart, Philadelphia in 1848.

Notwithstanding Lossing's modestly worded honorary membership acceptance to Sage, the record shows clearly that even if Lossing did not consider himself to be a numismatist, he was brimming with numismatic knowledge.

At the time the Lossing spent most of his time in New York City, in 1868 permanently moving to his country home, "Chestnut Ridge," a.k.a. "The Ridge," in Dover

[1] The reference is to an issue of Pedro II of Portugal. The ÆTHIOP. part of the legend did not refer to Ethiopia, but to the general district south of the Sahara Desert. Portuguese coins were denominated in reis.

Plains, New York, near the border with Connecticut, in an especially verdant and picturesque area of the state.

Sage's contacts with Lossing seem to have influenced the young numismatist immensely, as later events would prove.

## BENSON J. LOSSING

In his time Benson John[1] Lossing was one of America's best known "popular" historians. He was a meticulous researcher and, unlike many of his contemporaries, added many anecdotes, commentaries, and observations (and identified them as such) to his writings. In later times, many others drew upon his works as source material. Today, certain of Lossing's works stand as the most authoritative source for many historical subjects.

Benson J. Lossing was born in Beekman, Dutchess County, New York, on February 12, 1813, the son of John and Miriam (Dorland) Lossing. John Lossing, a farmer, was descended from Pietre Pieterse Lassingh, a Dutch settler who came to Albany circa 1658.

Benson's father died when he was an infant, and his mother passed away when he was 12. Orphaned, he was apprenticed to a Poughkeepsie watchmaker, Adam Henderson, at the age of 13. Despite his lack of extensive formal education, Lossing read avidly, especially in the field of history. Meanwhile, he achieved success in his profession and at the age of 20 was made a partner in his master's business, which became known as Henderson & Lossing. The firm issued a 19 mm. copper token, from dies by Wright & Bale, advertising their trade as "CLOCK & WATCH / MAKERS / & DEALERS IN / WATCHES / JEWELLERY / SILVER / W&B / POKEEPSIE NY.[2] The obverse depicted the portrait of George Washington within a wreath of oak leaves.[3] This token is highly collectible today, giving another numismatic connection to Lossing.

In 1835 Benson J. Lossing became co-editor and part owner of the *Poughkeepsie Telegraph,* the official organ of the Democratic Party in Dutchess County, a position he maintained until 1841. Meanwhile, from 1836 through

**Token advertising Henderson & Lossing, jewelers and clock makers of Poughkeepsie, NY, in the early 1830s. The dies were cut by Wright & Bale of New York City. The Washington portrait die was also used on one of Wright & Bale's own store cards.**

1839 he was the sole editor of the bi-weekly literary paper, the *Poughkeepsie Casket.* It is evident that by his twenties Lossing had an inclination and talent toward writing. Joseph Alexander Adams, a skilled engraver on wood who illustrated certain of Lossing's articles and did work for the *Poughkeepsie Casket,* instructed him in the art of sketching and engraving.[4] Eventually, Benson Lossing developed great talent as an artist. His usual method was to make a preliminary pencil sketch in his office or in the field. Later, he would shade the sketch with pencil or brush to achieve contrast and heighten perspective, after which a woodcut would be made based upon the finished drawing. In the early years he did the entire process himself. Later, others engraved from his sketches.[5]

On June 18, 1833, Lossing married Alice Barritt, who died in 1855. On November 18, 1856, he married Helen Sweet.

In 1838 Lossing and his wife left Poughkeepsie and moved to New York City, where he set himself up as a wood-block engraver while maintaining his editorial work on the *Poughkeepsie Telegraph* and *Poughkeepsie Casket,* an arrangement that continued until 1841. In New York City he traded as Lossing & Barritt, indicating that his wife or one of her relatives may have been active in the partnership.[6] The Lossing & Barritt style continued after his wife's death.[7]

From June 1839 to May 1841 he was editor and illustrator of the *Family Magazine; or Monthly Abstract of General*

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[1] Middle name sometimes incorrectly cited as Joseph. Sources for information include *Dictionary of American Biography;* S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors,* Vol. I, J.B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1872, p. 1132; and the 1891 supplement by John Foster Kirk, Vol. II, same publisher, p. 1019.

[2] Baker-539, cf. Baker, page 209; also see Rulau-Fuld, 1985, p. 268. Standard biographical notices of Lossing do not mention this token. Thomas L. Elder's sale of May 18-19, 1917, Lot 272 offered an example of this token: "Henderson & Lossing, bust of Washington, by Wright & Bale. Rev. card. Only 16 specimens struck when the die broke. Exceedingly rare. Baker 539. New York Numismatic Club list #382. (Levick sale $6). Card of Benson J. Lossing, noted historian." The token realized $5.50.

[3] This same obverse was used elsewhere, as on Wright & Bale's own store card, 1832-1833, with reverse reading: WRIGHT & BALE / ENGRAVERS / & DIE / CUTTERS / 68 NASSAU STREET / PLATES & ROLLS / FOR EMBOSSING / DIES & SEALS OF / EVERY / DESCRIPTION / NEW-YORK.

[4] Adams (1803-1880) began in the engraving trade circa 1824 in New York City. In 1841, Adams was at 139 Fulton Street. Sinclair Hamilton, *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers 1670-1870,* includes his biography on pp. 45-46.

[5] Cf. Alexander Davidson, Jr., "How Benson J. Lossing Wrote his 'Field Books' of the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War," a paper delivered before the Bibliographical Society, June 14, 1938; cited by Hamilton, p. 169; and other sources.

[6] For example, the 1847 book by Lossing, *Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-Six, or, the War for Independence,* has certain plates (*e.g.*, p. 320) signed "Lossing & Barritt, del. et sc." ("delineated and engraved"). Barritt does not seem to be known separately as an engraver of note.

[7] An example is provided by an illustration in *Crusoe's Island,* by J. Ross Browne, New York, 1864, p., 45, noted as being engraved on wood by Lossing-Barritt. The same firm made plates for various editions of D.T. Valentine's *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York* books.

*Knowledge,* published weekly by J.S. Redfield upstairs at the same Chambers Street address, which was also shared with George A. Bruce & Co., type founders who used most of the first floor. The 1841-1842 edition of J. Doggett, Jr.'s *New York Business Directory* listed Lossing as a wood engraver with an office in a five-story multi-tenant building at 13 Chambers Street.

In the same era Lossing wrote *An Outline History of the Fine Arts,* a 330-page study which in 1840 was published as No. 103 in Harper's Family Library. During the same decade his output included such books as *Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-Six; or, the War for Independence* (510 pages), *Lives of the Presidents of the United States* (130 pages), *The New World* (100 pages), *The Ohio Book* (100 pages), and *Biographical Sketches of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (382 pages). The last-named volume did much to spur interest in collecting autographs of the signers, a pursuit which soon reached intense passions and remained in the front rank of that collecting field for much of the following century.

Lossing conceived the idea of writing a grand study about the American Revolution, a work that would eclipse anything done before. Harper Brothers put up the funds, and, beginning in July 1848, he spent two years visiting sites in America and Canada relating to the subject, covering nearly 9,000 miles in the process. In the final work, his observations and sketches (now translated to engravings) were interspersed with original historical information from the 1770s and 1780s. He also consulted standard references on the Revolution and biographies of George Washington, including works by Sparks, Onderdonk, Thacher, Gordon, *et al.,* making use of things he considered relevant. Lossing seems to have been a very astute researcher, often casting aside folklore and twice-told tales (but reciting them in context for his readers) to seek the facts.

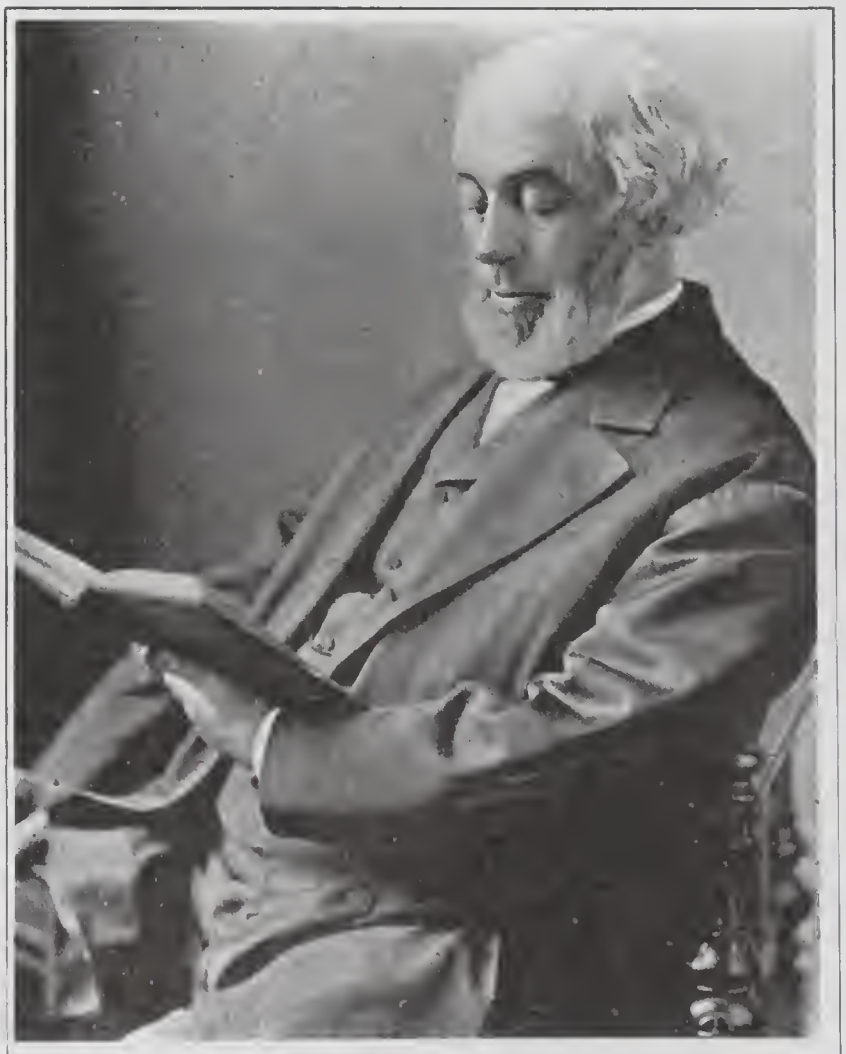
The result was a series of studies sold as separate folios by subscription, then in 1852 published by Harper Brothers as a two-volume octavo work, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution.* The "field book" part of the title was derived from Lossing's methodology, his thousands of miles of field trips. Acclaim was immediate, and sales were very gratifying to the publisher. Unfortunately, a large supply of undistributed sets was destroyed by fire in 1853, necessitating another printing, which was accomplished in 1855. In the latter year another of his books was published, *Our Countrymen; or Brief Memoirs of Eminent Americans,* illustrated with 103 engravings and including profiles of over 300 figures from history.

## LOSSING AND NUMISMATICS

Lossing's fascinating and highly readable study of the war for American independence might well qualify as one of the earliest American *numismatic books,* although that was far from its main focus. The work illustrated a 1652 silver Pine Tree shilling of Massachusetts and a 1776 Continental "pewter" dollar (and noted that Lossing personally owned a specimen of the latter), described and illustrated many different varieties of early American medals, and depicted several varieties of paper money. In addition, the two volumes contained much on monetary and financial history. If one were to remove all of the text *except* that relating to coins, paper money, medals, and the subjects depicted on the medals, remaining would be a numismatically valuable volume of several dozen pages in length.

While Lossing may not have been a dedicated coin collector, his use of coins, medals, and paper money as an adjunct to American history certainly earned him recognition in numismatic circles. Years later, the July 1870 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics* included a detailed article, "Coins and Medals in Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution," which told of the descriptions and illustrations found in the first edition.

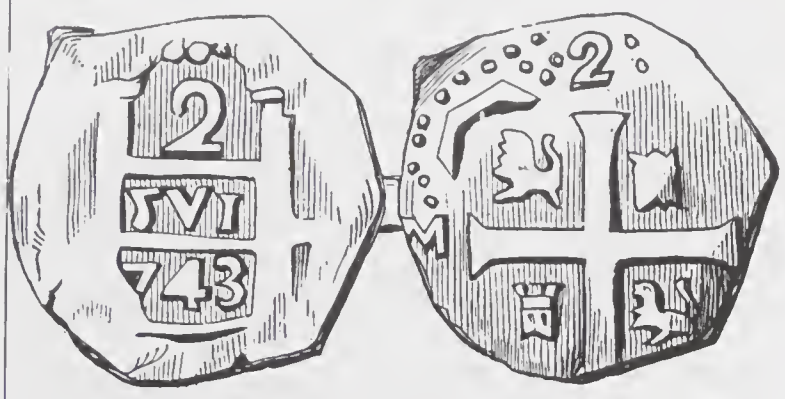
The *Field-Book* was a great success, and by the mid-1850s Lossing was a well-known figure in the field of historical research and writing. His highly readable style was captivating to the buyers of his books, and in time he was commissioned to create other texts on such subjects as the War of 1812, the Civil War, George Washington and his relationship with Mount Vernon, and much more, for a lifetime production of over two dozen sizable books plus countless monographs, articles, and published letters.



**Benson J. Lossing seated and reading, circa the 1880s—long after he communicated with Augustus B. Sage concerning coins. By this time Lossing was well known as one of America's most popular authors of history. (*Lossing's Complete History of the United States,* 1889)**

## Lossing and Numismatics

Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* contained many numismatic references. Several are shown on this page.




"Two Sides of a Cross-Pistareen," was accompanied by this text: "The silver coin found in the vicinity of Fort Edward is called by the people 'cob money.' The derivation of this name I could not learn. I obtained two pieces of it, both of which are Spanish coin. The larger one is a cross-pistareen, of the value of sixteen cents; the other is a quarter fraction of the same coin. They are very irregular in form, and the devices and dates are quite imperfect. The two in my possession are dated respectively 1741, 1743. These Spanish small coins composed the bulk of specie circulation among the French in Canada at that time."

With this illustration of a Pine Tree shilling was this text: "In 1637 the Pequot war ensued; and about 1640, persecutions having ceased in England, emigration to the colonies also ceased. The Confederation was effected in 1643. From that time the permanent prosperity of the colonies may be dated. Their commerce, which first extended only to the Indians, and to traffic among themselves, expanded, and considerable trade was carried on with the West Indies. Through this trade bullion was brought into New England, and 'it was thought necessary, to prevent fraud in money,' to establish a mint for coining shillings, sixpences, and threepences. On the first coins the only inscription on one side was N.E., and on the other, XII., VI., or III. In October, 1651, the court ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring, with the inscription MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree in the center, on one side, and NEW ENGLAND, and the year of our Lord, on the other. The first money was coined in 1652, and the date was not altered for thirty years."

Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* illustrated this group of Continental Currency notes. This was a popular "stock" engraving of the era and was used in a dozen or more books and other publications.

As his career progressed and he created more and more titles, coins and medals continued to be an important adjunct to his illustrations. Often, engravings of medals were accompanied by information that even advanced numismatists would find to be interesting and informative. An example among his later books is found in *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America,* Vol. I, 1866, p. 370, where he gave illustrations and detailed explanations of four medals awarded by the Chamber of Commerce of New York City to the defenders of Fort Sumter. Of the Sumter medals more will be related in the present text.

An example of the 1800 "HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS" Washington funeral medal is illustrated in at least two of his works including *George Washington's Mount Vernon,* 1870, p. 412, where the dies are attributed to Jacob Perkins and the sentiment and design to Dudley A. Tyng (collector of customs, Newburyport, MA).[1] This information was due to what certainly can be characterized as a *numismatic* inquiry from Lossing printed in *Historical Magazine,* May 1858, p. 151:

**A CURIOUS MEDAL:**

I have in my possession a silver medal, struck at about the time of Washington's death. It is a little larger and thicker than the old Spanish quarter of a dollar.

On one side is an excellent profile of Washington, surrounded by a wreath of laurel, inclosed in the words—"HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS." On the other side is a Memorial Urn, and around it, forming two circles, are the following words and letters: "B.F. 11, 1732. G.A. Army. '75. R. '83. P. U.S.A. '89 / R. '96. G. ARM. U.S. '98. OB. D. 14, 1799."[2]

What is the history of this medal? Was it struck by order of Congress, a society or by an individual?

L.
Poughkeepsie, N.Y., April, 1858.

This elicited the following reply published in the July 1858 issue:

"THE CURIOUS MEDAL" described in your No. for May, with the excellent effigies of Washington, and the motto "He is in glory, the World in tears," together with some interesting memorabilia, was issued at Newburyport on the occasion of their celebration of the obsequies of Washington a few months after his decease.

It was executed by one of the most ingenious, scientific, and prolific inventors our country has produced—Jacob Perkins, so widely known as the inventor of the nail-cutting machine, and the improved method of engraving for bank bills, and other purposes. He executed the dies for these medals, of the size of a quarter of a dollar and of a larger size.

Their issue gave additional interest to the occasion; but the artist was induced to issue them from his gratitude and reverence for the Father of his country. My recollection is, which is confirmed by the best evidence extant, that the device for the medal was furnished by Dudley A. Tyng, the collector of customs at Newburyport, a ripe and prominent scholar in those early days of our literature, and a generous, charitable man. He was the father of the Rev. S.H. Tyng of New York, and the grandfather of Dudley A. Tyng, whose extraordinary merits have recently caused his melancholy death to be so universally lamented. He was prevented from taking holy orders as an Episcopalian by the great expense it required, and he became a lawyer, highly distinguished for his law reports.

The oration at Newburyport was by R.T. Paine,[3] a poet of highest genius, author of "Adams and Liberty,"[4] a student then under Judge Parsons, who, in approval of his oration, presented him with one of these medals in gold.

S. Swett.
Boston, June 15, 1858.

In later years, Benson J. Lossing was among the most active participants in the New-York Historical Society, before which he delivered a paper, "A Memorial of Alexander Anderson, M.D., the First Engraver on Wood in America." In 1872 this highly-acclaimed study was published as a monograph. Lossing died on June 3, 1891.

Important to the present work, Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* was the main source used by Augustus B. Sage in 1858 when he devised a series of tokens illustrating American history. Of these, more will be related in Chapter 10.

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[1] W.E. Woodward, in a chapter in Franklin B. Hough, *Washingtoniana,* 1865, Vol. II, p. 281, notes this concerning a larger medal, known today as the "Victor Sine Clade" medal, made in Perkins' shop: "Dudley A. Tyng was the designer of this medal and the credit of execution has usually been accorded to Jacob Perkins. The dies were made in the shop of Jacob Perkins, but the work was by Nicholas Pearce, who died within a few years at an advanced age in Newburyport. Mr. Pearce retained in his possession till his death, one of the earliest and finest impressions, always refusing for it the most tempting offers. After his death it was purchased of Mrs. Pearce, and having passed through various hands has found a permanent resting place in a celebrated collection." Separately, Perkins' production of the smaller funeral medal, as asked about by Lossing, is delineated: "The dies for this piece and the preceding [another variety of the small medal] were designed and probably cut by Jacob Perkins, at Newburyport, in Mass. The medals being worn by many who took part in the funeral solemnities at that place, were very extensively distributed over the country."

[2] Abbreviations for: Born February 11, 1732 [old calendar; later changed to February 22]; general American Army, 1775; resigned his commission, 1783; president of the U.S.A., 1789; resigned as president, 1796, as general of the Army of the United States 1798; died December 14, 1799.

[3] Robert Treat Paine (1773-1811), originally christened as Thomas Paine but later renamed in 1801 in memory of his elder brother who had died of yellow fever in 1798, was one of eight children of Robert Treat Paine and the former Sally Cobb; the elder Paine was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The younger Paine led a life punctuated with dissipation and hard times, but also with many accomplishments. Paine's ode to Washington sung on January 9, 1800, at the Old South Meeting House, Boston, is reproduced in Franklin B. Hough, *Washingtoniana,* Vol. I, pp. 233-234.

[4] A song written in June 1798 which included a stanza about George Washington.

## SAGE AS CURATOR

On November 3, 1858, at the American Numismatic Society's "first semi-annual meeting" held at the Omacatl Club, 811 Broadway,[1] Augustus B. Sage was appointed curator of the group, which by that time had received a few coins and artifacts for its collection, including some donated by Sage himself. By January 6, 1859, he decided to resign the office due to business commitments, and the curatorial position was given to another teenager, William Leggett Bramhall, who held the post briefly, until April 7, when he resigned because of his being a minor. The Society hoped to incorporate under the laws of the State of New York, and adult officers and directors were required to sign the application. Edward Groh took over the post, and a vote of thanks was given to Bramhall for his work.

Early in 1859 Sage participated with Frank H. Norton and William S. Frederick Mayers[2] on a committee to investigate a cup found in Cincinnati that had silver coins embedded in it. By February 1859 the committee found that it was not over 150 years old and was probably made in Germany.[3]

## A NEW OFFICE

On May 12 and 19, 1859, and perhaps at other times as well, Sage's office at 24 Division Street, his new business address in New York City, furnished the location for meetings of the Society, a change from his mother's residence at 121 Essex Street. In some accounts 24 Division Street was called Sage's "house," indicating that he may have roomed there before finding other lodging. In his new office he had displays of autographs, prints, coins, and other items of collecting interest as well as stationery and writing material, although *Trow's New York City Directory* listed his trade simply as "coins." Around this time he took rooms at 656 Fourth Street, perhaps residing at his office during the transition from Essex Street. Sage was on his own.

At 24 Division Street, numismatist Henry Bogert also maintained an office, with the aforementioned directory listing him as a "clerk" with no mention of a trade or specialty. Bogert lived at 96 West 26th Street. Elsewhere, Bogert was listed as being in the printing trade and as a manufacturer of printing paper. He later married Helen Anderson Evans.[4]

In November 1859 Bogert and Sage were given equal billing, ostensibly as partners, on the cover of the Henry Whitmore Collection auction catalogue. Possibly, Bogert's main activity was taking care of the stationery and printing part of the business, while Sage specialized in numismatics. However, Bogert had his own coin collection.

On May 19, 1859, Sage was named to an American Numismatic Society committee with Messrs. Frank Jaudon and James Oliver[5] to gather by donation from members a set of current Proof coins to present to the London Numismatic Society. The transmittal of the set, which had been purchased from the Philadelphia Mint for $2.02, was made by Frank H. Norton on October 26 of the same year.

## FRANK H. NORTON

Frank H. Norton, who had discussed "numismatology" with Augustus B. Sage in 1857, joined the American Numismatic Society on May 11, 1858.[6] He had attended earlier meetings of the group, including one in which he was elected recording secretary, a position in which he was active through 1859. On October 26 of the same year, Bangs, Merwin & Co. auctioned 162 lots of coins under his name. These pieces, probably oddments or duplicates from his

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[1] The activities of the Omacatl Club are noticed earlier in the present text.

[2] Mayers joined the A.N.S. on July 13, 1858, but had attended earlier meetings. On November 19, 1858, he delivered a paper, "The Literature of American Numismatics," the first formal address given to the Society; the text was later published in *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 3, 1859. He later moved to Europe, then to China.

[3] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958*, p. 27.

[4] Their son, George Henry Bogert, born in New York City, February 6, 1864, studied at the National Academy of Design and, later, under Thomas Eakins, and became a prominent and highly successful artist in the early twentieth century, living until December 13, 1944.

[5] Oliver later became recording secretary of the Society in the 1860s; he died in 1890. On April 23, 1892, his collection was auctioned by the New York Coin & Stamp Company. (Jaudon's biography is given in Chapter 11.)

[6] Born in Hingham, MA, on March 20, 1836, Norton was educated at the Dwight School, Boston, and at the Pictou Academy in Pictou, Nova Scotia, where his father was a United States consular agent. At the Academy he earned a prize in mathematics. He also developed a fondness for astronomy. In 1850 he went to New York City to join the staff of the Irving Book Store operated by his brother, Charles B. Norton, with whom he remained until 1855, when he went to work at the Astor Library as assistant librarian under Dr. Joseph G. Cogswell. He stayed at the Astor Library until 1865, by which time he had risen to the position of assistant superintendent. After 1865 he was a professional journalist working with such publications as Frank Leslie's periodicals, the New York *Herald*, and the New York *Commercial Advertiser*. In 1866 Norton was employed as librarian at the Brooklyn Mercantile Library. During this time he made the facility available to coin collectors, and volumes of numismatic books were kept there. In later years Norton compiled much data for Appleton's *American Cyclopædia* and its yearbooks, White's *National Cyclopædia of American Biography* (for which he created more than 1,700 biographical sketches!), and the *Library of Universal Knowledge*. Among other accomplishments, he crafted eight plays from 1870 to 1874, wrote the *Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition*, 1876, and a similar volume for the Paris Exposition of 1878, and created book-length biographies of Winfield Scott Hancock (1880) and Alexander H. Stephens (1883) and wrote the *Romance of the Life of Daniel Boone* (1883).

**Corner of Division Street and Canal Street during in the 1850s. Sage's office was located at 24 Division Street, not far distant.**

cabinet, sold for $152.67, and an addendum listing with 31 lots brought a further $18.79.[1] Frank H. Norton remained active in the hobby for the ensuing decade. During the same time his brother Charles B. Norton faded from the coin collecting scene, following suspension of *Norton's Literary Letter* in 1860.

On January 23, 1864, immediately before the American Numismatic Society arose from its slumber, collectors in Manhattan and nearby areas banded together to form a new group, the New York Numismatic Society. Frank H. Norton was named president. Perhaps in view of this activity, shortly after, when the older Society rebounded, Norton was elected as its president as well. He remained at the helm of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, for three terms, from March 11, 1864 to 1867. Meanwhile, the New York Numismatic Society lessened its activities, and later it was absorbed into the other organization.[2]

## THE *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS*

On March 8, 1866, at a meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society in a room on University Place, J.N.T. Levick proposed that the Society "consider the practicability of issuing a monthly journal of archaeological intelligence...." Two weeks later on March 22, the publication of a magazine, to be called the *American Journal of Numismatics,* was approved by the membership. Frank H. Norton was named editor and remained in that chair for nearly a year.

A re-reading today of the first issue, May 1866, and the next several numbers reveals a periodical laden with interesting news, tidbits of information, specialized articles (including about Civil War tokens and numismatic auction catalogues), and the like. Here, indeed, was a "fun" publication.

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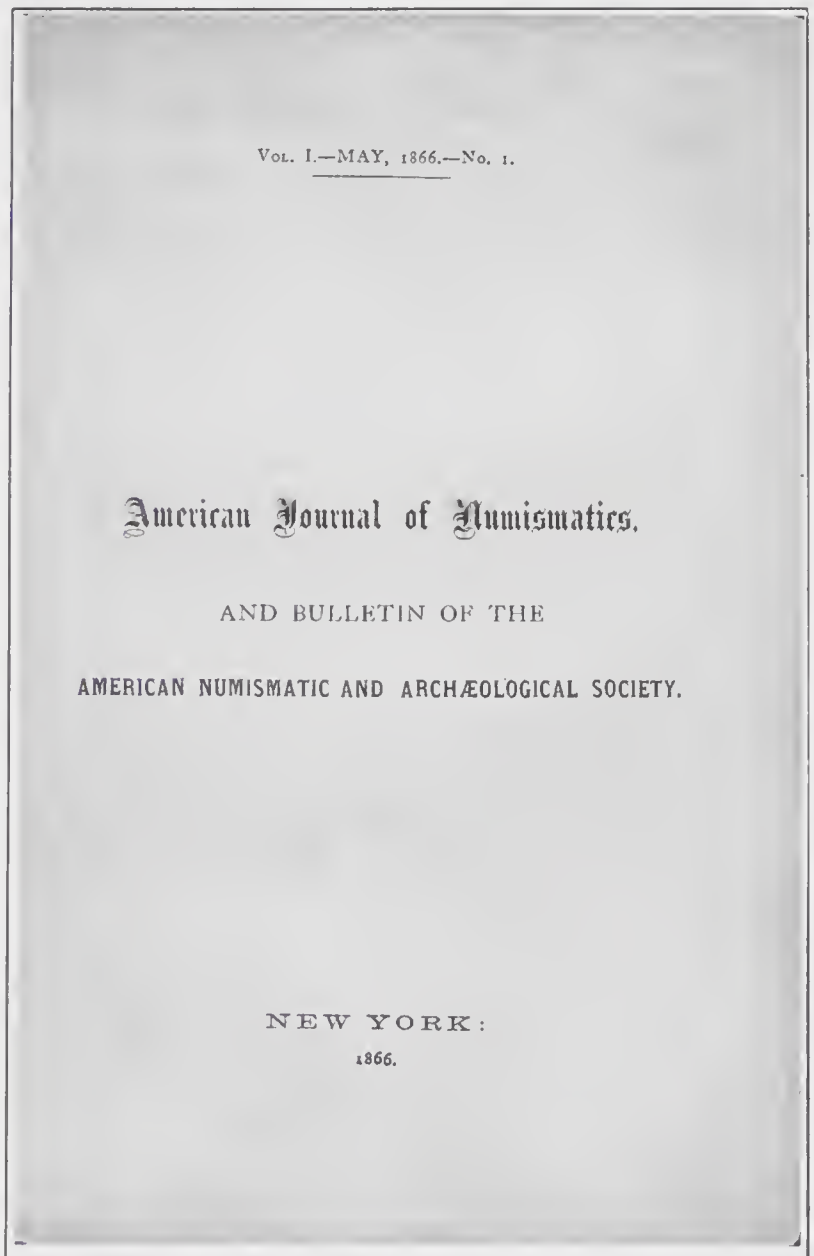
[1] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 12.

[2] The "majority of the members" who signed a resolution to dissolve the New York Numismatic Society effective July 31, 1866, included these names: William Anderson, Charles DeF. Burns, James Earle, Joseph E. Gay, Robert Hewitt, Jr., Joseph N.T. Levick, John F. McCoy, John A. Nexsen, W.C. Prime, William H. Strobridge, and Loring Watson, none of whom had been associated with the American Numismatic Society during the 1858-1859 era of Augustus B. Sage's involvement.

However, there seems to have been a dichotomy among the members. Whereas in Augustus B. Sage's era 1858-1859, the Society was brimming with vitality and enthusiasm, and the joys of *collecting coins* were appreciated, this thrust seems to have been lost later. Apparently, there were some members who enjoyed the entire world of numismatics—Frank H. Norton was obviously one of these—while others were more interested in science and history, and the actual collecting of coins was not as important. In 1958, Society historian Howard L. Adelson wrote the following about the *American Journal of Numismatics:*

> It contained published notices of short, rather popularized articles. The scientific aspects of numismatics were still not the primary interest of the Society, which was for the most part composed of collectors, not scholars.[1]

One can readily imagine that if *popularizing* the hobby was not wanted, and that *collectors* were not wanted either, much would be lost!



VOL. I.—MAY, 1866.—No. 1.

American Journal of Numismatics.

AND BULLETIN OF THE

AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

NEW YORK:

1866.

**Cover of the *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1866, the inaugural number of the publication.**

On April 11, 1867, Norton stepped down from the editorship of the *Journal,* having done a fine job in the opinion of many if not most readers. However, financial matters were not sound, and the publication was losing money. Norton was replaced on that day by a triumvirate consisting of George H. Perine as chief editor, Charles E. Anthon as literary editor, and Elisha Y. Ten Eyck as business editor.

At the next regular meeting two weeks later, a committee addressed the financial straits of the Society and recommended that the *Journal* be enlarged in size to help it gain wider circulation and appeal. It was believed that if 100 new readers could be secured, this would solve the problem. On the other hand, Society president Norton wanted to reduce the page count. Much bitterness resulted, Norton resigned as president, and Charles E. Anthon and Elisha Y. Ten Eyck, who had been elected recently as co-editors, resigned their positions as well, as it became clear that their services were no longer wanted. In time cooler heads prevailed, and the *American Journal of Numismatics* continued to be published under the aegis of Anthon and Ten Eyck. In the following year Anthon and Joseph N.T. Levick were co-editors. Each issue of the *Journal* continued to have interesting and varied content. However, only a few paid advertisements were run, circulation was small, and there was no outside financial support.

## TRANSITION AT THE *JOURNAL*

Financial problems persisted. On October 8, 1868, Charles E. Anthon, president of the Society, was directed to contact other numismatic and historical societies with regard to editing and publishing the *American Journal of Numismatics* on a yearly rotating basis.[2] Effective with the issue of April 8, 1869, the title was expanded to the *American Journal of Numismatics and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archaeological Societies.* No publishing consortium was formed, and aid from other societies was negligible.

The financial problems were subsequently resolved in April 1870 by transferring the publication of the magazine to the Boston Numismatic Society and decreasing its frequency to quarterly. The subscription rate, formerly three dollars, was reduced to two dollars. Later, control of the *Journal* was given to numismatist and printer William T.R. Marvin, who with various others including Lyman H. Low produced it for years thereafter.

In 1908 the *American Journal of Numismatics* was sold back to the American Numismatic Society, which had recently assumed its old name, discarding the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society appellation. After that time it became less and less of a publication filled with hobby-wide news and events, and more and more a forum

[1] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 57. Obviously, the writer of these words did not care for collectors!
[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* November 1868.

for selected papers on specific subjects. After 1920 it ceased publication as a periodical, and in its place appeared occasional monographs, most of which were on subjects other than American coins.

Taking up the slack was *The Numismatist,* which had been founded in Monroe, MI, in 1888 by Dr. George F. Heath, a man whose talents, wisdom, and enthusiasm had few boundaries. Later, Heath's monthly magazine became the official organ of the American Numismatic Association, which had been founded in Chicago in autumn 1891.

## EDWARD GROH

Edward Groh, a close friend of Augustus B. Sage, kept notes on the early meetings of the American Numismatic Society which he attended. He was one of the most prominent names in American numismatics in the 1850s and 1860s, and information about him could fill many pages.

Born of German parents in New York City on June 2, 1837, Groh was educated in the same city. As a young man he was a chandler, or provisioner of sailing ships. Later, he entered the tobacco business, which he pursued for the rest of his business life, retiring in the late 1870s. Around 1855 he became interested in numismatics, adding to his hobbies which for some time had included entomology.[1]

**Edward Groh, one of the leading lights in the American Numismatic Society's early days in 1858-1859, and the only founding member whose activities with the Society continued into the twentieth century.**

In the March 1867 number of the *American Journal of Numismatics,* Sage remembered him:

> I think it was my esteemed friend Edward Groh, Esq., who in 1860 carried a flying eagle '36 dollar to my good natured friend, the jeweler Posner in the Bowery.[2] Groh had made a few castings, I believe, and engaged Posner to plate them. Some lynx-eyed guardian of the peace discovered one in Posner's possession, and forthwith there was an arrest and examination—and Posner quite nervous—until the district attorney, understanding the matter thoroughly, and knowing that each model sold for about three times the face of the coin, concluded it was not counterfeiting, and all ended well. By the way, a few years since I saw in Posner's possession a veritable medal or decoration of the Cincinnati Society.[3] I have seen but two in my experience.

On March 15, 1858, Groh was one of the five signatories who invited collectors to meet at the home of Sage, 121 Essex Street, New York City, to establish what became the American Numismatic Society. Perhaps as a reward for his efforts and numismatic prominence, on April 6, 1858, Groh became resident member no. 1 of the Society. Years later he was appointed curator of the renamed American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.

Groh's forte was tokens, and any accounting of American issues of the nineteenth century, particularly of the Civil War series, must of necessity include him as a prominent figure. In May 1867, Groh's collection of Civil War tokens (then called "copperheads") was described:[4]

> 4,580 specimens of the two classes of Copperheads, viz: the tokens and the store cards, 140 of which are in silver, and all in the finest condition. Mr. Groh has arranged them alphabetically by states, towns, and individuals. He finds that Cincinnati is superior to any other city in the number of its varieties, no fewer than 768 having thence derived their origin. New York City claims 544. Philadelphia has only 17. The farther we go to the eastward, the less frequent they become, though even Bangor, so near the borders of 'the Province,' had 2 to exhibit. Assembled in mass, these pieces are beautiful to the eye; they are interesting geographically, historically, and as memorials of business enterprise in troubled days; and they must certainly increase in value with the lapse of time....

Groh's name appears on multiple auction catalogues of the nineteenth century. He also had his own trade, as in October 1867, when from his family's home at 30 Rose Street, New York City, he advertised a "clearance sale of Washington and Lincoln pieces," to be sold in one lot, with strikings in bronze, copper, nickel, silver, brass, tin, and *lava.* Orders could also be placed through "W., care of C.H.

[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* January 1905, and other sources.
[2] Abraham Posner, 300½ Bowery, New York City.
[3] Society of the Cincinnati, formed by George Washington's officers in 1783, with membership open to American officers of the Revolutionary War, was named after the Roman military leader, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus.
[4] *American Journal of Numismatics* of this date.

Street, Fairfield County National Bank, Norwalk, Conn."[1] Retiring from business in the late 1870s, Groh moved from Manhattan to Williamsburg, across the East River from lower Manhattan (and accessible by ferry).

On October 20, 1901, an interview with him was printed in the *New York Times*. Groh told the reporter about the coin collecting scene of 30 or 40 years earlier. The veteran numismatist lamented that in early times it was possible to track down rare issues and find bargains among coins in circulation, but now it had become a "very matter-of-fact science and study." Further:

> Generally speaking, all the money that has become worth more than face value has been absorbed by amateurs, or has fallen into the hands of dealers. The only way to gather rare pieces is to buy of dealers or to attend auction sales of private collections. When I was a young fellow, things were different. Take the 1804 cent for instance. One was sold in this city not many months ago for $200. I remember finding a half dozen of those very coins when I was a boy, simply by examining the change that passed through my hands. It paid one to examine change then. I never let a single piece slip by unnoticed.

By the preceding statement it seems as though Groh himself was responsible for one of the causes for his lamentation—the removal of valuable pieces from circulation!

He continued the interview:

> The story of Mickley's chase after the 1799 cent illustrates the difference of methods then and now. Mr. Mickley wasn't a collector when he started to hunt for that cent, but he had been born in the year 1799, and wanted the coin for a pocket piece. Nowadays he would have found out the whereabouts of every cent of that mintage simply by consulting any dealer in town. As it was, he had to go about it in the old way. Now it happens that the 1799 cent is the rarest known, and it was years before Mr. Mickley had his ambition to possess one fulfilled. By that time he had become so interested in examining coins and consulting with collectors all over the country that he had become quite an enthusiast on the subject himself. When he died a few years ago he left one of the finest private coin collections in the country. When the new silver coinage was minted after the [Civil] war, the collector of coins had a rare chance. Hundreds of people in the country and in small towns had been hoarding away quantities of old Spanish-American silver against a rainy day. They were the sort who considered a stocking a far safer depositing place for their fortune than a bank. But as soon as the new silver appeared they were in the greatest haste to exchange the old for it.[2] So the towns were flooded for a time with this old silver. I managed to pick up a complete set of it at face value. No, I don't think that many valuable coins are hidden up in the country today. Coin collectors have been everywhere. There are many people all over the country, however, who have old coins which they imagine are worth a great deal. Every month hundreds of letters pour into the New York Numismatic Society [*sic*][3] asking for values upon coins that are practically worthless. It is easy to see from the tone of the letters that the writers consider themselves the possessors of real treasures.

On the subject of Civil War tokens, Groh reported that his collection, which numbered about 3,500 pieces, was acquired in every instance by gathering them at the very time they were issued, and by trading with other interested collectors. Not a single piece was bought from a dealer, he stated proudly.[4]

Edward Groh's death occurred on January 2, 1905. His main reference collection of Civil War tokens (actually totaling 5,286 pieces with duplicates; together with the cabinet in which it was displayed) today reposes in the vaults of the American Numismatic Society, where it is available for study by qualified specialists.[5]

**The American Numismatic Society's building, subsequently enlarged, as used from its grand opening on April 6, 1908, to the present time. Located at Audubon Terrace on Broadway at 155th and 156th streets, the structure houses America's largest numismatic library, an extensive cabinet of numismatic items from all eras, and serves as a focal point for research, conferences, and other activities. The collection includes numerous items relating to Augustus B. Sage including many original dies for his medals.**

[1] *American Journal of Numismatics*, October 1867.

[2] This situation happened in a truly significant way beginning on April 30, 1876, with scattered releases occurring beginning in 1873; specie payments had been suspended by the Treasury since 1861, and were now resumed. Although some Spanish-American silver coins held by the public may have reappeared, most such pieces had been redeemed by the Treasury Department by mid-1860; such pieces were not legal tender after the Act of February 21, 1857 was implemented (two years after the act, plus a six-month extension).

[3] The American Numismatic and Archaeological Society was intended.

[4] However, Groh paid die sinkers and minters to create many off-metal tokens and mulings to his order, particularly in the Civil War series. Further, to gather other coins for his cabinet Groh was a bidder and buyer in auction sales including all three of the sales catalogued by Augustus B. Sage in 1859.

[5] In 1975, Jon Harris compiled a listing of tokens in the Society's collection that had not been published in standard references earlier. This study was included as an appendix to *U.S. Civil War Store Cards*, by George and Melvin Fuld, 2nd edition (by Quarterman Publications, 1975).

# CHAPTER 7

# *Tokens and Medals: A Key to the Past*

## *(Overview of the pre-1861 era)*

### REDISCOVERING THE PAST

The 1850s represented a decade of great growth in interest and awareness of American history. The rise of profusely illustrated popular periodicals such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Monthly, Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, The Illustrated News* (America's first weekly pictorial newspaper, published by P.T. Barnum and H.D. Beach in 1853; included was generous coverage of the Crystal Palace), *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* and others, created a demand for feature articles. The written output of historians, travelers, university professors, popular authors, and others was met with unprecedented demand.

The aforementioned Benson J. Lossing's 1852 two-volume work, *Pictorial Field-Guide of the Revolution,* had propelled him into the front rank of writers whose words were enjoyed by the public. In the 1850s his byline was found on many articles about American history, including in *Harper's Monthly,* one particular issue of which played a part in Augustus B. Sage's plans for the future. Of *Harper's,* more will be said later.

Washington Irving (1783-1859), he of "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" fame from his 1819-1820 stories, went on in 1855-1856 to create a five-volume biography of George Washington, after whom he had been named. From his residence, "Sunnyside," overlooking the Hudson River, Irving, an old master at the writing game by the 1850s, lent his endorsement to several new books by other authors as they appeared, an example being Henry G. Dawson's 1858 work, *Battles of the United States by Sea and Land* (essentially a potboiler paraphrased from several works of others including Lossing).

Jared Sparks (1789-1866), erstwhile president of Harvard University (1849-1853) and remembered for his 1843 biography, *The Life of George Washington,* taken in part from Washington's personal diary and correspondence,[1] was likewise an important figure in the 1850s, and from his home in Cambridge, across the Charles River from Boston, penned many commentaries on history.

The historical works of past authors were dusted off, extracted, and paraphrased by a new generation of writers, while engravers who formerly worked for bank-note companies and in other niches, suddenly found a vast popular market for their work in books and magazines. Some, such as Alonzo Chappel, illustrated books with carefully crafted dramatic scenes from American history and culture, and became highly acclaimed in their own right. More often, engravings of others were done hastily in order to meet publishing deadlines and budget strictures.

Membership in state and local historical societies increased. In this age of enthusiasm, *Historical Magazine* was founded in January 1857 and served as a popular forum for the exchange of information and research inquiries, the latter often signed with clever pen names.

Meanwhile, book selling went into high gear, and the field employed many aggressive merchandising techniques. George G. Evans, whose book emporium in the 1850s was in Philadelphia, was annoyed by non-related "Evans" book outlets in New York City and Boston. He was into the "gift book" scheme, whereby purchasers of volumes could receive jewelry, other books, etc., as "gifts." This method of promotion was widely imitated by others, much to the chagrin of Evans. Numismatically, Evans is remembered today for the encased postage stamps bearing his advertisements in 1862 and his book-length history of the Philadelphia Mint, which went through many "editions" from 1885 to 1901.[2]

Selling books by subscription was another popular way

[1] These occupied 10 folio volumes, many leaves from which he gave to friends and acquaintances as mementos of Washington (much to the chagrin of later historians, who could only contemplate the loss).

[2] As of August 1997, Frank Van Zandt has collected 135 different varieties and editions of this work. Started in 1885, the "10th edition" of Evans' book was printed by 1888!

to increase sales, as was the assigning of "agents" to sell books, an agent being an impressive title for *any* member of the public who cared to buy a small group of a given title at a discount price. Agents could make "big money," it was said.[1] Other popular promotions included the production of specially-bound editions and the printing of a limited number of copies on extra-large sheets, what coin dealer and bibliophile W. Elliot Woodward later called "a rivulet of type in a meadow of paper."

Popular titles abounded in the category of history. An example is afforded by *An Illuminated History of North America,* which, according to popular practice at the time, continued its title with many sub-lines: *Comprising the Early Discoveries by the Spanish, French, and Other Navigators; a Sketch of the Aboriginal Inhabitants and American Antiquities; an Historical Account of Mexico, Central America, Greenland, and the Present British Provinces.* As if this was not subtitle enough, it continued with a sub-subtitle: *With a Complete History of the United States to the Present Time, Including the French and Indian Wars, the War of the Revolution, That of 1812, and the Late War with Mexico; and a Complete Account of California, Valuable Statistical Tables from the Late Census, etc., etc.* by John Frost, LL.D., "illustrated with over four hundred engravings."[2]

In New York City, Nathaniel Currier found an increasing demand for his lithographed prints, hand tinted with water colors, some of which were sold for $3 to $5 each in an era in which a typical day's pay was one to two dollars in the city, even less in factories or in rural areas. Historical subjects were especially popular for Currier and other lithographers, and among these the Revolution furnished more topics than any other military conflict or campaign (others including engagements with Native Americans, the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the American naval confrontation in the port of Tripoli, etc.).

Woodcuts used to illustrate popular books were often reproduced by other publishers without authorization, sometimes with small alterations and sometimes not. This was a time-honored practice, and in the preceding century some of the engravings done by Paul Revere in the 1770s and 1780s were copied by him from the works of others without giving due credit.

By the 1850s, woodcut illustrations were reproduced in quantity and, apparently, sold as stock in trade to newspaper and book publishers. Thus, the same pictures of popular subjects such as the United States Capitol in Washington, DC, or Independence Hall in Philadelphia, or Faneuil Hall in Boston, popped up just about everywhere. Later, many of these motifs were reproduced on china plates made in England and on various souvenirs and novelties.

Whereas a history book, gazetteer, travel guide, magazine, or newspaper published in the first decade or two of the nineteenth century was apt to have few if any illustrations, by the mid-1850s drawings and engravings were in abundance. Pictures, it seemed, brought history to life. Quite possibly, the 1850s and 1860s could be characterized as the Great Age of American Illustration. Not coincidentally, some of the most highly prized American prints, including large-folio Currier & Ives subjects, date from this period. In time, the Civil War (1861-1865) would be memorialized by countless engravings reproduced in newspapers, magazines, and books, with many artists working on the battlefields.

## EARLY AMERICAN TOKENS AND MEDALS

For a long time in American history, medals had been used to record or to commemorate events. The colonization of America, military campaigns and specific incidents, heroes, relationships with Native Americans, and other topics appeared on medals produced in England, Holland, and France and sold there as well as on the American market. Some few pieces were made in the colonies or, later, in the United States, but until the early nineteenth century the Philadelphia Mint lacked equipment to make large-diameter pieces in quantity as did the private sector.

During the period of Sage's numismatic activity in the late 1850s and early 1860s, such historical medals were staple items of trade for dealers and in the auction room. Virtually every collector interested in American history had at least a representative selection.[3]

To play to the numismatic demand, in the early nineteenth century many private coiners turned out a stream of tokens, small-diameter medals, and related issues. In addition, many collectors of art, antiques, books, and other items enjoyed owning a drawer or two of interesting coins and medals. The contemplation of such specimens afforded a great degree of pleasure to their owners. In effect, to have a cabinet of medals and tokens was tantamount to having a small museum in one's home.

Reflective of numismatic interest in tokens and medals in the late 1850s, Augustus B. Sage devoted extensive

[1] The agency system increased in popularity, and by the 1880s various companies advertising such diverse items as farm equipment and pianos sought agents, typically encouraging them to buy one example of the product for their own use and familiarity; after that point, it did not make much difference whether additional orders were placed, as a sale had already been made. In the first decade of the twentieth century, most manufacturers of automobiles sought citizens in various communities to become their agents by purchasing a car (this was before companies set up their own showrooms). In the numismatic field, at the turn of the twentieth century, several publishers of coin price premium books (*e.g.*, William von Bergen of Boston) sought agents to buy their books in quantity.

[2] Published in 1854 in New York City by Bill, Witter & Co.; copyrighted in the same year by Henry Bill.

[3] Years later in 1894, C. Wyllys Betts' master work, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals,* was published posthumously, edited by William T.R. Marvin and Lyman H. Low. Betts' numbers are still used today to attribute listed pieces, which are often collectively referred to as "Betts medals."

space to them in his catalogues (which will be discussed in detail in later chapters).

As an example, under the "American Medals" heading of Sage's 1859 sale of the Henry Bogert Collection were offered many large-diameter pieces of diverse topics including the following from a few years to a few decades earlier:

The completion of the Erie Canal in October 1825 furnished the occasion for Charles Cushing Wright of New York City to engrave a beautiful allegorical scene of Pan and Neptune on a medal die, while in England prolific medalist and engraver Sir Edward Thomason created a larger-diameter medal with a similar motif.[1]

The Art Union medals honoring artists Washington Allston and Gilbert Stuart, from dies by Wright, were always in demand.

Benjamin Franklin medals were likewise popular, as were pieces depicting or relating to such historical figures as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, Thomas Jefferson, Anthony Wayne, Lafayette, and, at the top of the popularity list in virtually a solo position of prominence, Washington.

**The Erie Canal medal by Charles Cushing Wright, 1826. This represents the first truly elegant medal known to have been created by the artist, who soon achieved great fame as a diecutter. Also shown is an original box, with paper labels, in which such a medal was presented and kept.**

Events such as the Battle of Germantown, Louis XVIII and the treaty with the U.S., the tragedy of heroic Captain William Herndon and the *S.S. Central America,* and the signing of the Declaration of Independence were likewise memorialized by medals in Sage's Bogert sale.

The list could be expanded many times over by quoting more from the "American Medals" section of the same catalogue, not even considering listings of tokens and smaller medals.

It is dramatically evident from even a casual perusal of numismatic auction catalogues of the 1850s and 1860s that tokens and medals were of prime importance to just about every serious American collector. Copper colonial coins, half cents, and large cents followed closely behind. In contrast, there was absolutely no interest in mintmarked coins and very little activity in federal gold issues, except for old-tenor coins struck prior to August 2, 1834.

It often comes as a surprise to modern collectors entering the field of out-of-print numismatic literature to find that the numismatists who wrote auction catalogues of the 1850s and 1860s often utilized multiple words or even a large paragraph to describe an interesting, but not necessarily valuable, token or medal, but dismissed federal coins with just a word or two. Emphasis was on tokens and medals and on pre-federal coins, especially those with interesting "stories." As strange as it may seem to the reader of today, a compilation of auction appearances and descriptions at sales in the 1850s and 1860s for the 1791 Washington cent (a numismatically inexpensive token issued in England, in two main types) would occupy many paragraphs, while a similar collection of descriptions for the 1796 quarter dollar, so highly prized today, would take but a few lines.

## EARLY MINT MEDALS

Going back in the history of American medals, in the 1790s and early 1800s the Philadelphia Mint struck many small- and medium-diameter pieces for awards, gifts to Native Americans, and various events.[2] It was normal practice for the Mint to create the dies for, strike, and distribute various medals to designated officials and departments and some private customers. Among the more notable issues of the first few years, from a numismatic viewpoint, are the cent-sized tokens in copper and silver believed to have been made at the Mint for Ricketts's Circus, an attraction which played in Philadelphia at various times from October 1793 to December 1799. On April 22, 1793, President George Washington was among those attending a performance.

As the years passed, other medals were struck at the Mint from dies cut by such talented staff engravers as John Reich,

[1] The Erie Canal was begun at Rome, NY, on July 4, 1817. The first boat entered the completed canal at Buffalo, NY, on October 26, 1825, at 10 a.m., at which time a signal was fired from a cannon, and picked up and repeated by other cannons spaced at intervals along the canal and the Hudson River, the last cannon being fired in New York City at 11:20 a.m. The first boat reached New York City on November 4, at which time there was a ceremony to mix water from Lake Erie with that of the Atlantic Ocean.

[2] R.W. Julian, *Medals of the United States Mint,* "General History," pp. xviii ff., is a valuable source for information concerning this period.

Moritz Fürst, and Christian Gobrecht, among others. There was no Medal Department with dedicated facilities within the Mint. Instead, such pieces were made only at infrequent intervals and for special orders.

## FRANKLIN PEALE'S ACTIVITIES

Franklin Peale was a brilliant man and a member of one of Philadelphia's most accomplished and respected families, a son of naturalist and museum owner Charles Willson Peale. In the early 1830s he was commissioned to tour the mints of Europe and bring back a report. Peale's jaunt was a signal success, and he returned to America with sketches and several models of coin presses abroad, submitting same to Mint Director Robert Maskell Patterson on June 17, 1835. The drawings were studied and used in the construction of similar equipment in Philadelphia. At the time, the facilities of Boulton & Watt in Birmingham, England, were many decades advanced in technology and utilized highly automated steam-powered coining presses. Meanwhile, at the Philadelphia Mint, coins were still being made by hand, by men swinging a weighted lever arm on a screw press.

In 1839 Peale, in high regard at the Mint, was named to the post of chief coiner. By this time, new steam-powered presses had been used since 1836 at the Mint, and many improvements were in place. Almost immediately, Peale started to abuse his position and privileges, in effect stealing services from the government.

In the 1840s and early 1850s he used the Mint's engraving, metal-refining and processing, and coining facilities to conduct his own personal medal business and to supply his private customers. Even the gold and silver metal needed to strike such pieces was taken by Peale from Mint stocks, to be replaced at his leisure. Mint officials, most of whom seem to have been his personal friends, looked the other way while his business prospered.

Not only did Peale use Mint equipment, Mint-made dies, and metal from government supplies for his own personal advantage, he also commanded Mint employees to do carpentry, cleaning, and other work at his home, to make apparatus for his use in magic shows and demonstrations, and to construct kites. Particularly memorable was the "noisy sofa" which he had crafted for his amusement. Whenever someone sat on it, a bellows was collapsed, air was forced through reeds and other devices, and the sofa honked, squawked, and wheezed.[1]

Franklin Peale's operations suffered a body blow after Col. James Ross Snowden took office as Mint director in early days of June 1853. Snowden justifiably viewed Peale's private business and other activities as illegal and of no benefit to the Mint. In the next year, Peale was fired. Many protests ensued, with Peale enlisting friends among Mint employees, scientists from around the city, and others to plead his case, stating that he was responsible for the modernization of the Mint facilities, the improvement of operations, and many other things. The Senate mounted an investigation, and Peale submitted testimony and a memorial on his own behalf.[2] However, Director Snowden examined the claims, and in a letter to Secretary of the Treasury James Guthrie, July 29, 1856, he demolished many of Peale's assertions by identifying other people who accomplished much of what Peale had claimed for himself.

Although Peale never returned to the Mint, he still maintained a coterie of defenders within its halls. Years later in 1861, when *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* treated its readers to an illustrated tour of the Mint, Peale was mentioned in a favorable light.[3] Similarly, privately published visitors' guides to the Mint in the 1880s and 1890s paid homage to Peale.

## MEDAL DEPARTMENT ESTABLISHED

Director Snowden set about establishing an *official* Medal Department at the Mint in Philadelphia, and filed a petition to this effect to the Treasury in Washington on April 5, 1854. Bureaucracy and inertia took their toll, and it was not until March 7, 1855, that permission was granted. The Medal Department became effective about April 1 of the same year. The first medal produced was for the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Business at the new department was slow, and in the next several years only a few issues were made.

Up to this point, Mint medals were generally produced in small numbers and distributed on a restricted basis. There were few open sales to coin dealers or numismatists, although enough filtered out, possibly via Franklin Peale, that collectors seeking them and willing to pay the price could usually obtain some. However, the majority of those who desired examples of federally-authorized medals generally had to be satisfied with electrotypes such as those made in New York City by Samuel H. Black and Nelson C. Rexford. The primary demand for medals to commemorate events, for political campaigns, and simply as collectibles was filled by private diesinkers in New York City, Philadelphia, and elsewhere.[4]

On February 7, 1861, Director Snowden petitioned the Treasury Department for permission to sell medals to all

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[1] For additional information about Peale's misappropriation of Mint facilities and employees, see Don Taxay, *U.S. Mint and Coinage*, pp. 183-184 (among other citations in the same book).

[2] Senate document dated May 23, 1856.

[3] Waldo Abbott. "Making Money: The Mint at Philadelphia." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, March 1861.

[4] R.W. Julian, *Medals of the United States Mint: The First Century 1792-1892*, page 408, gives yearly medal totals produced at the Mint. From April through December 1855 the amount was 738, rising to 1,034 in 1856, dropping to 727 in 1857, 624 in 1858, then going to an all time

**Mint medal honoring Brigadier General James Miller, a hero of the War of 1812.**

**Indian peace medal from the John Adams administration.**

**Medals struck at the Philadelphia Mint during the early nineteenth century. Such pieces were widely admired by collectors, but were sometimes difficult to obtain, until the 1860s when the Medal Department of the Mint made most copper and silver strikings available to all comers. Popular subjects included restruck medals from the War of 1812, Indian peace medals, and various presidential issues.**

comers. Approval was granted on February 14 by Secretary of the Treasury John A. Dix.

On hand at the Mint at this time were 64 pairs of dies for national medals made earlier. These were literally pressed into service, and hundreds of restrikes were made, mostly in copper, but some in silver and gold.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century certain American medals had been struck to order by the Paris

high of 1,127 in 1859. In 1860 all records were shattered with 3,139, the total undoubtedly including pieces associated with the Washington Cabinet. In that year the breakdown was 62 gold medals, 1,313 silver strikings, 1,763 copper, and one nickel. After 1860, totals remained into four figures until the mid 1880s. During the same era, private diesinkers produced thousands of medals yearly.

Mint. A request was sent to Paris for these dies, so that they could be used in Philadelphia to create restrikes for sale. The appeal was denied by French authorities. Undaunted, the Medal Department at Philadelphia made copy dies and issued imitations, a particularly excellent seller being the Washington Before Boston medal originally cut by Duvivier (employing Houdon's bust of Washington). From that time until the present day, the Mint issued lists of medals for sale from older dies. However, some medals were still restricted in their distribution. For example, you had to have a "friend at the Mint" to acquire Assay Commission medals, which were first struck beginning in 1860.

Relative to the present study of Augustus B. Sage, the Mint's non-involvement in the commercial trade prior to 1861 increased the market for privately-produced tokens and medals, including those issued by Sage. Dealers of the time resented the Mint's intrusion into the numismatic business, and at one time Sage prepared a motion, subsequently defeated, that the American Numismatic Society mount a protest to the United States Congress concerning the Medal Department at the Mint.[1]

## HARD TIMES TOKENS

While the artistic medals of Charles Cushing Wright, Christian Gobrecht, and others were the *creme de la creme* of any numismatist's cabinet, the ordinary, familiar tokens of everyday commerce were also widely collected.

In strong demand by collectors in Augustus B. Sage's era were what would later be called "Hard Times tokens," and most cabinets had at least a few. Although financial hard times in America began in 1837 and diminished through the early 1840s, for numismatic purposes the span was later defined as being from about 1833 to 1844, although, for historical purposes, the range from 1837 to the early 1840s would be more accurate.[2]

Most Hard Times tokens were made the size of a contemporary large copper cent, although some were much smaller and a few were slightly larger. The need for them arose after May 10, 1837, when most eastern banks stopped paying out silver and gold coins ("specie") and, soon thereafter, copper coins as well. To facilitate transactions, many varieties of cent substitutes were made. Some of these bore the head of Miss Liberty on the obverse and a wreath on the reverse, but with variant inscriptions such as NOT ONE CENT (this being the most prominent part of an inscription reading MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE,[3] NOT ONE CENT FOR TRIBUTE).

Some Hard Times tokens were political in nature and mentioned Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, or the controversy surrounding the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States.

One token depicts William Henry Seward, his likeness taken from a contemporary engraving, while another token, with an inscription reading GULIAN C. VERPLANCK, OUR NEXT GOVnr., has the *identical portrait of Seward!* Another curious token has as its motif a *cow,* surrounded by the inscription, A FRIEND TO THE CONSTITUTION. Another token had the legend, SPEED THE PLOUGH, taken from the title of an old English play.

A large part of the Hard Times token series is comprised of cent-sized copper pieces advertising merchants and services, many of which were located in New York City in the general district of lower Manhattan where Sage spent his youth and where token chronicler Charles I. Bushnell had his law office. Such New York tokens included (a partial list) pieces issued by:

Anderson, Henry: Operated the Mammoth Boot and Shoe Store at 158 Chatham Square.

Atwood's Railroad Hotel: 243 Bowery.

Bale & Smith: Engravers, die-cutters, and medal issuers, 68 Nassau Street.

Brewster, J.& L.: Manufacturers of caps and hats, Water Street.

Centre Market: Located in the 14th Ward at Grand and Orange streets; housed in a colonnaded Greek Revival structure.

Crossman, Henry: Umbrella manufacturer, 92½ Chatham Street in a district specializing in men's furnishings and apparel.

Deveau, P.B. & S.: Wholesale and retail boots and shoes, 156 Chatham Square.

Feuchtwanger, Lewis: Various New York City locations, including No. 2 Courtlandt Street in 1837. An entrepreneur *par excellence,* Feuchtwanger was a prolific issuer of tokens (mostly cents, of small diameter and of his own "Feuchtwanger's Composition" alloy; a few larger-diameter three-cent pieces were made as well), compounder of patent medicines, seller of novelties and curiosities, etc. He was a recognized expert in the field of gems and minerals and wrote two important books on these subjects.

Hallock & Bates: Wholesale dry goods, 234 Pearl Street, corner of Burling Slip.

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[1] See the Society minutes of June 17 and August 10, 1858, reproduced in Appendix V.

[2] The popularization of the "Hard Times token" designation can be laid at the doorstep of Joseph N.T. Levick, whose article, "Description of the 'Hard Times Tokens' of '37," appeared in the April 1870 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics.* Lyman H. Low in 1886 published his 18-page *Descriptive Catalogue of Hard Times Tokens Issued For and Against the United States Bank, and with References to the Financial Troubles of 1834-1841,* the first stand-alone reference on the subject, superseded in 1899 by his magisterial *Hard Times Tokens,* an update and expansion of which was published in 1906. During the late 1890s and early 1900s, such tokens were front row center in numismatic activity, and information was published on them by such enthusiasts as Edgar H. Adams (photographic plates) and William Forrester Dunham ("Easy Finding List").

[3] The DEFENCE, not DEFENSE, spelling was standard at the time in America and was used on numerous varieties; similarly inscribed tokens, smaller in diameter, were issued years later, circa 1863. Today, DEFENCE is considered to be the British spelling.

Low 1.
Andrew Jackson and his quotations.

Low 18.
One of several tokens
featuring a tortoise and jackass.

Low 15 and 16.
Pair of Hard Times tokens, both with
the same portrait(!), one featuring
William H. Seward and
the other Gulian Verplanck.

Low 113.
A token issued by H. Crossman,
New York City.

Low 155.
The curious token of T.D. Seaman,
a Belleville, NJ, restaurateur.

Low 134.
Issued by Smiths Clock Establishment,
New York City.

Low 28.
A token inspired by the
contemporary federal cent design.

A representative selection of tokens, mostly the size of a large copper cent, associated with the Hard Times series 1833-1844. Such pieces were collectors' favorites in the 1850s, and most cabinets of American coins included a few examples. Years later in 1899, Lyman H. Low's book, *Hard Times Tokens,* described the varieties in detail and illustrated many of them.

Jarvis, George A.: Dealer in wine and tea, 148 Grand Street, corner of Elm Street.

Maycock, S., & Co.: Manufacturer of pencil cases, City Hall Place.

Moffet, James G.: Medal fabricator, die sinker, token issuer. 121 Prince Street.

Phalon, Edward: Beautician, hair cutter, compounder of beauty lotions and aids. Various addresses. His business was still active when Sage was a coin dealer and medal publisher.

Riker, Abraham: Dealer in boots and shoes, 121 Division Street.

Smith's Clock Establishment: 7½ Bowery (in the same building as Phelps & Squires, dealers in maps).

Sweet, Ezra B.: Dealer in kitchen stoves, tin roofing, etc., 200 Canal Street.

Augustus B. Sage was quite interested in such tokens and in 1858 presented a selection of them as a gift to the cabinet of the nascent American Numismatic Society. The reader can envision Sage walking the streets of lower Manhattan and checking the buildings and addresses mentioned on these tokens or even sampling the barbering services of Phalon or calling upon Dr. Feuchtwanger and viewing his in-store museum featuring preserved animals and reptiles and other curiosities. Quite likely, such tokens, still available in pocket change, were in part responsible for Sage going one step further and issuing his own series of pieces, as will be related.

## TOKENS OF THE 1840S AND 1850S

During the period 1845-1860, after the so-called Hard Times era and before the Civil War, many more varieties of tokens were issued. These were likewise popular with collectors and were part of the stock in trade of dealers in rare coins and curiosities.

This time around there was not the variety of subjects—especially of a political nature—that characterized the earlier Hard Times issues of 1833-1844. Most tokens of the 1845-1860 years were struck in copper, but brass came into increasing use. The twilight years of this era saw the rise of numismatically related tokens and medals primarily made for collectors' cabinets, rather than for general business advertising. Again, many were issued in New York City.

The terms *token, medal, store card,* and *medalet* were often used in catalogues to describe such pieces. Although there was no consistency, a piece bearing an advertisement or used in commerce was often called a *store card* or a *token,* smaller pieces illustrating various topics but not with advertising were typically referred to as *medalets,* and larger (especially over about 35 mm) were often called *medals.* Similarly, pieces with patriotic or political themes, such as for current election campaigns or illustrating past or present public officials, were called tokens, medalets, or medals.

Storm clouds were rising on the American scene, and the country divided itself along pro-slavery and anti-slavery (abolition) lines. Although in 1838 a popular Hard Times token had depicted a woman slave kneeling in chains, with the inscription, AM I NOT A WOMAN & A SISTER, the numerous varieties of tokens of the 1850s were conspicuous for their absence of motifs relating to by far the most important political and social question of the era. Numismatically, it is almost as if "Bleeding Kansas," the Missouri Compromise, the curious and perplexing Dred Scott decision, John Brown's daring raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and other watershed events never happened. Perhaps the situations were all too real and impinged on everyday life, while tokens made for numismatists were supposed to inspire enjoyment and relaxation as they were collected and studied.[1]

Reflective of the items with which Augustus B. Sage was familiar, selected tokens from the 1845-1860 era with New York City imprints include:[2]

Black, Samuel H.: Electrotypist at various addresses. Issued copper-plated lead tokens somewhat resembling contemporary copper "large" cents.

Bollenhagen, Theodor: Dealer in toys and fancy goods. He imported several varieties of brass tokens, quite resembling *spielmarken,* from Germany; these pictured on the obverse a head of Miss Liberty taken from the current U.S. $20, and on the reverse the "new" City Hall. The tokens, made in sizes imitating the $20, $10, $5, and $2.50 gold coins, were included in boxes of toys and games.[3] They proved to be very popular with numismatists, and many listings for them can be found in catalogues of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Bowen & McNamee: Importers and dealers in silk goods, 16 William Street.

Carrington & Co.: Purchasing agent. 78 Broadway.

Chesebrough Stearns & Co.: Importers and wholesalers of silk goods, 37 Nassau Street.

Doremus & Nixon: Supplier of dry goods and outfitters for hotels, sailing ships, and steamboats. 39 Nassau Street, corner of Liberty Street. This firm also issued tokens in the 1830s. Although countless historical citations relating to tokens of this era could be given, an example is taken from the October 1, 1853 number of P.T. Barnum's *Illustrated News,* which included this: "On Wednesday the 28th ult., a large and magnificent steamship, called the *Golden Age,* recently built in this city by the Australian Steamship Company, took her departure for Australia, via

[1] However, many circa 1863-1864 Civil War tokens had mottoes and devices relating to the conflict, although not to slavery; *e.g.,* THE HORRORS OF WAR, THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE, and NO COMPROMISE WITH TRAITORS. An exception is provided by a single 1863 die, known today as Fuld-0036, illustrating the head of a woman wearing a close-fitting cloth cap and bearing the inscription LIBERTY AND NO SLAVERY.

[2] For expanded descriptions, illustrations, values, etc., see Russell Rulau, *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900,* 2nd edition, 1997.

[3] *The Coin Collector's Journal,* April 1885, p. 56, "Bollenhagen was a toy dealer, and he made these tokens for playing counters...to put in the boxes containing their games of cards." *Spielmarken* = "play money."

A typical irrelevant die muling of the 1860 era, with H.B. West's Trained Dogs (an act which performed at the Crystal Palace in the 1850s) combined with THE RAIL SPLITTER OF THE WEST die, made for Abraham Lincoln's 1860 presidential campaign. Details concerning most of the tokens on this page can be found in Russell Rulau's *Standard Catalog of U.S. Tokens 1700-1900.*

Store card issued by merchant C.W. Jackson, Philadelphia, circa the 1850s. Impressions in copper, gilt copper, copper-nickel, and brass were made for numismatists.

This token of the Mobile (Alabama) Jockey Club exists in many die mulings and metal combinations produced for the rare coin trade circa 1860 despite the 1853 date. As relatively few store cards are attributed to Alabama, a "rare state" numismatically, these have always been in strong demand.

This muling of dies gives few clues as to the issuer. The obverse pictures a relief map with the inscription CLOTHING / FOR THE / U. STATES / FREE TRADE FOR THIS CONTINENT. The reverse is an imitation of a contemporary (mid-19th century) $10 gold coin. The manufacturer is believed to have been Scovill & Co., Waterbury, CT, who may have made this and related pieces for collector J.N.T. Levick.

This store card of S.W. Chubbuck, maker and dealer in telegraph, chemical, and philosophical (scientific) apparatus, devoted the reverse to the Morse Code, making a handy pocket piece. Undated, the piece is probably from the 1850s or 1860s.

Sleeper & Fenner, of Philadelphia, was a retailer of umbrellas and parasols, which at the time were used on sunny as well as rainy days.

Chesebrough Stearns & Co., Nassau Street, New York City, was active in the 1840s and perhaps later as well. The importing firm was only a short walk from Augustus B. Sage's boyhood home on Essex Street.

Merchants' tokens and related pieces from the era 1845-1860, after the Hard Times period (1833-1844), but before the Civil War (1861-1865). Many issues produced in the late 1850s were for the collectors' market. Numismatists eagerly awaited each new arrival, their interest spurred by books recently published on the subject by Charles I. Bushnell (1858) and the Philadelphia Numismatic Society (early 1860).

Liverpool. At the latter port she is expected to embark upward of 1,000 passengers. The extraordinary number of people which she is capable of accommodating, in good style, astonished everyone.... She can take on board 1,200 passengers, and afford them the finest accommodations during a lengthy passage from New York to Australia. The idea of such provisions for the crowds of gold-diggers [a gold rush was currently going on in Australia] will be sufficient to drive them on board full of hope and money.... There is a large safe on board, of the capacity of many barrels, intended for the storage of gold dust during the voyage.... The appointments are rich; lace curtains, fine carpet, mirrors, drawers, closets, etc. The wood-work of each room is finished in cottage style and enameled. The upholsterers of the ship were Doremus & Nixon...."

Gould, D.H.: Saloon, rooming, and boarding at 10 Fulton Street. Boarding consisted of making arrangements to take meals three times a day at a hotel or restaurant, even though the diner may have lived (roomed) elsewhere. Room and board consisted of both services.

Jennings, Wheeler & Co.: Wholesale clothing warehouse at 43 Chambers Street.

Leask, M.: Dealer in lace, "mourning and illusion goods," etc., at 93 Prince Street.

Rahm, Louis: Die sinker and medalist at 178 William Street.

Root & Co. Daguerrian (*sic*) Gallery at 363 Broadway. Photographic parlors—of which this is one—became very popular beginning in the 1850s, and many tokens bore their advertisements.

Scovill Manufacturing Co.: 57 Maiden Lane. New York City office of this well-known Waterbury, CT, maker of tokens, medals, buttons, photographic supplies, etc.

Smith & Hartmann: Die sinkers and medalists, 122 Fulton Street. A suite of three 1860-dated tokens depicted on the obverse an Indian head (undoubtedly inspired by the current one-cent piece) and on the reverse, Flora Temple (a famous racehorse also memorialized by popular prints and even a commemorative whisky flask), George M. Patchen (another racehorse), and an advertisement for the firm.

West's Trained Dogs: Obverse with two dogs pulling a toy carriage and rider, inscription TRAY & TROY below, with inscription around border, H.B. WEST'S / FAMOUS TRAINED DOGS. The reverse bears the inscription NEW YORK CRYSTAL PALACE above, with the ornate building below, and the date 1853. This common brass token became very popular with numismatists and was included in many cabinets.

Wood's Minstrels: Obverse with inscription, ADMIT TO WOOD'S MINSTRELS / 561 & 563 BROADWAY, enclosing TEMPLE OF MINSTRELSY / ERECTED / 1857, with a five-story building at the center. Reverse: WARRANTED PURE SILVER / INTRINSIC VALUE 25 CTS. / WOOD'S / MINSTRELS / PERFORM EVERY / EVENING / GIVING A SELECT / AND / VARIED / ENTERTAINMENT.

In addition to such tokens, additional advertising was done by counterstamping coins in circulation, such as large copper cents and the particularly prevalent Spanish-American two-real silver or "two bits" pieces. As an example, a particular gathering spot in lower Manhattan proclaimed itself by stamping well-worn, nearly smooth old copper cents with the inscription, MESCHUTT'S / METROPOLITAN / COFFEE ROOM / 433. BdWAY.[1]

## THE TOKEN AND MEDALET FAD 1858-1860S

By December 1857, several hundred varieties of Hard Times tokens, store cards, and other political and advertising tokens and medalets had been issued in America, most during the preceding 50 years. While there were exceptions, most had been produced to serve as small change in everyday circulation, or to advertise a trade or product, or to advance the election chances of a candidate, or to serve as a ticket of admission or a fare for travel. Relatively few had been struck simply for numismatic purposes.

In the year 1858, increasing to a flood torrent in 1859, the scenario changed dramatically. Die sinkers were commissioned by dealers and collectors to create hundreds of "fancy pieces" for numismatic cabinets. Soon, the hobby was awash in new tokens and medalets, and by the end of 1860 it had reached high tide. During the late 1850s and early 1860s, virtually every dealer who considered himself important issued a few. At that time there was still no serious competition from the Medal Department at the Philadelphia Mint. Private diesinkers and medalists experienced boom times.

Scovill, Benedict & Burnham, and certain other makers of tokens and store cards from earlier times—particularly from the general era 1845-1855—were contacted by Henry Davenport, J.N.T. Levick, and other numismatists, and dozens of different varieties were restruck from original dies to the extent of thousands of pieces.[2]

An even larger number of completely new varieties were made, including many issued by diesinkers to advertise their own trade, among them being George H. Lovett, William Bridgens, F.C. Key & Sons, Robert Lovett, Jr., and a dozen or more others. Of course, the idea was hardly new. Wright & Bale, illustrious die sinkers active in New York City in the early 1830s, had issued several varieties of their own store cards in that era, including one with a Washington

[1] Well-worn cents displayed the impressed lettering more clearly than would have been the case if current, unworn cents had been used.

[2] Today, these are widely dispersed. Interestingly, no definitive catalogue has ever been published of such restruck pieces, and today most are listed in Russell Rulau's *Standard Catalog of U.S. Tokens 1700-1900,* and in other references, among earlier issues. As a quick, but not infallible guide, many tokens dated in the 1850s and offered in Mint State or Proof, and at low prices, are apt to be restrikes, while pieces showing significant traces of circulation are likely to be originals. The numismatic community does not seem to care as to the restrike vs. original status of such pieces, and it may not be important (similarly, among federal 1856 Flying Eagle cents in existence today, the vast majority of higher-grade pieces are restrikes, but few numismatists seem to be interested in the distinction).

**One of the most famous motifs of the Civil War token series, this 19.0 mm. issue by Joseph H. Merriam, Boston seal maker and die cutter, depicts a dog, collar inscribed MERRIAM, with the denomination expressed as a pun: GOOD FOR A SCENT. The opposite die advertises Merriam's trade.**

obverse that was also used with the aforementioned Henderson & Lossing token.

Joseph H. Merriam, of Boston, was prolific and served the needs of his region. Some of his pieces ostensibly resembled advertising tokens, but were made for the numismatic trade, not as admission checks or for publicity of a given establishment. Particularly well known is the curious piece denominated "Good for 6 Cents" and bearing the imprint of Apollo Gardens, 576 Washington Street, Boston. Depicted was the portrait of Apollo from mythology. For good measure, other die combinations for the Apollo Gardens bore the portraits of Washington and Lincoln.[1] While some such tokens may have been carried in the pockets of Apollo patrons, most went directly to collectors. Today, Merriam is particularly remembered for his Civil War token die, circa 1863, which depicted a the head of dog on the obverse, with the value of the piece cleverly expressed as GOOD FOR A SCENT. A commentary on the latter was provided by "Nemo" (possibly Charles Chaplin), in the *American Stamp Mercury and Numismatist,* published by F. Trifet, Boston, 1869:

> We have a 'Copperhead,' issued by our friend [George] Merriam, of Brattle Square. This medal [actually, a cent-sized bronze Civil War token] bears a dog's head, with the inscription, 'Good for a scent,' and is the 'head scenter,' both in design and execution, of all the mushroom crop of tokens that sprang up during the latter part of the war, nine-tenths of which are a disgrace to the die-sinking profession, and should be scouted [meaning to reject or ignore with derision or contempt; a lesser-known meaning of the word *scout*] by every coin and medal collector in the land.

## TOKENS ISSUED BY NUMISMATISTS

In Philadelphia, rare coin dealers Edward Cogan and William K. Idler advertised extensively on tokens in the 1859-1860 years. In New York City, John K. Curtis, Ezra Hill, and J.N.T. Levick did likewise. In New England, Alfred S. Robinson, Joseph C. Merriam, and James A. Bolen were each prolific issuers of such pieces.

Illustrative of this activity, Alfred S. Robinson, a Hartford, Connecticut, banker, exchange dealer, and self-proclaimed "great numismatist,"[2] distributed tokens featuring such varied subjects as Stephen A. Douglas ("The Little Giant"), the Fourth of July, Jefferson and Adams, a copy of the circa 1737 Higley threepence with standing deer motif, the Fireman's Medal, and other motifs. Robinson even created his own "Historical Series" of tokens featuring subjects he found interesting, such as Anthony Wayne and, on another token, Robert Fulton's 1807 steamboat.[3] The period of Robinson's greatest activity seems to have been circa 1860. Perhaps his most famous issue was an earlier production, the unsigned NON DEPENDENS STATUS copper dated 1778, noticed in *Norton's Literary Letter No. 2,* in *1858,* and concerning which Dickeson remarked in 1859:[4]

> An engraved piece, so elaborately designed as was this, we are sorry to say, is without a history. It certainly must have taxed the powers of design of some one, to combine so many emblems, and, at the same time too, so suggestive of facts and ideas, upon a single copper.

This coin, with modern lettering and Proof fields, bore emblems and inscriptions reminiscent of the copper coinages of the 1780s and perplexed an entire generation of collectors including Sylvester S. Crosby, who in *The Early Coins of America,* 1875, p. 306, commented, in part: "A fine specimen of an engraved pattern is the NON DEPENDENS STATUS.... Nothing is known of the origin or history of this piece." Even J. Doyle DeWitt, a highly accomplished writer and researcher, was confused as to the

**In 1861, Alfred S. Robinson, numismatist of Hartford, CT, selected the 1737 Higley threepence obverse with a standing deer as one die for this popular token. The other die advertises Robinson's business, which included the sale of rare coins, stocks, uncurrent money (obsolete and distant bank notes, Spanish-American silver, pre-1834 gold, etc.). As was the case for many numismatic productions of the era, strikings were made in various metals. The token measures 27.4 mm.**

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[1] Merriam's tokens are delineated in "Joseph H. Merriam, Die Sinker," by David E. Schenkman, *The Numismatist,* April 1980.

[2] The cover of his auction catalogue of April 16, 1861, noted that it offered pieces "from the cabinet of Alfred S. Robinson, the great numismatist."

[3] Wayne was No. 1 in the series, Fulton No. 2. Certain later issues including those featuring Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, *et al.,* were not numbered.

[4] Montroville W. Dickeson, *An American Numismatical Manual,* 1859, p. 89. The dies may have been by George H. Lovett.

Store card of Charles K. Warner, coin dealer and medal issuer of Philadelphia. The National Union League was one of several "home groups" formed to support soldiers fighting in distant battlefields.

"The Washington Token" issued by die sinker and coin dealer William H. Bridgens of New York City. This piece, made as a numismatic curiosity, is struck over a Liberty Seated dime. (2x photo)

The world's first international prize fight was between John C. Heenan (from America) and Thomas Sayers (from England) and took place in England in April 1860. Joseph Merriam, well-known Boston diesinker, memorialized each protagonist on medals.

George H. Lovett's famous medal showing John Bull (left; representing England) shaking hands with Brother Jonathan (America). Also see page 172.

Charles D. Horter of New York City was one of several diesinkers who issued tokens and medals in the 1850s and 1860s.

This later medal of Charles K. Warner, Philadelphia, commemorates an important Civil War event.

William K. Idler (1808-1901) was one of Philadelphia's leading rare coin dealers from circa 1859 through the 1880s, after which his business was assumed by his son-in-law, John W. Haseltine.

Token of Philadelphia dealer Edward D. Cogan, 1860.

1862 token issued by M.L. Marshall of Oswego, NY, who was a rare coin dealer in addition to the activities mentioned.

Tokens and medalets issued in the 1850s and early 1860s by numismatists and die sinkers, a small selection from dozens of different varieties of the era. Such tokens were avidly collected in their time and are still appealing today.

date of origin of the piece when he wrote about Robinson in 1968.[1]

Aaron White, of New Boston, CT, a well-known coin hoarder (whose serious numismatic inclinations, if any, are not known today), issued a curious token depicting a rooting sow, another sow hanging from a gallows, and inscriptions relating to the worthlessness of printed currency, including the rhythmic phrase, NEVER KEEP A PAPER DOLLAR IN YOUR POCKET TILL TOMORROW. These were largely distributed in numismatic circles, not placed into circulation. Tokens and medals, then and now, provided an ideal way to make a statement.

So profuse were tokens and medals issued for the numismatic trade in the late 1850s and early 1860s that a collection featuring the mulings, edge variations (plain or reeded), and metals (copper, copper-nickel, brass, nickel, white metal, silver, and base metals silver or gilt) issued by collectors and dealers in the late 1850s and early 1860s could fill a medium-size cabinet.

## FOCUS ON NEW YORK CITY

Among numismatic advertising and novelty tokens, the aforementioned (in Chapter 3) published in New York City by John K. Curtis and Ezra Hill are of special interest, as both men were contemporaries of Augustus B. Sage during the several years that Sage was in the trade in that city. Typically, dies related to Curtis and Hill were struck in various combinations and issued in a variety of metals including copper, brass, white metal, and silver.

## J.N.T. LEVICK

The tokens of Joseph N.T. Levick, who was primarily a coin collector, not a dealer, were diverse as well and included many mulings and combinations. One of the most famous depicts a happy old duffer holding a cigar and exhaling a cloud of smoke. This inscription is around the border: NO PLEASURE CAN EXCEED / THE SMOKING OF THE WEED. This "Smoker" obverse was designed and made for Joseph N.T. Levick, who was in the tobacco business at 904 Broadway, New York City, but was combined with other dies, including store cards advertising his dealer friend, Ezra Hill.

The name of Levick—usually stated as J.N.T. Levick—looms large in any account of nineteenth-century numismatics.[2] In the 1850s he lived in or near Philadelphia and was active in coin collecting circles there. Apparently, he first visited New York City in 1859 in which year he attended auction sales, one being Sage's Whitmore event in November and another being an earlier sale in which he bought a "thick die" 1795 cent for $1. On December 19-20 a sale of certain of his own coins was held at Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York City. The same 1795 "thick die" cent fetched $11 to Philadelphia collector William Jenks.[3]

He liked New York City, and moved there later in the year of his visit. In 1860 he seems to have commenced the issuing of tokens, primarily through the talents of local engraver and die sinker George H. Lovett, Jr. These pieces consisted of advertising cards as well as improbable mulings and metal combinations, most made for the numismatic market, rather than to increase his tobacco business.

Levick was a man of varied talents. In the early 1860s he was a banker, dealer in government securities, and broker at 44 Wall Street. Among his activities he traded in gold and silver specie, which at the time sold at a sharp premium in terms of federal "greenback" notes.

On December 14, 1865, Levick joined the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society and rapidly became active in its projects. On March 8, 1866, he made a proposal which eventually led to the publication of the *American Journal of Numismatics.*

Coins from Levick's collection and other of his holdings appeared in many auction sales over a long span of years from 1859 to 1886, the last being a W. Elliot Woodward event held on October 25-27, which included this, commencing with lot 1463: "The following copperheads comprise the entire remainder of Mr. J.N.T. Levick's collection, left over from previous sales." Fourteen lots were offered, most of which contained 100 assorted coins.[4] The sale room was a convenient way for Levick and many of his contemporaries to dispose of duplicates, trading stock, and unwanted pieces, including items that never were part of Levick's primary *collection.*

In 1908 Levick died. His library was given to the American Numismatic Society.

## WILLIAM LEGGETT BRAMHALL

As an additional window on the prevailing interest in and manufacture of such special tokens and medalets circa 1860, consider the situation of William Leggett Bramhall,

[1] In his study, *Alfred S. Robinson, Hartford Numismatist,* 1968, p. 14, J. Doyle DeWitt gave a scenario in which Robinson *sometime after May 1862,* met with George H. Lovett, and "employed Lovett to cut the dies for what has become known as the 'Non Dependens Status' piece.... Since the origin or existence of any such original piece is unknown, undoubtedly its design was created in the imaginative mind of Robinson.... Robinson stated that six copies were struck in silver and one hundred in copper. It may be found both with and without the word 'Copy.' " Of course, as the variety had been published in *Norton's Literary Letter* in 1858, DeWitt's putative date of origin as being 1862 is patently incorrect.

[2] Stephen L. Tanenbaum considers Levick to have been the pre-eminent token *collector* of all time (letter, October 3, 1997).

[3] *American Journal of Numismatics,* November 1868, pp. 55-56. "Reminiscences of Coin Collecting" by Levick. "Thick die" refers to what today is called "thick planchet," *i.e.,* the early style planchet of 1795 with lettered edge.

[4] A detailed commentary about Levick's commissioning Civil War tokens struck to his order appears in Woodward's sale of May 26-29, 1884 (67th Sale). The term *copperhead* was used to describe tokens, but was originally a political term referring to Northerners during the Civil War who sympathized with the South.

a teenager who, like the youthful Augustus B. Sage, was active on the New York City numismatic scene in the late 1850s. He was named as the second curator (following Sage's resignation in January 1859) of the American Numismatic Society, but left the post shortly thereafter when the Society sought to be registered with the State of New York, and the principals had to be of legal age. The teenaged Sage and Bramhall were companions and often shared coin stories and experiences.

In spring 1859, Messrs. Bangs, Merwin & Co. presented a catalogue offering with this title page (here given in part):

Catalogue
of the
VALUABLE AND EXTENSIVE CABINET
of
AMERICAN AND FOREIGN
Coins, Tokens, Medals, &c.
herein minutely described,
The Property of
WILLIAM LEGGETT BRAMHALL, Esq.
Late Curator of the American Numismatic Society

• • • • •

This is undoubtedly the most complete collection of American coins and tokens ever offered at public sale in this city, and, together with a general assortment of English Coins and Medals, will be sold at public auction, By Messrs. BANGS, MERWIN & CO., at their sales room No. 13 Park Row, N.Y. On May 4th and 5th, 1859, Commencing at Precisely 7 O'clock, P.M.

Catalogue holders were advised:

For particulars, &c., apply to CHAS. B. NORTON, Appleton Building, or S. Gerard Moses, 194 Broadway, N.Y.

Among 595 numbered lots were these listings

Lot 116. Full set of CENTS, including all the dates, and many types and varieties. *Some very fine.* 100 [pieces]

Lot 211. [under "American Advertising Tokens"] Chesbrough, Stearns & Co. 37 Nassaw-street. (Nassau wrongly spelled.) *Extremely rare.* Brass. [1]

Lot 220. Smith's Clock Est. "Time is money." *Four types;* Phalon, 35 Bowery. *All fine and scarce.* [5]

Lot 225. D. Sweeny & Son. Hotel Check; Miller's Hair Invigorator, Bowery; Strasburger & Nuhn,. Two types. *All very fine and rare.* [5]

Lot 434. Connecticut Cent, 1786. "AUCTORI CONNEC:" Woman's head facing the right, date in small figures, not mentioned by Dickeson.[1] *Fine.* [1]

Lot 437. Connecticut Cent, 1787. The "Laughing Effigy Piece." *Very fine, and very rare.* [1]

Lot 464. DOLLAR, 1794. Stamped B.L. FOWLER. *Otherwise exceedingly fine. Very rare.* [1]

Lot 478. DOLLAR, 1854. *Very fine and rare.* [1]

Lot 479. DOLLAR, 1856. *Very fine and scarce.* [1]

Lot 566. GOLD. Chinese coin. Intrinsic value $1. *Fine and curious.* [1]

The catalogue bore no mention of Bramhall's friend, Augustus B. Sage. The printing was done by John W. Amerman at 47 Cedar Street, not by a member of the Bogert family (printers of Sage catalogues). The "minute descriptions," such as they were, may have been done by Bramhall himself. The writing style differs from that used by Sage, and there is no reason to connect him with this effort. A separate listing of 111 addenda, sold on May 6, seems to be from still another cataloguer, who does not refer to Dickeson in the offering of several state copper coins. Lot 91 offers without further comment what was probably an early counterfeit of a federal coin:

Lot 91. American Half Dollar, 1787.

The Bramhall catalogue does not seem to have attracted much notice in its time, and even in a later era few numismatic bibliophiles considered it to be important.

## BRAMHALL IN 1860

In the following year, 1860, Bramhall resided in uptown Manhattan at 118 East 53rd Street. Later, he moved to Washington, DC, where he remained for the rest of his life. As events would prove, 1860 was to be his most active numismatic year.

The youthful and imaginative Bramhall, apparently an agent for the firm of Robbins, Royce & Hard, enlisted local diesinker George H. Lovett to make some appropriate advertising tokens, each with a plain edge, and struck in different medals. One variety featured an obverse reading ROBBINS, ROYCE & HARD, WHOLESALE DEALERS IN DRY GOODS, 70 READE ST., NEW YORK. The reverse of this particular token showed the profile bust of Washington facing left.[2] The inscription REPRESENTED BY WM. LEGGETT BRAMHALL was lettered around the border. Seven tokens were struck in silver, 52 each in copper and brass, 250 in nickel (the planchets

[1] Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson, *The American Numismatical Manual,* 1859. Dickeson was mentioned several times in the Bramhall catalogue, and certain Connecticut coppers were attributed to Dickeson types.

[2] Washington's portrait was irrelevant to the purpose of the token. However, as others would also do, Bramhall selected Washington in order to increase the numismatic appeal and marketability of the token, Washington pieces being all the rage at the time. In token parlance, the advertising side of a token is often called the *obverse,* although the other side, called the *reverse,* might bear a portrait, eagle, emblem, etc., as one might expect to find on the *obverse* of a *coin.*

for which were obtained by Lovett from the Philadelphia Mint), and 15 in block tin.

Bramhall later related that in time this store card "no longer answered my purpose, and I had a new die cut for it, as follows: ROBBINS, ROYCE & HARD, JOBBERS OF STAPLE FANCY & DRY GOODS, 70 READE & 112 DUANE STS., NEW YORK."[1] Of these, Lovett struck 20 in silver, 35 each in copper and brass, 15 in block tin, and "several hundred in nickel."[2]

Soon thereafter the Bramhall-Lovett duo went amok and issued a profusion of tokens, medals, and mulings relating to the current presidential campaign, one of which was at once punnish and interesting to the cognoscenti, but quite perplexing to a later generation of numismatists. Around the border appeared ABRA-HAM LIN-COLN / HONEST ABE OF THE WEST. At the center, directly below HAM LIN appeared the inscription, THE HANNIBAL OF AMERICA. From the curious hyphenation of Lincoln's name in the legend, ABRA-*HAM LIN*-COLN, the surname of his running mate, Hamlin, could be read. THE *HANNIBAL* OF AMERICA wording completed the Hannibal Hamlin name. Some unaware detractors thought that the Hannibal inscription referred to Abraham Lincoln in a negative way, a comparison of the presidential candidate with the great Carthaginian warrior who with 35,000 troops vanquished the Romans in ancient times. It was his running mate Hamlin, not Lincoln, who was "the Hannibal of America." Thus, the reverse slyly contained the names of *both* candidates on the Republican ticket, while referring obviously only to Lincoln.[3]

Concerning his token emissions, Bramhall was to recall:[4]

> During the autumn of 1860, the "raging fever" for store cards and political tokens having nearly reached its height, I was importuned by many numismatic friends to issue a limited number of "mules" in the different metals.

Bramhall said that he was disgusted with mulings. However, the lure of profits overwhelmed any consideration of conscience. Blaming the situation on the insistence of his friends, he had Lovett combine five dies in a way to issue seven sets of mules in five metals each. Further:

> The number of these mules was limited to 3 of each in silver and to 15 each in each of the other four metals used; of the three sets of silver, seven each, I retain one in my little case of reserved numismatic treasures; another is now, I believe, in the cabinet of Robert Hewitt, Jr., Esq.,[5] of New York; and the third is possessed by my old friend and late comrade in arms, Captain Joseph N.T. Levick of New York.

A further vignette concerning such productions is provided by comments made by Andrew C. Zabriskie as part of a paper, "The Medallic History of Abraham Lincoln," delivered before the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, December 6, 1900:[6]

> At the time of Mr. Lincoln's campaign in 1860, interest in political tokens had developed very greatly among the coin collectors, and induced dealers to place upon the market all sorts and kinds of combinations of dies. When an obverse or reverse die of one coin or medal is struck with the obverse or reverse side of some other medal, the product of such a union is known to collectors technically as a *mule*.
>
> Sometimes such combinations appear pleasing and sensible; at other times they become grotesque and laughable. I have in my collection an obverse bearing the bust of Mr. Lincoln muled with another obverse of Mr. Bell, another of Douglas, and still another of Breckinridge, and you can imagine how puzzling such combinations may likely be to the student of history in the future.
>
> Sometimes they are inappropriately made [as in this medal I now show on the screen]. This, as you will see, is a bust of Mr. Lincoln on a plain field, and was issued in the 1860 campaign with a legitimate reverse labeled THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE: FOR PRESIDENT, ABRAHAM LINCOLN. The maker of the dies, however, chanced to be the maker of the medal of the Old Middle Dutch Church, which some of us remember as being the old Post Office at Nassau and Cedar streets. The reverse of this medal of the old church bears the inscription, A RIDING SCHOOL FOR BRITISH DRAGOONS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, FOUNDED 1729, FINISHED 1731, AND ALTERED 1764. This reverse with the Lincoln obverse was taken to make a new medal. Judge the perplexity of our future historian, when he finds the bust of an unknown man [recall, the portrait of Lincoln has no inscription on the die] on the obverse of this medal, and on the reverse it is stated that *he* was founded, finished, and used as a riding school, as I have just read to you. Possibly we may picture some antiquarian society of the future engaged in learned discussion as to who this man was, an equestrian, doubtless, of note, but certainly not a president of the United States.

---

[1] In 1860, Eli M. Robbins was a merchant at 112 Duane Street, not far from merchant George W. Bramhall at 108 Duane; George E. Royce and Gershom E. Hard were importers at 70 Reade Street.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* August 1867.

[3] Notice of this token, and other information about Bramhall, is included in *American Journal of Numismatics,* August 1867; similarly, in *Proceedings,* American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, 1903, pp. 15-16.

[4] *American Journal of Numismatics,* August 1867.

[5] Hewitt, who lived at 32 West 21st Street, New York City, at the time, held a meeting in his home on January 23, 1864, to form the New York Numismatic Society (there being no coin club in the city, the American Numismatic Society having been moribund since 1859). On July 31, 1866, the New York Numismatic Society was dissolved and its interests merged with the revivified American Numismatic Society, now renamed the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. Hewitt maintained his numismatic interests for a long time and in 1909 was co-founder with Charles Augustus de Kay of the Circle of Friends of the Medallion. Coins from his estate were auctioned by Thomas L. Elder on March 21, 1914, and January 25, 1918.

[6] A transcript of which appears in *Proceedings* 1900-1901, pp. 33-39. The lecture included images of medals projected on a screen.

Perhaps Bramhall's most famous token was this one, depicting Abraham Lincoln on the obverse and by means of a punning inscription, mentioning his running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, on the reverse. The subtle humor seems to have been lost on many observers, who felt that designating Lincoln as "the Hannibal of America" was an insult.

The punning reverse die was altered by deeply punching the word WIDEAWAKES at the center, with a background of ruled lines and with leaves above and below. In this reincarnation the Wideawakes reverse was muled with other obverses. All of this was great fun for Bramhall, who enjoyed the excitement such pieces provided to the numismatic community.

Muling of the WIDEAWAKES die with an advertisement for Robbins, Royce & Hard, dealers in dry goods at 70 Reade Street, New York City.

William Leggett Bramhall (from a portrait taken years after 1860) and certain of his tokens of the 1860-1861 era. Bramhall, one of Sage's chums, was an avid numismatist and at one time was named curator of the American Numismatic Society. Later, it was decided to register the Society with the state of New York, and as Bramhall was a minor, and only adults were allowed to be officers, he stepped down.

Today, Bramhall's tokens are fairly scarce, but demand for them is slight, simply because little is known of their history. Upon study, they emerge as among the more fascinating items of the mid-nineteenth century.

Muling of Lincoln portrait die with an another die (with different inscription and letter arrangement) advertising Robbins, Royce & Hard.

When a customer commissioned a pair or several pairs of dies, he often took them home after the tokens were struck. Sometimes this had unfortunate consequences, as in the case of Philadelphia dealer Edward D. Cogan, whose store was broken into on December 14, 1859, and several dies were stolen.[1] Often the dies would be sold to others, swapped, or even given to other diesinkers, who would mate them with unrelated obverses or reverses on hand. The medal topics ran rampant, everything was up for grabs, and there were few restrictions of logic. Issues were so prolific that even today, over 130 years later, new varieties continually come to light. The array is so confusing that no comprehensive catalogue or listing of these pieces has ever been published.

In their own era such pieces were avidly collected, and, later, much space in auction catalogues is devoted to them from about 1859 to World War I. After that time, the coin auction scene became more routine and commercial, with few other than Thomas L. Elder holding up the banner for collecting tokens and medals. In the 1940s and 1950s, the field experienced a new wave of interest, and ever since that time the tokens, medals, and mulings of the 1850s have been in strong demand, and at prices that Hill, Levick, Groh, Bramhall, and others could have hardly imagined in their most vivid dreams.

The preceding commentaries and anecdotes reflect the rationale for commercial token issuing prevailing circa 1859-1860. Later, such demand for oddities resulted in the creation of certain mulings related to Augustus B. Sage, about which pieces more will be said.

Further regarding Bramhall, after moving to Washington, DC, he remained in contact with Augustus B. Sage, per the latter's recollection written on March 26, 1867, which mentions a recent encounter:[2]

> A few weeks since, in Washington, I met our mutual friend, and one well known to your readers, William Leggett Bramhall. Mr. Bramhall served with distinction during the war as captain of volunteers, was severely wounded in the head, and was breveted major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, for gallant and meritorious services. He was looking very well, although he told me he suffered occasionally from his wounds. He still collects, though not to the same extent as formerly. I believe Bramhall's [1859 auction] was the first extensive sale of business cards or tokens in this country.

Bramhall remained a resident of Washington, DC, until his death in 1903.[3]

## WASHINGTON-MANIA

The fad for tokens and medalets in the late 1850s and early 1860s embraced many subjects and motifs. However, one was paramount: George Washington. The desire for such pieces began in a large way in the spring of 1859, not long after this exchange of correspondence:

In January 1859, P. Clayton, who had been a buyer in the Peter Flandin sale in 1855, wrote to Director of the Mint James Ross Snowden:

> Dear Sir, If you have specimens in copper of the new $20, also model half & quarter dollars & specimen cents struck last year before settling on the new device now used—& can spare them without detriment to the public interest, I would like to have them. My object is to give them to a friend who seems to have a passion for specimens of coins.

Snowden's reply, dated January 24, 1859, bore the notation "Unofficial" and included this:

> Dear Sir, I have rec'd your note of the 22nd inst. and learn from it that you are acquiring a personal knowledge of the 'passion for specimens of coins' which possesses so many people in our country. On Saturday I had nine applications of a similar character—today (now 12 o'clock) I have had three. It was in view of this increasing, as well as troublesome, taste that I made the request mentioned in my official letter of last Saturday (22nd inst.) which I hope will deserve the sanction of the department. In reference to the specimens you ask for I have to state that the trial piece in copper of the double eagle of 1859 which I left at the Department is the only one I had: I have a few of the specimen cents but not all the varieties. I could send you two or three of these, but perhaps it will be best to defer sending them until the new arrangement is made, when your friend, and all other collectors of Coins, AND THEIR NAME IS LEGION, can be supplied to their heart's content.

This letter specifically stated that Snowden's stock of "specimen cents" made the preceding year, 1858, was diminished to the point of having only "a few" coins, possibly only two or three different, but that a "new arrangement" was in the offing under which "collectors of coins...can be supplied to their heart's content." It would seem that no further proof is required to demonstrate that the Mint in 1859 intended to restrike 1858-dated cents and other rarities. Of course, it already had been making restrikes for decades; witness the coins struck to the order of Baltimore collector Robert Gilmor, Jr., in the 1830s. In early 1859, this intense interest on the part of collectors was viewed as "troublesome" by the director.

It seems that shortly thereafter, in spring 1859, Snowden took a more pragmatic view of making coins for collectors and decided to turn the "troublesome" situation to his advantage. Around this time the tokens and medals of George Washington attracted his attention. The Mint Cabinet had but "four or five" different,[4] from among the dozens of varieties known to exist. He forthwith determined to enlarge the display and form the Washington Cabinet, with

[1] Cogan mentioned this in his auction catalogue dated May 21-22, 1860, and on other occasions. Mention of a related medal is made in Chapter 4 of the present work, in a footnote to the Ledyard-Brock correspondence.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics*, May 1867, p. 9.

[3] *Proceedings*, American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, 1903, p. 15 (comments by Andrew C. Zabriskie).

[4] James Ross Snowden, *The Medallic Memorials of Washington*, page v (part of an account of how the Washington Cabinet was formed).

James Ross Snowden, director of the Mint, as shown on a medal from dies by engraver Anthony C. Paquet. The reverse depicts a corner view of the Philadelphia Mint (the Second Mint, used from the early 1830s until 1901). Snowden was the most numismatically oriented Mint director up to that time, and at his doorstep can be laid the intense interest in Washington medals that characterized the coin market in the late 1850s and early 1860s. (From the frontispiece of Snowden's 1860 book, *A Description of Ancient and Modern Coins, in the Cabinet Collection at the Mint of the United States*)

**The apotheosis of Washington: After George Washington's death (December 14, 1799) he became a symbol of the nation's history and excellence. More than any other general or president since, Washington formed the subject for coins, tokens, medals, ribbons, books, popular engravings and prints, banknote vignettes, and statuary. Shown here is a vignette by "E.G." of the banknote engraving firm, Danforth & Wright (Moseley Isaac Danforth and Neziah Wright), circa mid-nineteenth century.**

the goal of having it ready for opening to the public a year later in a ceremony scheduled for the next anniversary of Washington's birthday, February 22, 1860.

Snowden made it known that he would exchange restrikes and rarities, including patterns such as requested by collector Clayton, for Washington pieces needed for the Mint's display. The strategy worked, and within the year the Washington Cabinet grew to an impressive arrangement of 138 pieces.

To help things along, Snowden had the Mint create a small (20 mm.) medal depicting Washington on the obverse with the inscription PATER PATRIAE. On the reverse was a wreath enclosing the inscription, A / MEMORIAL / OF THE / WASHINGTON / CABINET / MAY 1859. Although the time was still two years away when the Mint would begin large-scale sales of medals directly to collectors, it seems that many of these May 1859 medalets found their way into the private sector. If a specific date is needed for the inception of Washington-mania in numismatics, May 1859 is a good choice. If a specific person should be assigned the responsibility, Snowden is the man.[1]

## THE PACE CONTINUES

Soon thereafter Washington coins, tokens, and medals became the focus of intense interest for collectors and dealers, and at public auction sales record prices were realized. However, not all numismatists were pleased.

On June 14, 1859, dealer Edward D. Cogan wrote to Director Snowden:

> I have been applied to by a great many collectors of American coins wishing to be informed whether the report now current—that there are many of the pattern cents being restruck at the Mint for the purpose of exchanging them for Washington pieces is true.
>
> The only answer I can give is that the many pieces shown me lately would tend to confirm the report. A rumor of this kind uncontradicted will tend to depreciate the value of every fine piece in whatever collection it may be found and I should be glad if you would give it the most unqualified denial.

Snowden replied in a very frank manner:

> It is quite true that I have caused a number of pattern or specimen cents to be struck for the purpose of exchanging them for Washington pieces whenever opportunities to do so occur.
>
> If you possess any Washington pieces I would be much obliged if you will send me a list of them, and if there are any among them which I desire for the Cabinet I would be pleased to procure them by giving you in exchange other interesting medals or coins.

Following the lead of the Mint, collectors and dealers continued to scramble to add Washington items to their own cabinets. A year later, on February 22, 1860, Snowden's dream was fulfilled, the Washington Cabinet was dedicated at the Philadelphia Mint, and a large and handsome medal was struck for the occasion.

In auction rooms as well as in coin shops, focus remained squarely on Washington pieces. Just about anything and everything picturing the first president was in demand. Copper tokens denominated ONE CENT and made in England in 1791, rose to new price levels in spirited bidding competition as did other Washington tokens of yesteryear, mainly dated from about 1783 to 1795. To fill the demand, nearly all the leading artisans in the die-sinking trade produced new tokens and medalets depicting the Father of Our Country. A short list of makers includes such names as F.C. Key & Sons, Smith & Hartmann, Charles K. Warner, William Bridgens, Joseph C. Merriam, and James A. Bolen. In Philadelphia, Robert Lovett, Jr., turned out many Washington pieces, while in New York City his brother, George H. Lovett, did likewise. Certain of these utilized the familiar Houdon bust of Washington and were copied from earlier adaptations made by Charles Cushing Wright and George Lovett. As medals were desired to be made in different sizes, Lovett's bust, for example, was copied by transfer lathe for use on smaller pieces, some the diameter of the copper-nickel cent.

[1] A few words about Snowden: He became director of the Mint on June 4, 1853 (per his personal notes; certain later references state June 3), after the death of Judge Thomas Pettit, who had served in the post for less than two months. He quickly became interested in numismatics, the first Mint *director* to take such an active role (although Adam Eckfeldt, William Ewing Dubois, Jacob Reese Eckfeldt, and other Mint staff members were knowledgeable). The first book published under Snowden's name, *A Description of Ancient and Modern Coins in the Cabinet of the Mint of the United States,* was primarily researched and written by Dubois and George Bull (curator of the Mint Cabinet). This 412-page volume was and still is highly regarded. After James Ross Snowden left his Mint office in early 1861, he continued his numismatic activities in the private sector. Snowden had been a member *ex officio* of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia when he was Mint director.

**One of the most impressive and numismatically oriented of all medals struck at the Philadelphia Mint in the nineteenth century is this handsome piece by engraver Anthony Paquet. The time was February 22, 1860, and the occasion for its presentation was the dedication of the Washington Cabinet of Medals as part of the Mint Collection. Additional specimens in copper and silver were made available to the public.**

**The obverse depicts President Washington after the famous bust by Jean Antoine Houdon, the image found on most all Washington tokens and medals issued during this era by the Mint as well as by private medalists. The reverse features the Washington Cabinet and illustrates a bust of Washington atop a four-sided display cabinet. Some 35 medals and tokens are shown on the side facing the viewer, and another 20 are on the panel at the right.**

While Washington tokens and medals with Washington's portrait seemed to be best sellers, many other motifs related to Washington were used as well. Mount Vernon, Washington's tomb, various civic monuments erected to him, certain of the buildings he used as command posts in the Revolutionary War, battle scenes, and other topics eventually appeared on a vast array of tokens, including many from the workshop of engraver George H. Lovett.

## ENGRAVER LOVETT

As George H. Lovett's production of tokens figures prominently in Augustus B. Sage's activities circa 1858-1859 and to a limited extent in 1860 and 1861, brief biographical notes are in order:

George Hampden Lovett was born in Philadelphia, February 14, 1824, the son of die sinker Robert Lovett. Soon thereafter, the Lovett family moved to New York City, where George would spend the rest of his life. He and his brothers, John D. and Robert, Jr., learned engraving skills at an early age, and in time each became well known in his own right. However, of all the family members, George was to be the most prolific diecutter. Robert, Jr., set up his own business in his home town of Philadelphia, where in 1839 he was located at 142 Chestnut Street.[1]

George attended grammar school and early high school in New York City, and at the age of 16 or 17 (accounts vary), he joined his father's shop as a die maker. Any work he did in the 1840s was largely unsigned or fell under the family surname, LOVETT. In 1841 the elder Lovett, who often signed his dies L or LOVETT, but sometimes R. LOVETT, was at 183 Broadway. Subsequently and for a long time his trade was advertised as "Lovett, seal engraver and die sinker, 67 Maiden Lane." Lovett, senior, removed to 84 Nassau Street, which in the 1850s became the principal address for his son, George H. Lovett.

By 1858 the business at 84 Nassau Street was described as under the management of George, although his father continued to work there.[2] In the same year George H. Lovett moved to 131 Fulton Street, from which location he conducted business for years afterward.[3] His father fol-

After spring 1861 Snowden became a dues-paying participant. In the same year his book, *The Medallic Memorials of Washington in the Mint of the United States,* was published, becoming the first standard reference work on this series. His book, *Coins of the Bible,* was published in Philadelphia in 1864 and 1870.

[1] In the early 1840s, Robert, Jr., was at 11 South 6th Street, moving to 32 South 5th Street later in the decade, later listed at 28 South 5th Street; in 1858 most of the main streets in Philadelphia were renumbered, and 28 South 5th Street became 200 South 5th, an address which he used on the reverse of a popular advertising card of 1860, bearing on the obverse the female head wearing a Phrygian cap (used on French coins as early as 1794; incorrectly called the *Turban Head* design by some collectors); the same effigy was used on Lovett's 1861-dated Confederate States of America cent and was widely employed by other engravers for use on Civil War tokens). Today, Robert Lovett, Jr., is best remembered for the Confederate cent, the exact circumstances of production of which are not known with certainty (interestingly, the hub for the reverse wreath was in the Bushnell sale, 1882, Lot 2845).

[2] Lovett's advertisement or notice with this address appears at the end of Charles I. Bushnell's *An Arrangement of Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens....,* New York, 1858. Also listed were: F.B. Smith and Hartmann, die sinkers, seal and medal engravers and letter cutters, 122 Fulton Street, New York City; Francis N. Mitchell, stone, seal & medal engraver, die sinker, &c., 5 Tremont Street, Boston; and J.M.A. Will, designer, and artist on wood, 69 Nassau Street, corner of John Street, New York City. Will engraved the excellent illustrations of tokens used in Bushnell's book.

[3] From which address he issued a series of advertising tokens circa 1858-1859 (*e.g.* the two pieces described in, *Catalogue of American Store Cards, &c., with Space for Marking the Condition, Price, Rarity, &c., of each piece, Designed for the use and convenience of Collectors,* prepared in 1858-1859 by

The "Eight Presidents" medal by William Bridgens, New York City engraver who also issued Civil War tokens and dealt in rare coins. On this medal, MONROE is misspelled as "MUNROE" and MADISON appears curiously as "MADDISON." Spelling was not Bridgens' forte, and one of his most popular Civil War tokens includes the misspelling "ACCOMODATION."

"Series Numismatica" medal issued in France, picturing Washington as part of a suite of pieces with famous personages. The identical portrait was used for an embossed lid on a musical snuff box, circa 1820.

Centennial of Washington's Birth medal. Restrike of a medal originally issued in Philadelphia in connection with the two-hour-long parade held in Philadelphia on February 22, 1832.

Robert Lovett, Jr.'s George Washington die with horse facing left was muled with Augustus Sage's tokens. In the above depiction, the die is in a very late state with most the obverse inscription ground off and part of the reverse inscription missing. Probably made circa the 1870s or 1880s from dies first used circa 1860.

Token combining the portrait of Washington with that of Edward Everett, the most prominent public orator of the 1860 era. Among other things, Everett gave many lectures on Washington and Mount Vernon.

The "Twigg medal" struck in England in the 1790s from dies cut by C. Twigg.

One of a series of 10 medalets by George H. Lovett, struck in the 1860s, depicting various headquarters used by Gen. Washington during the Revolutionary War, including two of which had earlier counterparts in medals done by Lovett for Augustus B. Sage.

Classic tokens and medals relating to George Washington formed a focus of market activity in the late 1850s and early 1860s, a movement spurred in large part by the activities of Mint Director James Ross Snowden, who aspired to acquire as many varieties as possible for inclusion in the Washington Cabinet of Medals, a part of the Mint Cabinet. On this page are a few of many dozens of varieties produced circa 1790-1870.

**Store card issued by George H. Lovett, New York City, in the late 1850s. Measuring 30.0 mm. in diameter and having a beaded border, its size and certain features of style were quite similar to certain tokens struck by Lovett for Augustus B. Sage in 1858-1859.**

**The obverse depicts Cupid standing on a spouting animal of the sea, a mythological creature with features of a dolphin and a dragon. The reverse depicts a dove (?) holding an olive branch, stars at the bottom border, and inscriptions relating to Lovett's die-sinking and medal trade.**

lowed him in the move. Fulton Street was the center of the engraving business in New York City in the mid-nineteenth century, and several different individuals and firms operated there and produced dies, seals, and engraving plates for printing.

George H. Lovett's medallic work from the late 1850s onward was often signed G.H.L or G.L., or simply L, although the surname initial was also used by his father and brothers, who also shared use of the full surname signature, LOVETT. The Lovett diesinkers sometimes swapped or sold dies to each other, leading to confusing pairing in some instances. The previously-mentioned portrait of Washington (copied from Houdon's bust) made by the elder Lovett was also used by his sons.

**WE ALL HAVE OUR HOBBIES is the inscription on this token signed G.H.L. and featuring a witch on a broomstick. The reverse inscription states the purpose of the piece: DEDICATED TO COIN AND MEDAL COLLECTORS, 1860. In New York City, George H. Lovett was front row center in the fad for tokens and medals which started in 1858-1859 and was at full gale force by 1860.**

In the late 1850s and early 1860s George H. Lovett produced a plethora of tokens and medals to satisfy the desires of numismatists. Such collectors as William Leggett Bramhall, Joseph N.T. Levick, Robert Hewitt, Jr., J. Osborn Emery, and Edward Groh visited his shop and had fancy pieces and mulings made to order. Bramhall, quoted earlier, noted that he had many mulings made by Lovett in the autumn of 1860.[1]

With an eye to popularity and sales, Lovett included interesting motifs on his own advertising tokens. One depicted Cupid and a spouting dolphin on the obverse. Another showed a witch (more formally, Mother Shipton) riding a broomstick, surrounded by the inscription WE ALL HAVE OUR HOBBIES, and with the reverse inscribed, DEDICATED / TO/ COIN / AND / MEDAL / COLLECTORS. The witch motif, a take-off on the "riding a hobby" phrase, proved popular, and many other variations of it were produced in later years.[2]

An 1859 token depicting Eleanor Rugg Byrne is stylistically similar to some of the work Lovett did for Sage in the Numismatic Gallery series that year and uses some of the same star ornament punches. The purpose of the Byrne token is not known, but in its day it was very popular with numismatists.

In the late 1860s Lovett did much work for the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, which he

**Tokens and medals have stories to tell, and often that story is unknown. Such an instance is represented by this curious medal from dies cut by George H. Lovett in 1859, 31.0 mm., and with a beaded border similar to that on tokens he made for Sage.**

**Depicted on the obverse is a woman facing right, her hair in a bun, with the inscription, ELEANOR RUGG BYRNE. The reverse features stars and the inscription BYRNEORE / GOLD / 1859. Who was Eleanor Rugg Byrne? Why did she or someone else commission these tokens? Why were hundreds of them made in various medals (as, indeed, they were)? What is "Byrneore?" No doubt sometime a numismatist will come across a long-forgotten newspaper clipping of 1859, and the entire story will be presented. For the time being, the token keeps its secrets well.**

Mark W. Collet, M.D., J. Ledyard Hodge, and Alfred B. Taylor, acting as a committee for the Numismatic Society of Philadelphia: Nos. 222 and 223, "Medal die sinker, 131 Fulton St., N. York, white metal. Size 20"; and the same in brass. A related offering was in the February 28-29, 1860, sale of the Edward Groh Collection, lots 634-636).

[1] 1860 directory listings for the Lovetts: George H. Lovett, engraver, 131 Fulton Street, home at 141 West 37th Street; John D. Lovett, engraver, 1 Cortlandt Street, home at 9 Hanover Place, Brooklyn; Robert Lovett, engraver, 131 Fulton Street, home at 4 Grove Street. Apparently, Bramhall also had medalets made by the Scovill Manufacturing Co. of Waterbury, CT.

[2] A "hobby horse" was originally a broomstick with an imitation horse's head attached to one end, that could be "ridden" by a child. Indeed, the word *hobby* was derived from the Middle English word *hobi* or *hobyn,* meaning a small horse or a hobby horse.

joined on December 23, 1867. Earlier, local diesinker and prolific token issuer Emil Sigel had been the Society's choice, but no end of problems arose when Sigel was commissioned to make a memorial medal with the portrait of Abraham Lincoln for the members and was unable to complete the task in a timely manner.

In the years after the Civil War, George H. Lovett enjoyed a new surge of business from other quarters, including a commission in 1869 from Isaac F. Wood to produce certain of the "Memorial Series" of medals. William H. Key, of Philadelphia, was likewise hired by Wood in this context.[1] For the next 15 years, Wood, a man of independent wealth who spent his time enjoying numismatics, published a veritable torrent of medal varieties including pieces in connection with the New York Medal Club branch of his hobby-business. Filling requests made by Wood, engraver Lovett dusted off some old dies made for Augustus B. Sage and other customers and obligingly made restrikes and mulings for Wood's clientele.

In general the tokens and medalets of both Lovett and Key were hastily executed and lacked the artistry that characterized such other well known engravers as Christian Gobrecht, Charles Cushing Wright, Moritz Fürst, and John Reich, to mention four luminaries from an earlier era. However, without question many of Lovett's pieces were very attractive. His large format Cyrus W. Field and Fort Sumter medals, published by Sage, are of a high order of artistic excellence. Today, reviews of Lovett's artistry are mixed. After all, beauty is in the eye of the beholder. Moreover, he created what customers wanted and were willing to pay for. Some tokens and medals were produced on a small budget, while others were elegant and involved greater expense. He produced so many different motifs that just about anyone can find something to like, or to dislike, among pieces from his vast repertoire.

**Little is known about this token by George H. Lovett. With the reverse inscribed GALLERY OF TRAITORS and the obverse listing individuals who were active in the Confederacy and, thus, traitors to the Union, the token probably dates from circa 1861. Apparently, a series of such pieces was contemplated, for this bears the notation "No. 1" at the bottom of the obverse. Among the individuals in the roster of traitors is HOWELL COBB, former Secretary of the United States Treasury.**

In 1868 Lovett created a curious "specimen series" of copper tokens for a Cuban sugar plantation, these pieces being intended to serve as media of exchange for workers. Denominations ranged from 2½ to 20 centavos. Doing work for overseas clients was not unusual, and in the same era Chief Engraver James B. Longacre prepared dies for coinage of Chile. Various political entities in Central and South America often drew upon the talents of diesinkers in New York and Philadelphia in this regard. Similarly, Morgan & Orr and other American makers of coining equipment exported many presses and other devices to countries desirous of setting up their own mints, Peru being an example.

## LOVETT IN THE 1870S

In the mid-1870s there arose another fad for medals, many of which referred to the 1876 Centennial Exhibition. Old portrait hubs and dies depicting George Washington were resurrected, and many new varieties were made by just about anyone active in the die sinking and medal trade in Philadelphia or New York. White metal seems to have been the most popular alloy for medals in 1876, probably because it was cheap, but resembled silver.

Reflective of his wide activity on the numismatic scene, Lovett inserted this as part of a notice in the April 1879 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics,* this being typical of his advertisements in the same era:

> Die sinker and metallurgist. No. 181 Broadway, New York City. Dies of all kinds furnished at short notice, and reasonable charges. Medals for societies, schools, colleges, etc., designed and executed in the best manner. Refers to Hamilton College, College of the City of New York, American Institute, Whiting Manufacturing Co. of New York, and many others.
>
> Particular attention paid to political tokens, cards, etc., as well as to commemorative historic medals and numismatic series. Medals and tokens on hand for sale; also the issues of Mr. Wood's various series and of the New York Medal Club. Collectors are respectfully invited to call.

Shortly thereafter, in the summer of 1879, Lovett moved to 192 Broadway. Meanwhile, he maintained his residence in Brooklyn. Years later, he presented many tokens and medals from his reference collection to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, stating that he had kept no records of his production.

## LOVETT'S PASSING

The *Proceedings* of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, 1894, p. 19, noted in part:

> That [Lovett] was intensely patriotic is evidenced by his life's work, and testified to by his intimate friends.

[1] William H. Key, who made many tokens and store cards in the 1860s and 1870s, also worked for the Philadelphia Mint. He was a son of F.C. Key, of F.C. Key & Sons, 329 Arch Street, Philadelphia, well-known diesinkers and medalists whose prolific output included Civil War tokens, medalets for the 1864 presidential campaign, and issues depicting George Washington.

> His genial, kindly disposition was plainly written on every feature. He was "indignant at wrong to others, slow of wrath for himself, and patient of imposition to a fault." One of his old friends says of him, "I don't believe George H. Lovett ever wittingly did a dishonorable thing in his life. I don't think he *could!*" How few can bear such a test!
>
> His last illness was but short, but he had been in failing health for several years.
>
> He had a press at this house, where he could work quietly and without interruption, and only a short time before his death, he brought home a gold planchet to strike, and told his wife he should spend the afternoon at home striking the medal.
>
> When night came, he said, with evident feeling, that he was too feeble to undertake the work, and that he should have to get someone else to do it. The hand had lost its cunning, the strong had become weak! Death had set his seal upon him.
>
> He died of nervous prostration, January 28th, 1894, at his late residence, 26 Irving Place, Brooklyn, on January 28, 1894. His works will live after him!

By this time his output of numismatically-related tokens and medals had exceeded any of his New York City contemporaries in the trade. He was survived by his third wife and four children: Anna A.,[1] a daughter from his first wife, Sarah Barmore; and, by his third wife, née Mary H. Turzanski (whom he had married on September 7, 1868), children Mary Emma, Robert, and Joseph P., the last being 12 years old, the youngest. Son Robert followed the family tradition and became an engraver.

Shortly thereafter, Robert Sneider, of Fulton Street, New York City, purchased Lovett's medal press and endeavored to continue his business. However, whatever talents and business abilities Sneider may have possessed, he never became familiar to a wide circle of numismatists, although he is said to have been active in the token and medal trade since 1866.[2]

No one has ever prepared a catalogue raisonné of George H. Lovett's output of token and medal dies. No doubt the total number runs into the many hundreds if not a thousand or more. In addition he engraved a few dies for medals for the Philadelphia Mint.[3] Any comprehensive listing of his *oeuvre* must of necessity include many pieces related to the subject of the present study, Augustus B. Sage.

Our overview of the token collecting and issuing scene being concluded, in the following chapter we turn our attention to the issues of Augustus B. Sage.

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[1] In 1894 she was known as Mrs. Charles M. Keyser and lived in Ridgewood, NJ. Certain information is from the *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1894, pp. 104-105. Barmore appears incorrectly as Basmore in Leonard Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists,* Vol. III, p. 482.

[2] Russell Rulau, Standard *Catalogue of United States Tokens, 1700-1900,* 2nd edition, 1997.

[3] Including large-format medals described by R.W. Julian as AM-62, 82, and 83, these being for agricultural societies.

# CHAPTER 8

# *Sage Distributes Lovett's Medals*

*(Summer 1858)*

## SAGE BEGINS IN THE MEDAL TRADE

By July 1858, Augustus B. Sage entered the medal-selling game, probably as part of his rare coin dealership. His initial efforts must have been modest, for few examples of these medal types exist today. At the time the collecting passion for tokens and small medals had just begun, and there was no portent that in time it would dominate the American hobby. Publicity for his medals was via printed announcements he sent out to known collectors, as well as by occasional notices in newspapers.

Quite possibly, the first medals to be sold by Sage were copper stock-in-trade pieces bearing the portraits of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin.[1] These were made from "stock" dies in the hands of the engraver, who seems to have been Robert Lovett, Sr., who signed one of the pieces R. LOVETT. Striking was accomplished in the Lovett family die shop where both Robert, Sr., and George plied their trade. In addition to supplying stock medals to Sage, it is probable that son George struck certain illogical combinations (mulings) of these standard dies expressly for Sage.

One standard or "normal" issue depicts the portrait of George Washington, with a surrounding inscription relating to the Washington Temperance Society. The reverse depicts a family scene in an alcohol-free home.

The other standard issue illustrates Benjamin Franklin, with a legend noting that it was issued as an award medal

**The Washington Temperance Society / House of Temperance medal was a popular stock in trade item in the 1850s. Augustus B. Sage was among those who sold them. He also caused special mulings to be made from these dies (see Appendix II).**

**The Mechanics' Literary Association, Rochester, obverse in combination with an award medal reverse. Medals of this type were offered by various sellers in the 1850s, including Augustus B. Sage in 1858. He also caused special mulings to be made from these dies. (see Appendix II).**

[1] As evidenced by a gift of specimens of Lovett's Washington medals to the American Numismatic Society on July 13, 1858. It seems likely that the Elisha Kent Kane medal (subsequently discussed) had not been struck by this time.

for the Mechanics' Literary Association, Rochester.[1]

It is probable that dozens if not hundreds of examples of the Washington Temperance Society medal had been distributed by Robert and George Lovett earlier and that Sage had no exclusivity. The Franklin medal also seems to have been a regular commercial production utilizing a familiar portrait in combination with inscriptions indicating the medal was awarded to various recipients.

Mulings of the above dies are a different story, however. As neither the Washington Temperance Society nor the Mechanics' Literary Association had any known connection to Sage, and as Lovett and other diesinkers of the era typically had dozens if not hundreds of old dies on hand, it seems that these were created not to memorialize the Father of Our Country or to reflect upon the Mechanics' Literary Association, but as a whim for Sage.

For starters, the Washington obverse die was combined with the reverse intended for the Franklin medal, and the Franklin obverse was muled with the Washington reverse. Not content with these oddities, Lovett combined the Washington and Franklin obverses with each other to create a two-headed medal, and the two reverses were also combined with each other to create another numismatic oddity.

These four curiosities, per a later listing by Sage in one of his own catalogues, were "pub. at $4.00 by A.B.S." with "but five sets struck." Detailed descriptions of these medals appear in Appendix II.

## SAGE INTENDS TO SELL THE KANE MEDAL

In a letter to historian Benson J. Lossing, July 9, 1858, Augustus B. Sage commented, in part:

> In your "Field-Book" you mention that a medal was presented to Baron Steuben, by the King of Prussia.[2]
>
> Was such medal engraved, or struck from the die? I should like to be enlightened on the above points, and also to have a description of it, for soon there will be a fine medal issued in his honor, here.
>
> There certainly can be no harm in multiplying the likenesses of such men as Steuben. I shall first issue by subscription a fine medal of Dr. Kane, having his bust for the obverse.[3]

At the time, the recently deceased Dr. Kane was well known as a hero and adventurer. Likely, any listing of several dozen people in the news in recent years would have included him. Augustus B. Sage or George H. Lovett, or both, must have considered him to be a likely subject for popular public sale on a medal. Seemingly, this was the first "new" medal subject for Sage, the aforementioned Washington and Franklin pieces having been made from stock dies on hand in the Lovett shop. In *1859* (per the MDCCCLIX date on the medal) Lovett created a medal depicting Kane on the obverse and Masonic motifs on the reverse. No record has been found of the same obverse used in combination with another reverse, as might have been employed in 1858.

In 1859, Sage issued two fixed-price lists and three auction catalogues presenting items for sale, including American medals. No Kane medals are presented, a curious omission if, in fact, they had been a stock-in-trade item for Sage the year before. It seems almost as if Sage learned of the medals from Lovett, contemplated selling them, and either dropped the idea or handled very few. Alternatively, Lovett may not have published them until late in the year 1859.

Elisha Kent Kane, M.D., born in Philadelphia on February 20, 1820,[4] graduated at the age of 22 at the top of his class in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, and subsequently joined the Navy, where he became an assistant surgeon. Imbued with a love for adventure and the unknown, and having visited many exotic places in his naval service, in 1850 he learned of a pending voyage to the Arctic. With just two days of preparation, he signed on as

**Engraving of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane whose adventures and hardships in the Arctic 1853-1855 formed the basis of a popular two-book set of his recollections. (*Marvelous Wonders of the Polar World*)**

[1] In the nineteenth century there were various associations for mechanics, tradesmen, and others, which emphasized education of these workers and often maintained lending libraries for their use.

[2] The Baron Steuben citation from Lossing's *Field Book* is from Vol. 1, p. 333, where it was related that "Baron Steuben had received from the King of Prussia a splendid medal of gold and diamonds, designated the Order of Fidelity, which he always wore when in full military dress." His biography is given in Lossing, Vol. 2, pp. 135-137. On p. 135 is a portrait of the Baron wearing the "medal" awarded by the King of Prussia, which seems to be a hand-made decoration, as opposed to a struck medal.

[3] The full text of the letter is quoted in Chapter 6.

[4] The day date of his birth is given as February 2, 3, or 20 in various references, leading some later writers to simply state that he was born in February 1820.

surgeon of the 144-ton hermaphrodite brig[1] *Advance* in a two-ship squadron with the *Rescue,* under the sponsorship of Henry Grinnell of New York, to go to uncharted Arctic regions. Their object was to find or learn more about the fate of British explorer Sir John Franklin, who had set out to find the Northwest Passage in 1845 and who with the party of 138 other adventurers became lost in the frozen wasteland. Franklin's two vessels, the *Erebus* and the *Terror,* had been seen last on July 26, 1845, in the upper reaches of Baffin Bay, seeking an opening among the ice floes. During the next 10 years, some 15 search expeditions were sent from England and America.

After spending the summer of 1850 without finding any traces of Franklin, Kane and other members of his party determined to return home, but were caught in ice and were forced to spend the winter under great hardship, returning to the United States in the summer of 1851. Kane was credited for maintaining the health and survival of the crew, which did not suffer the loss of even a single person. His narrative of the voyage was published in 1853 under the title of *The U.S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin,* and told of, among other things, the discovery of what was named Grinnell Land at the farthest reach of the Wellington Channel.

An early medal by George H. Lovett, but differing from the medal described by Augustus B. Sage in his 1858 letter as this early medal did not have Kane's bust, was offered in the Chapman brothers' sale of the Bushnell Collection 1882:

> Lot 1751. View of two ships in a field of ice. "Advance, Rescue. G.H. Lovett fec." Rev. "Presented by the British residents of New York, to—— in commemoration of his services, in the American Arctic Expedition sent by Henry Grinnell, Esq., in search of Sir John Franklin, 1851." Silver. Very rare. [Size] 24 [Realized $1.90]

Kane was determined to try again, and on May 31, 1853, he sailed from New York City as commander of the *Advance,* with only 17 aboard, an expedition again sponsored by Grinnell.[2] Supplies sufficient for two years were carried, and the expectation was that hunting would yield additional provisions for the men and, especially, for the voracious sled dogs. Heading north to Smith's Sound, the highest latitude ever reached by ship before that time, he touched at the coast of Greenland on August 23, where Eskimos were hired to help in the exploration. New channels and areas of the sea were discovered, including an expanse later named Kane Basin, sometimes referred to as the beginning of the "American route" to the Northwest Passage. Various side trips taken by the second Grinnell expedition yielded much information about geography, native plants, and natural phenomena. The giant Humboldt Glacier was discovered, and measurements revealed that it was 300 feet high and extended 60 miles along the shore of Greenland. Still, no information was obtained concerning the fate of Franklin and his crew, although near Beechey Island some traces of them were seen, and it was concluded that they had spent the winter of 1845-1846 in a cove there.

The *Advance,* in its second year of being firmly locked in ice, was abandoned on May 20, 1855. Nearly all food was gone, and the sled dogs had died. Kane and his men, under great hardship and many suffering from scurvy, traveled by small boats and hand-drawn sleds 1,300 miles in 81 days to the Danish settlement at Upernavik, from which point they anticipated obtaining passage to England. Meanwhile, the steamer *Arctic* and the bark *Release* had gone to the north in search of news of Kane, and had landed in Upernavik in July, where they were on hand to meet Kane and his crew, which had suffered the deaths of three men.

Kane left the Arctic on September 18 and arrived in New York City on October 11, 1855, to a hero's welcome. On March 18, 1856, the New York State Legislature "ordered that a gold medal, appropriately commemorating the voyage of discovery of the Grinnell ships, be presented to Dr. E.K. Kane, commander of the said exploring expedition." The obverse of this medal bore the arms of the state of New York, while the reverse was a "representation of the discovery of the Open Polar Sea by William Marten, and Hans, the Esquimaux, who accompanied Dr. Kane in this perilous and praiseworthy expedition. *Size* 51."[3] This medal was created by Tiffany & Co. by engraving a blank disc of gold. As it was not struck from dies, the production cannot be considered a medal in the traditional sense.

The Arctic adventurer subsequently wrote a book of his recollections, published in two volumes, *Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, in the Years 1853, '54, '55.* The narrative was a great success in the marketplace, and within a year or two, 65,000 copies were sold. In ill health from the expedition, Kane went to England to recover, then to Havana, where he died on February 16, 1857. His passing attracted some notice in national newspapers, and the flag on the United States Capitol was flown at half-mast, but by that time his glory seems to have faded. Years later in 1866, popular curiosity was stirred by the publication of an unsigned work titled *The Love Life of Dr. Kane,* which claimed to contain letters he had written in the early 1850s to Margaret Fox, who was nationally famous as a spiritual medium, the co-inventor with her sister Katherine of "spirit rapping." Kent had met Fox in Philadelphia in 1852 and, apparently conducted a passionate and tempestuous love affair with her.[4]

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[1] Sailing ship with two masts, the mainmast schooner-rigged and the foremast square-rigged.

[2] In gratitude, Kane assigned names of certain Grinnell family members to geographical features he discovered or explored in the Arctic. The explorer himself is remembered by Kane Basin, located between Ellesmere Island and the Humboldt Glacier area of the coast of Greenland.

[3] Description from James Ross Snowden, *The Medallic Memorials of Washington,* 1861, p. 100, in a section of "Sub-National Medals" (included among various non-Washington pieces).

[4] In their home near Rochester, NY, 16-year-old Margaret and her sister Katharine, 13, caused interest, beginning in 1848, when it seemed

# THE KANE EXPEDITION

Engravings of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane's expedition in the vastness of the Arctic, which in the 1850s was largely unexplored. Kane went on two voyages to this remote land and later wrote his reminiscences in two volumes *Arctic Explorations in the Years 1853, '54, and '55.* (Artwork from that two-volume work.)

Icebergs near Kosoak in the remote Arctic. (From a sketch by Dr. Kane)

Broken ice floes near Pikantlik in the Arctic. (From a sketch by Dr. Kane)

Life aboard ship during the second winter in the Arctic.

Tennyson's Monument
(from a sketch by Dr. Kane).

Crossing the ice belt at Coffee Gorge. (From a sketch by Dr. Kane)

In the final years of his life and also posthumously, Kane received many honors including the Founders Medal from the Royal Geographical Society in 1856 and a gold medal in 1858 from the Société de Géographie. In the latter year William Elder's *Biography of E.K. Kane* was published in Philadelphia. Possibly the appearance of the Elder book in 1858 caused a renewal of public interest in the explorer and was a factor in having him selected for the Sage-Lovett medal.

Further regarding the missing Franklin, artifacts of his crew were found in the possession of Eskimos on Montreal Island in the Arctic on April 21, 1854, by a group of overland explorers led by Dr. John Rae, sent by the Hudson's Bay Company.[1] Additional items from Franklin's party were identified in the hands of Eskimos in another location by the Stewart expedition from England. After Elisha Kent Kane's return to America, the specific whereabouts of the Franklin and his crew, or their remains, continued to be a major mystery.[2] Finally, in 1859 the F.L. McClintock expedition from England found on the desolate shore of King William's Land a stone cairn containing a record deposited by survivors of Franklin's crew. It was related that their leader had died on June 11, 1847, and that the ships had been abandoned on April 22, 1848, after which the survivors, numbering 105 at that point, endeavored to go south to the Great Fish River. One by one they perished. This seemed to verify the comments by Eskimos of the region, who stated that the explorers had died of starvation. Sir John Franklin was subsequently recognized as the discoverer of the Northwest Passage, and a monument to him was erected in Waterloo Place in London in 1860.

## THE LOVETT MEDAL FOR KANE

The medal Augustus B. Sage wrote to Benson J. Lossing about may well be the 50 mm. representation of Kane struck by New York City medalist George Hampden Lovett. Unlike certain other issues (*e.g.*, the following Sage-Lovett Field medal), this did not bear Sage's name as a distributor. Whether Sage had exclusivity is not known. However, the sales of the medal must have been small, for today such pieces are rarities, as they have been for several generations. Such pieces are conspicuously lacking from catalogues of nearly all of the great cabinets of American medals formed since 1858, among which can be counted the 1882 presentation of the Bushnell Collection, an offering which contained many other Sage-related pieces. However, there were exceptions, such as W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Holland and Chadbourne collections, November 1878, in which Lot 1779 was described as follows and may be related: "Head to right, known as the Dr. Kane Masonic medal, tin, fine, [size] 32 [two inches]."

Notwithstanding the seemingly elusive quality of the medal in commercial channels, the American Numismatic Society cabinet has three examples of the Kane Masonic medal, two in copper and one in silver. It is not known in which other metal the Kane pieces were struck.

**George H. Lovett's 50 mm. medal of Elisha Kent Kane with a Masonic reverse dated 1859. It could be that this die was used with another reverse and issued in 1858. A Kane medal by Lovett was intended to be sold by Augustus B. Sage in the summer of 1858, but it is not known if an arrangement was consummated.**

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that in their presence, the spirits of departed souls could communicate by a series of rapping sounds. The young girls had intended the whole affair as a prank, but they fooled their mother so effectively that they were reluctant to disclose the deception. One thing led to another, and the team of Margaret and Katharine became a great sensation, toured widely and gave public and private sessions to an eager public, meanwhile garnering a substantial fortune. About 40 years later, they revealed that they had double-jointed toes, which could be cracked with just a slight effort and which generated the mysterious rapping sounds. This had been suspected by several investigators earlier, but the public chose to believe in the sisters' spiritual powers. The fad for the intercession of spiritual mediums to contact the dead was taken up by many other adherents, and, despite numerous exposures of fraud, continued well into the present century. Many accounts of spirit rapping are to be found in daily and weekly newspapers throughout the 1850s. Concerning Fox's book, Arctic historian Pierre Berton, in *The Arctic Grail,* commented: "Margaret was to insist that Kane fell in love at first sight, and certainly that assessment accords with his known impetuosity. His letters to her, which she published after his death...may have been edited or changed; there is no way of knowing. But to anyone who has read his original, unexpurgated journal (as distinct from the published version), the letters ring true. They sound like Kane: passionate, heartfelt, brooding, egotistical, and more than a little condescending." The original of the Kane journal is presently preserved in the Dreer Collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[1] Rae encountered Eskimos who had a large quantity of artifacts, utensils, equipment, etc., from the Franklin party, and who told of about 35 to 40 corpses they had found. Apparently, the Eskimos came on the scene long after the men had died. Certain gruesome tales were invented by the popular press in England, including of cannibalism, and caused public resentment against the innocent Eskimos.

[2] An interesting account of *British* searches for Franklin up to that time are given in "The Discovery of the Northwest Passage," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* February 1857. The Kane expeditions are mentioned only in passing.

A description of the medal, 50 mm., taken from one of the specimens preserved in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society, follows:[1]

**OBVERSE design:** Head of Kane, facing right, below which is a rectangular frame, flanked by four flags. With the frame is Kane's ship at a rakish angle trapped in ice. The inscription, DR. ELISHA KENT KANE, THE GREAT ARCTIC NAVIGATOR, U.S.N., surrounds. Below the framed scene is G.H. LOVETT N.Y.

**REVERSE design:** Masonic motif depicting with a wreath of palm, a pavilion, three columns, and Masonic symbols.[2] In front of the pavilion is a coffin upon which is a death's head. A band between the wreath and the border is inscribed NON NOBIS SOLUM SED TOTO MUNDO NATI, with MDCCCLIX (1859) below. This same die was used as the reverse of Lovett's Non Nobis Solum medal (in combination with a Washington obverse die); Baker-289 ff.

**Copper:** Very rare. Unknown mintage, but undoubtedly very small. The ANS specimens weigh 1,032.7 and 1,266.8 grains.

**Silver:** Very rare. Unknown mintage, but undoubtedly very small. The ANS specimen is made of two combined silver electrotype shells and weighs 500.8 grains.

This same obverse is known in combination with other reverses:

Milford-Haven Naval Medal No. 617: "Reverse: Three classically draped women, standing by a large press; the centre figure writing on a tablet. *Ex.* G.H. Lovett." 51 mm. Struck in aluminum, which would imply that it was made after the 1850s, as aluminum was virtually unknown as a metal for striking coins or medals prior to the 1860s.

Milford-Haven Naval Medal No. 617a: "*Rev.* Within oak and laurel wreath: THE GREAT MEDAL OF HONOUR / AWARDED / TO. Below this, blank space for engraving recipient's name." 51 mm.

Award medal for the Ohio State Board of Agriculture.

It seems evident that Lovett considered the Kane obverse to be a "stock" die, and used it in various later applications.

Medals honoring Kane were also issued in England.[3]

## SAGE PUBLISHES THE FIELD MEDAL

The first medal known to have borne Sage's name as part of the inscription was produced in the summer of 1858, after the "stock" medals of Washington and Franklin and the curious mulings had been brought to market.

In August and September 1858, Sage and other citizens of New York City were caught up in the celebrations for Cyrus W. Field, who had been instrumental in laying the Atlantic telegraph cable stretching from North America to the British Isles. The first successful transmission of a message was on August 5. Among the medals subsequently issued was one from dies cut by George H. Lovett and sold by Augustus B. Sage. A gold impression of the medal was presented to Field at a special ceremony held in the Crystal Palace in New York City on September 1, 1858.

## FIELD AND THE ATLANTIC CABLE

The honoree on the Lovett-Sage medal was Cyrus West Field (1819-1892), the American financier and merchant who planned and supervised the cable linking North America with the British Isles. Field's business career reads like an adventure story.

At the age of 15 he went to New York City and secured a position as an errand boy at A.T. Stewart's dry goods emporium.[4] Several years later he moved to Lee, Massachusetts, to become an assistant to his brother Matthew in the paper-making business. About two years later he established his own firm in the same line, later leaving this to become a partner in E. Root & Co., Maiden Lane, New York, paper wholesalers. On April 2, 1841, Root failed, saddling Field with substantial debts. He struggled against seemingly overwhelming odds, formed a new firm, Cyrus W. Field & Co., and by 1852 had repaid his former obligations and had a net worth of $250,000.

Retiring from business for a short time, he and a friend, Frederick E. Church (the well-known American landscape painter of the Hudson River School), traveled to South America, returning to the United States with an Indian boy and a live jaguar among other interesting things. This was an era of wonderment and discovery on the part of the public, and exhibits of just about anything curious and interesting were apt to create a lot of attention.

In 1854 Field became interested in the idea of a telegraph cable extending from Newfoundland to Ireland, to make possible the instant transmission of news from America to Europe. At the time it took over a week for messages to come one way by steamship. Discussions were held, and a 50-year charter was obtained from the federal government. New Yorkers including Peter Cooper,[5] Wilson G. Hunt, Marshall O. Roberts, and Moses Taylor contributed money and talent to the venture, as did Samuel F.B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph. In England, another company was organized by Field and attracted such investors as British literary-related figures Lady Byron and William Makepeace Thackeray.

In 1857 the first effort was made to lay a cable. Great difficulties were encountered, and in the meantime the Panic of 1857 caused another set of problems with Field's business interests in New York City. Finally, after several

[1] Thanks to H. Joseph Levine for calling the author's attention to this medal; thanks to Dr. John Kleeberg for providing detailed information.

[2] A similar motif, reduced in size, was used on a Sage Masonic Medal muling made by Isaac F. Wood; described in Chapter 12. The same general design is found on other medals as well (*e.g.*, the 1876 Centennial medal, Baker-293).

[3] See "Dr. Elisha Kent Kane: America's Forgotten Hero," by Manuel J. Kaplan, *The Numismatist*, October 1967, pp. 1247-1249. Lovett's medals are not mentioned.

[4] Stewart, popularly referred to as "the merchant prince of New York," lived in a *marble* mansion on 5th Avenue.

[5] Cooper, of Cooper Institute renown, became president of the New York, Newfoundland & London Telegraph Co., sponsor of the cable.

**Field's successful laying of the Atlantic cable was widely covered in the popular press. Shown here is an allegorical representation of two goddesses (mermaids?) representing America and England, with an olive branch, with useless implements and relics of war (cannons, swords, skulls, shackles) scattered on the ocean floor—with the Atlantic cable running through. Interestingly, this perspective is from the North looking toward the south, with England on the left, which is the same perspective used by George H. Lovett in an 1858 medal depicting John Bull (for England) and Brother Jonathan (United States). (*Harper's Weekly,* August 14, 1858)**

failed attempts, on August 5, 1858, a 1,950-statute-mile cable, paid out from huge reels aboard the steamships *S.S. Niagara* and *H.M.S. Agamemnon,* linked the continents of North America and Europe.[1] The telegraph devices at each end were installed, and tests were made. On August 16, Queen Victoria sent greetings to President James Buchanan. The 98-word message took slightly over 16 *hours* to transmit. The president's 149-word acknowledgment occupied 10 hours of time. In all, some 400 messages were sent back and forth in August, mostly brief notes on technical matters, although one from America to Europe on August 20 told of two ships colliding at sea off Cape Race and another on the 25th relayed news of the sailing of the famous passenger steamer *Persia* and an unrelated situation, the death of Mr. Eddy, a skilled American telegrapher.

Interruptions were common, caused by electrical current variations, magnetic influences, and other factors, some unknown. The cable itself had problems, including thin spots in the gutta percha coating and some leaks where splices had been made. However, the engineers were at work, and in time surely the difficulties would be overcome.

Excitement prevailed on both sides of the Atlantic. Later, Field commented that London is "now a suburb of New York."[2]

## THE SEPTEMBER 1ST CELEBRATION

Festivities were held in New York City, especially on the evening of August 17, when a massive fireworks display at City Hall set the structure afire, causing damage to the tower and roof early on the morning of the 18th.

[1] The American steamer *Niagara* and the British *Agamemnon* were attended by the British vessels *Valorous* and *Gorgon*.

[2] In his speech at the Crystal Palace, September 1, 1858, as quoted in the *New York Herald,* September 2.

Front page illustration from Harper's Weekly, August 21, 1858, depicting Cyrus W. Field, who reigned supreme as America's popular hero of the day. (*Harper's Weekly,* August 21, 1858)

**Laying the Atlantic Cable in mid ocean, summer 1858.(*Harper's Weekly,* August 1858)**

**The Atlantic Cable is brought ashore! Depicted are sailors hauling the cable to land at Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, August 4, 1858. The next day, August 5, the first signals were successfully transmitted. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* D.T. Valentine, 1861)**

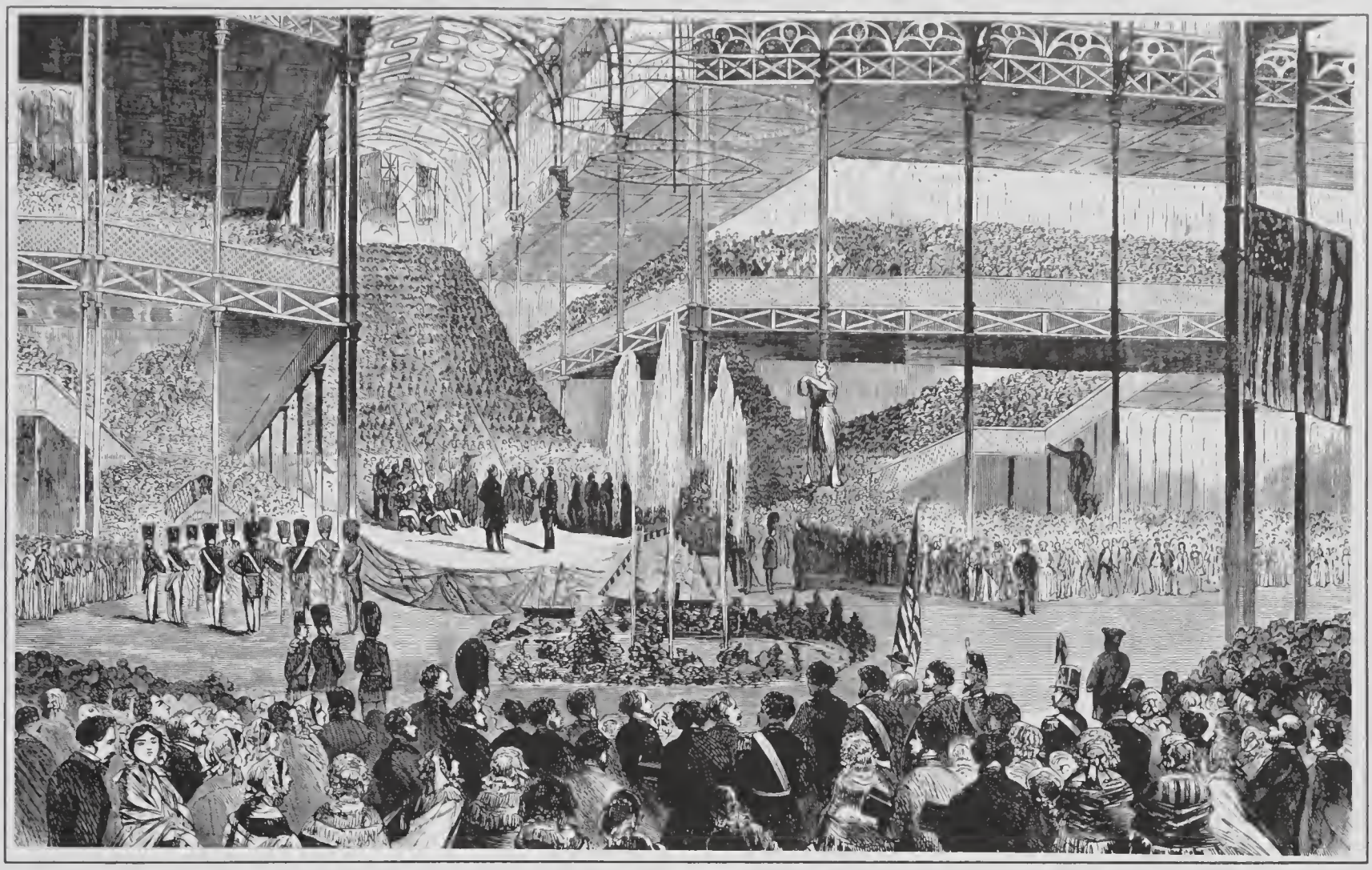
Meanwhile, cable transmissions continued to be limited to brief messages to test the system. Field was a perfectionist, and he wanted everything to be in order. Commercial operation was set to begin on September 1. A large backlog of messages accumulated in anticipation of being sent in due course. On the appointed day, *The New-York Times,* told of activities in the offing:

**THE CABLE CELEBRATION.**
**The Features of To-Day's Display.**

To-day is the great day of celebration and commemoration over the triumph of the Ocean Telegraph. And it is long since New-York has experienced such a congesture of visitors as to-day. The hotels, last night, were thronged to overflowing, from the first-class houses, from the second-class—from every style of house—the incoming crowd were at first turned off for lack of accommodations, then returned, suing for lodgings in remotest attics, in halls, public parlors, bar-rooms, and were accommodated at last on the sleepless cots, couches, settees, chairs and boxes. It is a great pressure that can make Metropolitan Hoteldom swelter as it did last night. It was like Syracuse on Convention day—like Washington on Inauguration Day. The cable was all the talk again, very much as when the Queen's message was first announced as fairly over the wire—only more so. The cable-venders drove a thriving trade, and one confectioner, taking advantage of the *furor* flooded the streets with *fac similes* of the cable in candy, so that the streets run with little boys munching what appeared like the veritable charmed twists duly endorsed by MR. FIELD. The streets already blazon hundreds of banners, emblems and mottoes bearing on the great event of the age.

The main features of the day are the *Te Deum* at Trinity Church, to commence at 10:00. Except for those down town and in the immediate vicinity, it will scarcely be possible to gain admittance to this. The procession ought to move, if the programme is punctually adhered to, at 2 o'clock from the Battery, up Broadway, and reach the Crystal Palace at 4 1/2 o'clock.

To get a sight of this will be the great object of visitors. Those who can get window-privileges on Broadway will be especially happy. At the Crystal Palace, the great attrac-



**Interior of the Crystal Palace, New York City, during the fête for Cyrus W. Field, September 1, 1858. (*Harper's Weekly,* August 21, 1858)**

tion will be the faces of MR. CYRUS W. FIELD, MR. EVERETT, (the Engineer), CAPTAIN HUDSON. Mr. DUDLEY FIELD'S address will be the principal oratorical feature,—the presentation speeches being assigned to members of our Common Council, whose faces and speeches are not rare with citizens. A sight of the Firemen's Procession, flaming with torches and Roman candles,—the escort of the guests from the Crystal Palace down to the Park, will be memorable, and the display of fireworks, it is presumed, will be creditable to the occasion—the pyrotechnist, it is understood, intending to show to-night that his competitors are not his betters in his business.

At the appointed time a grand parade was led down Broadway at night by the local firemen. The route illuminated by lanterns hung on trees, by flaming torches, and by brilliant fireworks. In due course the revelers reached the Crystal Palace and secured seating. The ground floor of the building, from the center fountain extending on a level plane, then rising in tiers to the back window, was outfitted in grand style. The speakers' platform was decked out in red, white, and blue—the colors of both America and Britain. Flags of the two countries hung above, while in the nave of the building was a green flag with a harp, symbolic of Ireland, the eastern terminus of the underwater cable. Providing music were choir and orchestra members of the New York Harmonic Society, the Mendelssohn Union, the Brooklyn and Williamsburg Harmonics, and the Liederkranz Society.

## A REPORTER'S COMMENTARY

The *New York Herald,* September 2, 1858, told of Field's reception, which was hardly without its complications:

### THE SCENE IN THE CRYSTAL PALACE
### Ten Thousand People Present at the Reception

Oration by D.D. Field — A Despatch from London Dated Yesterday — Speeches by Cyrus W. Field, Capt. Hudson, Capt. Dayman, Mr. Everett, Mayor Tiemann, Peter Cooper, Etc. — The Reporters Expelled from the Platform by the Chairman of the Committee, Etc., Etc.

At two o'clock the doors of the Crystal Palace were thrown open, and it commenced to fill rapidly. Those having green tickets were admitted by the principal entrance on Sixth Avenue, while the favored holders of white tickets entered by the door on Fortieth Street, and were admitted to the galleries immediately over the platform. The platform was erected in the eastern nave, commencing at the fountain in the center of the building and running back about half the depth of the nave; it then rose tier after tier back to the east window thus filling the entire space, and on this elevation the orchestra and members of the New York Harmonics, Mendelssohn Union and the Liederkranz societies were seated. The whole platform was handsomely carpeted and draped with the national colors, red, white and blue. Behind hung the flags of England and America, and in the north nave a large green flag with a gold harp in the centre floated. These were the only indications of the purpose to which the Palace was dedicated or the occa-

sion. There were no mottoes or inscriptions of any kind displayed.

The hour appointed for the interesting ceremonies inside the Palace to commence was half past four-o'clock, but the procession did not arrive there till within a few minutes of six. By that time there were about ten thousand persons in the building anxiously awaiting the arrival of the celebrities whom all were desirous to see and hear.

At five o'clock the orchestra and singers, amounting to about four hundred, took their places and presented a very fine appearance from the body of the building. On the platform were the following invited guests.—Lieutenant M.F. Maury, Rev. Dr. Adams, Rev. Alfred J. Dayman of the Catholic Cathedral (brother of Capt. Dayman of Her Majesty's ship *Gorgon*) Chancellor Ferris, Rev. Dr. Marsh and Mrs. Ann S. Stephens.

At a quarter before six a roll of drums and a loud cheer outside proclaimed the arrival of the procession, and immediately Mayor Tiemann escorting Cyrus W. Field, and followed by Captains Hudson, Dayman and the other distinguished guests, entered by the door on Forty-second street, and were received with a hearty round of applause and repeated again and again as they ascended the platform.

At this juncture occurred a scene entirely unprecedented in the history of public celebrations and highly discreditable to some of the parties who had the management of affairs. The reporters had been very kindly furnished with a table and chairs on the platform, just in the place where they should be in order best to perform their duties of chronicling the interesting events of the day. Mr. Councilman Bunce, who had charge of the arrangements on the platform, in a very gentlemanly and considerate manner located the reporters there some hours before the ceremonies opened; but on the arrival of the procession outside, Mr. Lowber, the Secretary of the American Atlantic Telegraph Company, but better known for his connection with the famous Lowber claim, came on the platform and rudely commanded the reporters to take themselves off. This they refused to do, as it was the only part of the building in which they could possibly report the proceedings, and moreover, as they had been invited to take a place there. Mr. Bunce remonstrated with Mr. Lowber, but the latter person insisted that the reporters should leave, because, as he said, they interfered with his arrangements, and in a manner so offensive that no attention was made to him. He then peremptorily ordered two policemen to remove the reporters, one of the officers at the same time taking the reporter of the HERALD by the shoulder and ordering him off.

The reporters, who represented nearly every journal in the city, then left the platform, protesting against the gross violation of their rights and of common courtesy. It is very unfortunate that the management of a celebration of so important a character, and about which so much interest and enthusiasm prevailed, should have been entrusted to the basest of persons without the ability of good breeding to conduct it with respectability. It is but right to say that Aldermen Boole and Owens expressed deep regret at the indecorous course pursued by Messrs. Lowber and McSpeidon, and that Councilman Bunce throughout the whole disagreeable affair acted the part of a courteous gentleman.

This account continued with the information that the ceremony had been delayed about an hour and the audience became restless.

Finally, the program began. Immediately prior to the presentation and speeches, the crowd sang *The Official Ode on the Cable,* by Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, to the tune of the *Star Spangled Banner.* The first verse:[1]

> Oh, say not the old times were brighter than these,
> When banners were torn from the warriors that bore them!
> Oh, say not the ocean, the storm, or the breeze,
> Are finest or proudest when war thunders o'er them!
> For the battle's red light grows pale to the sight,
> When the pen wields its power, or thought feels its might;
> Now mind reigns triumphant where slaughter has been,
> *Oh God bless our President! God save the Queen!*

Then followed ceremonies honoring Cyrus W. Field. A finely crafted gold box and the gold impression of the Lovett-Sage medal were presented by the mayor of the city, Daniel F. Tiemann.

Mayor Tiemann delivered an address directed to Cyrus W. Field, and Field gave his reply. The latter noted, in part: "This box, sir, which I have the honor to receive from your hand, shall testify to me and to my children what my own city thinks of my acts."

Others, including Peter Cooper, spoke as well.

## DIFFICULTIES

Despite excitement and hoopla for the communications accomplishment, all was not well, and after about three weeks of service and test messages, the cable ceased functioning properly, with the last clear transmission received, ironically, on the celebration day of September 1. Signals became incomplete or garbled. The telegraph company's public stock fell in value and, separately, Cyrus W. Field had additional reverses with his other business interests. For a time, city papers were filled with hopeful comments that cable service would be restored quickly and with defensive replies to criticism of the British press. Not long thereafter, many Americans took an opposite stance and felt that they had been hoodwinked by the whole affair. To some, Field became a pariah.

Hope sprang eternal, and Field sought to repair or replace the cable, but for a long time nothing was accomplished. Finally, the Civil War (1861-1865) intervened. The conflict pointed out the need for instantaneous transmissions to Europe. The second time around, Cyrus W. Field and his investors were successful. In the summer of 1866 a new cable was completed, and after that time reliable transatlantic communications became a reality.

[1] The full text was printed in various papers including in *Harper's Weekly,* September 4, 1858, p. 562.

## THE FIELD MEDAL PUBLISHED BY SAGE

The medal for Cyrus Field, from dies cut by George Hampden Lovett, attracted much publicity in its day, and for a time quite a few people must have beat a path to Augustus B. Sage's office at 24 Division Street.

The *New York Times,* August 24, 1858, included this commentary:

### A Telegraph Medal.

Will you allow me, through the medium of your widely extended paper, to make a single suggestion in regard to memorializing the successful laying of the Atlantic Telegraph which I have not yet noticed.

I have in my possession a medal, ordered by the State to commemorate the opening of the Erie Canal, an event considered at the time of inestimable importance, as no doubt it was, but what was it to compare with the laying of the Atlantic Cable?

I would, then, propose that a suitable medal be struck to commemorate this *event,* bearing the dates of failure and success, that of the Queen's message and President's reply, and an appropriate inscription to CYRUS W. FIELD. Respectfully, CITIZEN.

On August 28 the *New York Times* reported that such a medal was a reality:

### Gold Medal of Cyrus W. Field

A number of merchants and others, personal friends of Mr. Field, have caused a gold medal to be struck in his honor. Its weight is four ounces and the intrinsic value of the gold is about $75. On the obverse of the medal is an excellent portrait of Mr. Field, in relief, with the name "Cyrus W. Field." On the reverse is the following inscription

Presented to CYRUS W. FIELD
By a few of his Friends in New York
for his perseverance in superintending the laying
of the
Atlantic Telegraph Cable.
Aug. 5, 1858

The die was struck by MR. GEORGE H. LOVETT. It is the intention of the donors to present this medal to MR. FIELD at the Crystal Palace on the day of the City celebration. Mayor Tiemann has consented to make the presentation.

On the same day as the *Times* article, August 28, 1858, the *New York Herald* carried a similar story, but with mention of Sage as distributor:

### TESTIMONIAL TO CYRUS W. FIELD

Yesterday we had the pleasure of examining a splendid gold medal, which is to be presented to Cyrus W. Field, on Wednesday next. The dies were cut by Mr. G.H. Lovett, and published by A.B. Sage. On one side of the medal is a very accurate bust of Mr. Field, surrounded by a wreath, while on the other are the words, *"Nil Desperandum Perseverantia Vincit."* The inscription enclosed in the wreath, reads as follows:

"Presented to Cyrus W. Field by a few of his friends in New York, for his perseverance in superintending the laying of the Atlantic cable, August 5, 1858."

The medal was enveloped in a beautiful silk velvet case. It is an exquisite piece of workmanship, and reflects great credit on the artists. We understand that it is to be presented on the celebration day by the Mayor, and no doubt the presentation will form an interesting part of the grand ovation."

Another contemporary newspaper account noted:[1]

### A BEAUTIFUL SOUVENIR

We were shown yesterday a beautiful and exquisitely executed gold medal, procured by a few of the intimate friends of Mr. Cyrus W. Field, to be presented to him on the day of the celebration of the laying of the Atlantic cable. It is some two inches in diameter, of the purest gold. On one side is a finely executed and striking profile likeness of Mr. Field, surmounted[2] by a wreath of oak leaves. The reverse is also highly finished, and bears the motto:

Nil Desperandum Perseverantia Vincit.
PRESENTED
TO
CYRUS W. FIELD,
BY A FEW OF THIS FRIENDS IN NEW YORK,
For his perseverance in superintending the laying of the
ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH CABLE.
AUGUST 5, 1858

This handsome affair was designed and executed by G.H. Lovett, and published by A.B. Sage. The presentation will take place at the Crystal Palace, the Mayor of the city doing the honors of the occasion.

Similarly, the *New-York Daily Tribune* of the same day[3] carried the news, but with more explicit information:

### Medal to Mr. Field

A beautiful medal in gold has been shown us, which is to be presented to MR. C.W. FIELD by a number of his friends, in commemoration of the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. It is of fine gold, and weighs four ounces, and was made by MR. G.H. LOVETT of 84 Nassau street. The face bears a fine medallion likeness of Mr. Field, and on the reverse is the following inscription:

PRESENTED
to
CYRUS W. FIELD
By a few of his friends in New York
For his perseverance in superintending the laying of the
atlantic telegraph cable.

[1] Undated and unattributed; circa late August 1858. Preserved in a scrapbook in the library of the American Numismatic Society. Appendix II contains information about other medals made for Field, but not related to Augustus B. Sage.

[2] *Sic;* "surrounded" was intended.

[3] By curious typographical error the paper bore the date August 28, *1588.*

Aug. 5, 1858.
On the margin around this inscription is the motto, "Nil Desperandum, Perseverantia Vincit."

The medal bears the name of A.B. Sage, as publisher. Fifty copies of it, in bronze, are to be cast for the gentlemen by whom it is presented to Mr. Field.

In actuality, the medal so highly acclaimed by the press was the *second version* of the Sage-Lovett medal for Field. The medal was made in two versions, both with a common obverse. Apparently, the first reverse die was produced prior to August 5, 1858, when the completion date of the cable was not known. This die bore no date, had an error in the Latin legend, had the inscription spaced and arranged differently, and, in any event, seems to have developed a fatal crack bisecting the die and was rendered useless after relatively few had been struck.

At the meeting of the American Numismatic Society, October 10, 1867, the minutes recorded that Augustus B. Sage presented to the Society "the original roll containing autograph signatures to the gold medal conferred on Cyrus W. Field by the citizens of New York."

In the *American Journal of Numismatics,* December 1867, Charles E. Anthon, in an article, "The Ownership and Preservation of Medal Dies," mused:

Where are the dies of the [medal awarded] by the citizens of New York, in 1858, to Cyrus W. Field; and by the citizens of New York, in 1861, to Major Robert W. Anderson?[1]

## THE LOVETT-SAGE FIELD MEDAL (1ST REVERSE)

A description of the first version Lovett-Sage medal, 51.2 mm., follows:

**OBVERSE design:** Head and shoulders bust of Field in high relief, with a short beard, in a toga, facing right, his name, CYRUS W. FIELD, above, between the ends of the oak wreath, oak wreath to either side. Signed G.H. LOVETT N.Y. beneath bust and A.B. SAGE PUB. at the lower right between the wreath and the rim; lower part of upper section of P in PUB. is defective.

**REVERSE design:** With legend around border outside of wreath, NIL DESPERANDUM PERSEVERANTI [*sic*] VINCIT in with-serif letters; 13 stars below. Continuous wreath of laurel and berries, enclosing inscription: PRESENTED / TO / CYRUS W. FIELD / BY A FEW OF HIS FRIENDS / IN NEW YORK, FOR / HIS PERSEVERANCE IN / SUPERINTg THE LAYING / OF THE / ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH / CABLE.

Die state(s) seen: Obverse die perfect; reverse die with bisecting crack extending from rim, between P and E of DESPERANDUM, through the medal at the center (going through the word IN), exiting at lower right at right side of C in VINCIT, to rim (ANS Collection).

**Copper:** Very rare. Unknown mintage. An example was sold for 35¢ as Lot 413 in the Bushnell Collection sale (Chapman brothers, 1882). A specimen is in the ANS Collection.

**White metal:** Very rare. Unknown mintage. An example appeared as Lot 620 in Haseltine's sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, July 1882. An example was sold for 10¢ as Lot 414 in the Bushnell Collection sale (Chapman brothers, 1882).

**Silver:** Very rare; whether impressions with this reverse were included as part of the production figure of three silver pieces for the dated reverse variety is not known. An example was sold for $1.75 as Lot 412 in the Bushnell Collection sale (Chapman brothers, 1882).

Commentary: It is probable that this reverse die was discarded in August 1858, and the second reverse was then employed. Probably, the 1st Reverse medals are scarcer than those of the 2nd Reverse.

## THE LOVETT-SAGE FIELD MEDAL (2ND REVERSE)

A description of the second variety of the Lovett-Sage medal, 51.2 to 52.4 mm. (sizes vary slightly), and numismatic notes, follow:[2]

**OBVERSE design:** Die as preceding.

**REVERSE design:** With legend around border out-

[1] The Fort Sumter medal honoring Major Anderson is described in Chapter 18 and was also published by Sage.

[2] From observation of a medal in the Henry G. Spangenberger Collection, earlier in the M. Vernon Sheldon Collection. The inscriptions given are those actually on the medal; many past numismatic listings are incorrect or incomplete. Additional citations of Sage medal appearances will be found in Appendix II, which also includes a description of related medals made by Tiffany and by order of Congress.

side of wreath, NIL DESPERANDUM PERSEVERANTIA VINCIT in sans-serif letters; 13 stars below. Continuous wreath of laurel and berries, enclosing inscription: PRESENTED / TO / CYRUS W. FIELD / BY A FEW OF HIS FRIENDS / NEW YORK. / FOR HIS / PERSEVERANCE. / IN SUPERINTENDING / THE LAYING OF THE / ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH / CABLE / AUG. 5th 1858.

**Copper:** Rare. 50 said to have been struck. An example was sold for 40¢ as Lot 410 in the Bushnell Collection sale (Chapman brothers, 1882). A copper impression appeared as Lot 108 in Augustus B. Sage's sale of the Henry Bogert Collection, February-March 1859, and was described as follows: "Cyrus W. Field. By Lovett. Same as silver one. But 50 struck. Very Fine. Size 14." The medal realized $1.75. A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1] Two are in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society (two different die states; described below). In John W. Haseltine's *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection...*, January 15-17, 1879, Lot 691 was described: "Cyrus W. Field; by Lovett; 'Aug. 5th. 1858;' bronze; reverse die cracked. 51 [millimeters]."

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with perfect die. Reverse beginning to show breaks. Light rim breaks at the 3:30, 4, 5, and 7 o'clock positions. (ANS Collection)

Die State II: Reverse from shattered die heavier with breaks to rim at the 2, 3:30, 4, 5, and 7 o'clock positions; breaks through left side of ATLANTIC (to the bottom of I in NIL) and AUG.; massive multiple breaks inside of and on wreath at right from about the 2 o'clock to 5 o'clock position; other breaks within wreath (Spangenberger Collection).

Die State III: As preceding, but breaks more advanced including a large break at the 6 o'clock position (ANS Collection). The description of a bronzed copper example in the December 14, 1991, Gold Medal Sale, Presidential Coin and Antique Co., included this note: "This must have been one of the last bronze medals struck as the reverse evidences many heavy die breaks." The American Numismatic Society specimen illustrated above is of this die state.

**White metal:** Unknown number actually struck, although the *New-York Daily Tribune,* August 28, 1858, stated that 50 in copper was to be the number. An example appeared as Lot 619 in Haseltine's sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, July 1882. An example was sold for 10¢ as Lot 411 in the Bushnell Collection sale (Chapman brothers, 1882). A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[2]

**Silver:** Apparently, only three silver impressions were made. The February-March 1859 Henry Bogert Collection sale catalogue, by Sage, offered this: "Lot 112. Field, C.W., by Lovett; pub. by A.B. Sage. Medal presented by a few of his friends for his perseverance in superintending the laying of the Atlantic Cable; in silver. Very rare, but three impressions in silver being struck. Size 14."[3] A similar silver medal (the same one?) in Sage's sale of the Henry Whitmore Collection, November 2-3, 1859, was described as follows: "Lot 81. Field, Cyrus W. By Lovett. Rev. *Nil Desperandum, Perseverantia Vincit.* Presented to Cyrus W. Field by a few of his friends in New-York, for his perseverance in superintending the laying of the Atlantic Cable, Aug. 5th, 1858. *Very fine and extremely rare, but three having been struck, and the die being broken.* With case. *Size* 14." This piece is said to have sold for $4. A silver example was sold for $1.70 as Lot 409 in the Bushnell Collection sale (Chapman brothers, 1882).

**Gold:** Specimen presented to Cyrus W. Field on September 1, 1858. Not traced today.

The following related citations may also be of interest:

## LATER AVAILABILITY

A fixed price list issued in 1878 by John W. Haseltine, Philadelphia, lists these strikings in copper and tin (white metal), a reflection that there are two die varieties in each metal format, but not mentioning Sage. This seems to reflect that Haseltine routinely stocked such pieces and that there was a supply, of whatever quantity, on the market:

> Cyrus W. Field medals (Lovett's) two varieties, bronze, size 34,[4] post paid, each $1.25.
>
> Cyrus W. Field medals (Lovett's) two varieties, tin, size 34, post paid, each $1.00.

---

[1] Malcolm Storer, M.D. *Numismatics of Massachusetts.* Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1923, p. 47, catalogue no. 1925 (same number assigned to copper and white metal strikings).

[2] Storer, catalogue no. 1925.

[3] On the Mionnet scale (see Appendix VIII); equivalent to 33 on the American Scale (33 1/16ths of an inch) or 52 mm. This piece may have been recycled into the Whitmore sale catalogue; see Whitmore commentary; however, the sale list showed it went to Sage for $5.00.

[4] In sixteenths of an inch on the American Scale; equal to size 14 on the Mionnet Scale (see Appendix VIII).

Haseltine's auction catalogue of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, July 1882, included these:

> Lot 619: Cyrus W. Field. By G.H. Lovett. Issued by Sage. Reverse, with date. W. metal proof. [Size] 32.
>
> Lot 620: The same as preceding, without date. W. metal proof.

## A HUMOROUS LOVETT MEDAL

In a more popular vein than the limited-distribution medal published by Sage, was George H. Lovett's 31 mm. token bearing the reverse inscription: ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH / SUCCESSFULLY / LAID / 5th OF / AUGUST, / 1858. The obverse depicted a portly John Bull (representing England) on the left, the Atlantic Ocean and steamer in the foreground, lightning bolts above, and Brother Jonathan[1] on the right. At the left is the inscription: HOW ARE YOU JONATHAN, and at the right is PURTY WELL OLD FELLER / HEOW'S YERSELF. This token was made in different metals, with white metal being the most popular. These caught the fancy of numismatists, and listings for specimens appeared in many later catalogues. The number struck is not known, but it is presumed that hundreds went into numismatic circles and additional pieces were sold to the general public.[2]

The reverse die was muled with other obverses including a die by William H. Bridgens with the inscription BOY AND DOG.

**This humorous medal depicts John Bull and Brother Jonathan, representing England and America, congratulating each other on the success of the Atlantic cable (see page 144 for a muling with this obverse). These became popular with the public and numismatists alike, and it is believed that many hundreds were struck.**

[1] Brother Jonathan was a popular term for America as part of the "family" of lands in the British empire, an early-day counterpart of Uncle Sam. A clever Yankee in a play (America's first stage comedy), *The Contrast,* by Royall Tyler, produced in 1787, was named Brother Jonathan. In 1842 the *Brother Jonathan,* published in New York, became America's first illustrated weekly paper. The term was widely used in other contexts. In the annals of American sea adventures and tragedies, the loss of the *S.S. Brother Jonathan* in the Pacific Ocean off Crescent City, CA, on July 30, 1865, is an important chapter; carried down with her were many gold coins and bars; over 200 lives were lost.

[2] An example in copper was accessioned by the American Numismatic Society, the gift of Sage, per a file dated August 1, 1858, or several days before the event took place. Quite possibly the file date of August 1, 1858, represents accessions for the entire month of August and was backdated.

# CHAPTER 9

# *Sage's Odds and Ends Tokens*

## *(Autumn 1858)*

### AUTUMN IN NEW YORK CITY

The time is November 1858, and the scene is New York City:

Augustus B. Sage, who by this time had neither conducted his first auction sale nor issued his first price list, is contemplating his future. The American Numismatic Society, now nine months old, seems to be a success, and he enjoys the part he has played in it. During the year he has made several gifts of coins and medals to the Society's cabinet, including some of the medal varieties he had helped bring to market the preceding summer.

Sage may have reflected upon an early donation, most probably his first, made in March 1858, the founding month of the Society, when he presented nearly 50 miscellaneous items ranging from half cents of 1825, 1828, 1829, 1832, 1835, 1853, and 1856, to a selection of Hard Times tokens, to a small assortment of world coins.[1] The gift included pieces that must have been of interest to Sage and which he felt would be welcomed by Society members.

On May 25 via another gift from Sage the Society received 15 European coins, followed by a few additional items in July and August, the last two gifts consisting of tokens and the aforementioned medals.

Along the way the young numismatist had made the acquaintance of many people, including nationally-known historian Benson J. Lossing. In connection with his part in distributing the Cyrus W. Field medal and by observation of other tokens and medals coming into the marketplace, Sage had become familiar with issues featuring current news topics. Within recent years such things and events as the Crystal Palace (1853), trained dogs, the City Hall building of New York City, and political campaigns had been memorialized by medals and tokens, and collectors desired to acquire them. Such items were bought, sold, and collected by Sage.

Moreover, during the 1830s and early 1840s many different New York City businesses had been advertised via copper tokens, some of which depicted buildings such as the Centre Market (with its colonnaded front in the Greek Revival style), the old Merchants' Exchange (a tall Victorian structure), and the new Merchants' Exchange (modeled after the Parthenon). Surviving specimens of these tokens were also part of Sage's stock in trade. It is likely that now and then some such pieces were still seen in pocket change, although most large-size tokens as well as the old copper cents disappeared within a year of the advent of the small copper-nickel Flying Eagle cent, which had made its debut on May 25, 1857.

With this background in mind, it is but a short leap in faith to envision the following scenario:

### THE NOVEMBER 1858 ISSUE OF *HARPER'S*

In November 1858 Augustus B. Sage was reading the current issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. The lead article was written by none other than his acquaintance, historian Benson J. Lossing. Titled "Ethan Allen," it described the life of that Vermont patriot, his participation in the American Revolution, and his imprisonment by the British during that conflict. After being shuttled from one prison to another, including in England and Nova Scotia, Allen was taken to New York City in October 1776, which had been occupied by British forces accompanied by Hessian mercenaries[2] after General Washington and his troops had been forced to flee in August. As a soldier of high rank, Ethan Allen, while under terms of restriction, was paroled and could travel around the city on a limited basis.

[1] Information from Dr. John Kleeberg, curator, American Numismatic Society, May 17, 1997. In the present records of the A.N.S. the 1825 half cent is listed as the very first item acquired for its collection.

[2] Germans from the state of Hesse. The Hessian soldiers spoke German and generally socialized among themselves.

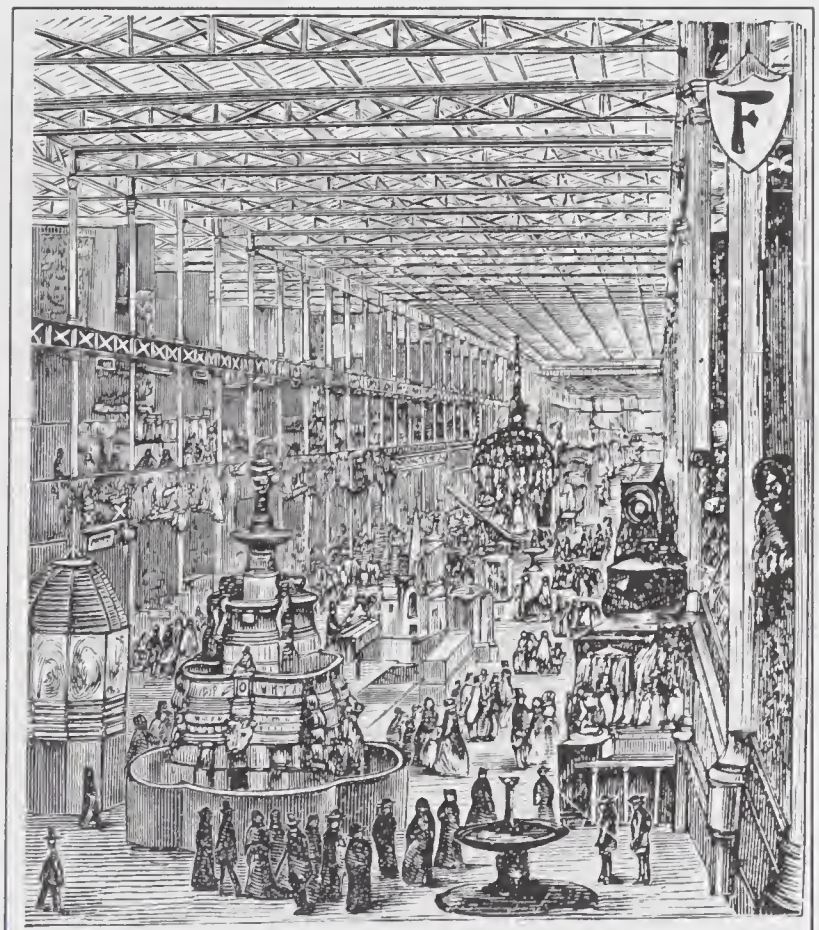
Lossing's text in *Harper's* related many experiences and anecdotes about Allen, among which this item was included, which, it would develop, would be very important to reader Sage:

> The tender heart of Colonel Allen was sorely afflicted by the scenes of suffering which he beheld among the American prisoners in New York. The sugar-houses, the jail, and old hulks in the harbor were used as prisons for the captives taken in the recent battles near Brooklyn and Fort Washington.
>
> Privation, sickness, and death held high carnival there; and the picture of their sufferings, drawn by the unpolished pen of Colonel Allen, chills the blood and makes the involuntary curse upon the inflictors rise to the lips and plead for utterance.

Toward the back of the same November 1858 issue of *Harper's,* in the "Monthly Record of Current Events" column, Sage read of two occurrences of which he was already familiar from their extensive coverage in the New York City dailies.

The first item to catch Sage's eye:

> "The Crystal Palace" in New York, built in 1853 for the "Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations," was burned on the afternoon of October 5. The Exhibition, it will be remembered, proved a pecuniary failure, the stockholders losing their entire investment. The Fair of the American Institute had just been opened in the Palace, which was filled with objects for exhibition, some of which were of considerable value. Many works of art, sent to the Exhibition of 1853, still remained in the Palace. The principal of these were Thorwaldsen's colossal group of "Christ and the Apostles," and Kiss's "Amazon and Tiger." These were consumed with the building.
>
> The fire is supposed to have been the work of an incendiary, and a reward of $3,000 has been offered for his apprehension. The entire loss is estimated at fully half a million of dollars, besides the value of the building, which cost $635,000, and might probably have been sold for a quarter of that sum.



**Interior view of a section of the Crystal Palace in summer 1853, when many exhibits were mounted. Over a dozen varieties of tokens and medals relating to the Crystal Palace were issued by various entities 1853-1858, but they have never been studied as a group. The Crystal Palace remained a prime attraction in New York City for the next five years, although it was unprofitable to its owners. At one time the formidable talents of P.T. Barnum were enlisted to help publicize it. (*Leslie's History of the Greater New York*)**

The second item noticed and committed to memory by Sage:

> Mr. Paul Morphy, the American chess-player, is attracting much attention. Having vanquished all competitors in America, he went to Europe for the purpose of challenging Mr. Staunton, the first English player. He has not yet met this antagonist, but a match for £500 has been arranged.
>
> In the meanwhile he has beaten with ease most of the foremost English players. In a match for £100 between him and Mr. Löwenthal, Morphy won nine games, Löwenthal three, and three were drawn. He subsequently offered to play eight games simultaneously, without seeing the boards, against the eight victors in the Birmingham Chess Tournament. Of these games he won six, lost one, one being drawn.
>
> Proceeding to Paris, he met Mr. Harrwitz, esteemed as the best player in Europe, beat him in a short match, and then repeated his Birmingham exploit of playing eight games simultaneously without seeing the board; of these he won six, two being drawn.

The next month in the December 1858 issue, *Harper's* brought readers, including Sage, up to date:

> Mr. Staunton, the champion chess-player of England, has declined to fulfill his promise to play a match with Mr. Morphy, on the ground that his literary engagements will not leave him time for the amount of practice necessary to regain his old strength....

In October, with his mind filled with thoughts of Revolutionary patriots suffering in British prisons, the recent burning of the Crystal Palace, and the chessboard conquests of Morphy in Europe, Sage decided to enter the token publishing business in a serious way. Surely, these events that interested him would, if memorialized on medals, attract a circle of buyers. These would be *his* tokens, his creations.

Perhaps his decision was reinforced in December, when in a review in *Historical Magazine* of Charles I. Bushnell's recent book, *An Arrangement of Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens, also, Election Medals, Medalets, Etc. Current in the United States of America for the Last Sixty Years,* a writer commented on the usefulness of recording events on tokens:

> The value of a record of this kind is greater than at first sight appears. It is not only the story of popular movements in politics, of a literal currency of ideas, of aid to the historian, and a means of itself preserving that history for the

**Above: Chess champion Paul Morphy, seated in a chair to the left, and with his eyes closed, simultaneously challenges eight chess experts in an exhibition match held at Café de la Régence, Paris, in the summer of 1858. (*Harper's Weekly,* November 13, 1858; Sage was also noticed in a related account, not illustrated, in the related publication, *Harper's Monthly*)**

**Right: Description of the match between Morphy and Harrwitz in Paris, as printed in *Harper's Weekly,* October 9, 1858. (*Harper's Weekly,* October 9, 1858)**

CHESS CHRONICLE.

BY C. H. STANLEY.

GRAND MATCH IN PARIS.

MORPHY *v.* HARRWITZ. — A private communication from Paris enables us to lay before our readers the latest state of the score in this highly exciting contest, and to congratulate the amateurs of America upon the satisfactory position in which their champion and representative therein stands. We have the greater pleasure in so doing for the reason that no man living can tell whether, or no, these two gentlemen are not now engaged in fighting *for the Chess championship of the whole world!* The first two games in the match were won by Harrwitz; the last three were scored by Paul Morphy, who has now *four more to win.*

For the following beautiful specimen of Chess play we are indebted to our friend, Mr. D. Fiske, co-editor, with Paul Morphy, of the New York *Chess Monthly;* wherein, with an occasional exception in our own favor, these games will be *exclusively* published.

GAME II.

Between Messrs. Harrwitz and Paul Morphy; being the fourth game occurring in the match now in course of play in Paris.

| | BLACK, *Morphy.* | WHITE, *Harrwitz.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | P to K 4 | P to K 4 |
| 2. | K Kt to B 3 | P to Q 3 |
| 3. | P to Q 4 | P × P |
| 4. | Q × P | Kt to Q B 3 |
| 5. | B to Q Kt 5 | B to Q 2 |
| 6. | B × Kt | B × B |
| 7. | B to K Kt 5 | P to K B 3 |
| 8. | B to K R 4 | Kt to K R 3 |
| 9. | Kt to Q B 3 | Q to Q 2 |
| 10. | Castles (K R) | B to K 2 |
| 11. | Q R to Q | Castles (K R) |
| 12. | Q to B 4 (check) | R to B 2 |
| 13. | Kt to Q 4 | Kt to K Kt 5 |
| 14. | P to K R 3 | Kt to K 4 |
| 15. | Q to K 2 | P to K Kt 4 (*a*) |
| 16. | B to Kt 3 | R to Kt 2 |
| 17. | Kt to K B 5 | R to Kt 3 |
| 18. | P to K B 4 (*b*) | P × P |
| 19. | R × P | K to R |
| 20. | R to R 4 | B to K B |
| 21. | B × Kt | B P × B |
| 22. | R to K B | Q to K 3 |
| 23. | Kt to Kt 5 | Q to K Kt |
| 24. | R to B 2 | P to Q R 3 |
| 25. | Kt × B P | R to Q B |
| 26. | Kt to Q 5 | B × Kt |
| 27. | P × B | R to Q B 2 |
| 28. | P to B 4 | B to K 2 |
| 29. | R to R 5 | Q to K |
| 30. | P to Q B 5 (*c*) | Q R × P |
| 31. | R × P (check) | K × R |
| 32. | Q to R 5 (check) | K to Kt |
| 33. | Kt × B (check) | K to Kt 2 |
| 34. | Kt to B 5 (check) | K to Kt |
| 35. | Kt × Q B P | |

White resigns.

The time occupied by this game was three hours—rather a low average, considering the importance of the occasion.

NOTES.

(*a*) A very hazardous move, as it exposes the position of his King considerably, without, as it appears to us, affording him an attack of any thing like a commensurate value.

(*b*) The attack, if such there were, has already changed hands, and Black's defense is, of necessity, really servile.

(*c*) This move, and those ensuing, are *Paul Morphy* all over. It is likewise *all over* with Harrwitz. It is rare, indeed, that, against such a player as Mr H., opportunity is afforded for the display of such brilliancy as is exhibited in the closing moves of this game.

future in the cabinets of collectors; but it is also an important stimulus to the arts of design in the pursuits of the designer, medallist, die-sinker and others.

In this light, the notices of tradesmen's tokens by Mr. Bushnell may serve a liberal end by encouraging this species of production. It is a profitable means of advertisement to the merchant who has an opportunity to exhibit his taste and invention; and our merchants are by no means insensible to elegance of design which every year enters more and more into the pursuits of trade, in the decoration of packages, labels, etc....

In a similar field the token of copper, brass, or bronze might be made highly attractive for its artistical value, and profitable in the same ratio to the direct objects of the merchant.

It would seem that to 17-year-old Augustus B. Sage, no further evidence was needed that historians, collectors, and others would be receptive to buying interesting tokens with attractive motifs.

The stage was set. Sage visited his acquaintance, diesinker George H. Lovett, discussed the venture, and suggested three topics to be made on copper tokens, each with a distinctive reverse explaining the obverse design and identifying Sage as the issuer.

## A DIVERSE TRIO OF SUBJECTS

In due course, the new tokens were publicized to potential buyers. Sage's Catalogue No. 1, dated February

1859, was probably prepared in the waning days of 1858. An advertisement on the first right inside page made this offer:

**Aug. B. Sage's Odds and Ends.**

This series combines general subjects. Four have thus far been issued, Crystal Palace, Old Sugar House, two dies; and Paul Morphy, they are also published at 25 cents each.

Each concept had sprung from the pages of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and each was now available in tangible metallic form, collectible tokens that would fit nicely in any numismatic or curiosity cabinet. Now, all that was needed was a deluge of envelopes containing orders from eager customers.

Sage's catalogue for the February-March 1859 Bogert Collection sale advertised the Odds and Ends tokens on the inside back cover, but no new subjects were announced. Similarly, Sage's June 1859 fixed price catalogue bore this notice on the inside back cover:

Odds and Ends.

No. 1. Crystal Palace. 2. Old Sugar House. 3. Paul Morphy.

25 Cents each.

The above series will be continued from time to time. Struck in good copper, and sold at the low price of 25 Cents each.

Many months had passed without any new Odds and Ends tokens being issued. As time went on, no other pieces were advertised. Was there something wrong?

The Odds and Ends series had, indeed, come to an odd end. By this time only three subjects had been produced, with one—the Old Sugar House—having two obverse die varieties.

## A SET OF FOUR TOKENS

Today, numismatists recognize that a complete set of original Sage's Odds and Ends tokens consists of four different pieces, each struck in copper, with plain edge, and measuring 30.8 mm. in diameter. In addition, one token seems to have been made in silver, to the extent of at least one copy, perhaps for presentation.

The three subjects seem to have been struck in the order as numbered. The first, depicting the Crystal Palace, was made with treatments of the obverse and reverse rim not seen on any later issues. Moreover, the dies of the Crystal Palace token were hastily finished and show more striae than on any other token in this or any other series. Apparently, Odds and Ends No. 1 tokens were struck, contemplated by Sage and Lovett, and the decision was made to change the rim to a flat format with beading slightly in from the edge. This beaded treatment, with the beads sometimes tightly spaced and connected and at other times barely touching, served to frame the motifs.[1] It also served to weaken the part of the die outside of the beads, between the beads and the outer rim. On certain issues, particularly in later of Sage's series, the outer rim broke away from some dies, sometimes with a small piece falling away at first, followed by more extensive breaks later. This happenstance proved beneficial, as by studying die progressions today, some estimates can be made as to how the pieces were struck and in what order. Similarly, small scratches, evidences of die rust, and alterations to dies are of assistance in this regard.

A modern numismatic commentary concerning each token in the Sage's Odds and Ends series follows:

### SAGE'S ODDS AND ENDS

**No. 1.**

**Crystal Palace, New York**

**History:** The Crystal Palace was built in New York City for the 1853 Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, inspired by the wildly successful 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition in London which had created international attention and garnered much new business for manufacturers and others who had set up displays.[2]

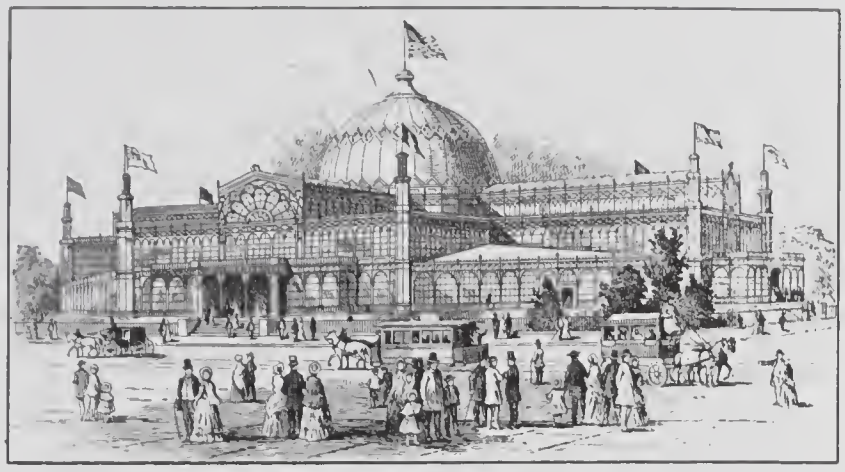
The large steel and glass structure, with an estimated 206,000 square feet of glass panels, was designed by George J.B. Carstensen and Charles Gildemeister and built with private funds, there being no official government or city sponsorship, although the land was leased from the city for a period of five years, and various help was provided by the state and the federal government.

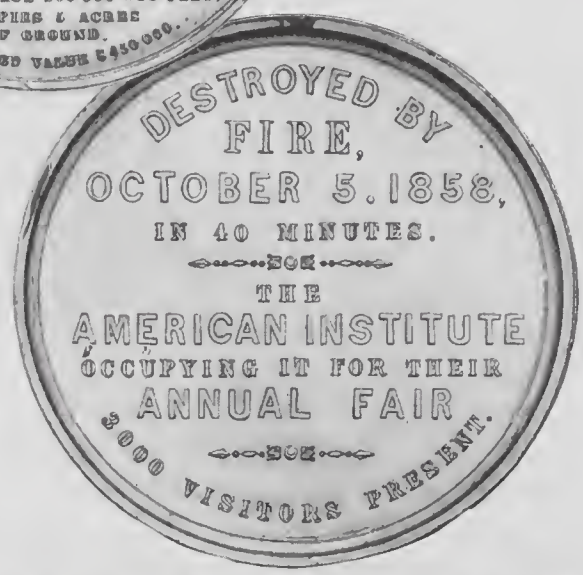
Measuring about 365 feet square (with a height of 149 feet at the dome) the main building, resembling a huge greenhouse, was erected on the south side of 42nd Street in New York City, between 5th Avenue and 6th Avenue on what later became known as Bryant Park. Exhibit space amounted to 173,000 square feet comprised of 111,000 on the main floor and 62,000 in galleries. Nearby, Warren Latting constructed the wood and steel Latting Observatory, on 6th Avenue between 42nd and 43rd streets, which jutted 350 feet into the air and permitted visitors to look down upon the Crystal Palace and have a bird's-eye view of the surrounding city. The Latting Observatory burned in 1856.

Opening day was July 14, 1853, an event showcased in the "Crystal Palace Supplement" to Barnum's *Illustrated News*, July

[1] The general appearance is not unlike the 1793 Liberty Cap copper cent, which has a similar flat border and interior circle of beads, although distinctly separated on the cent. Somewhat similar is the border Joseph Wright's 1792 pattern quarter dollar.

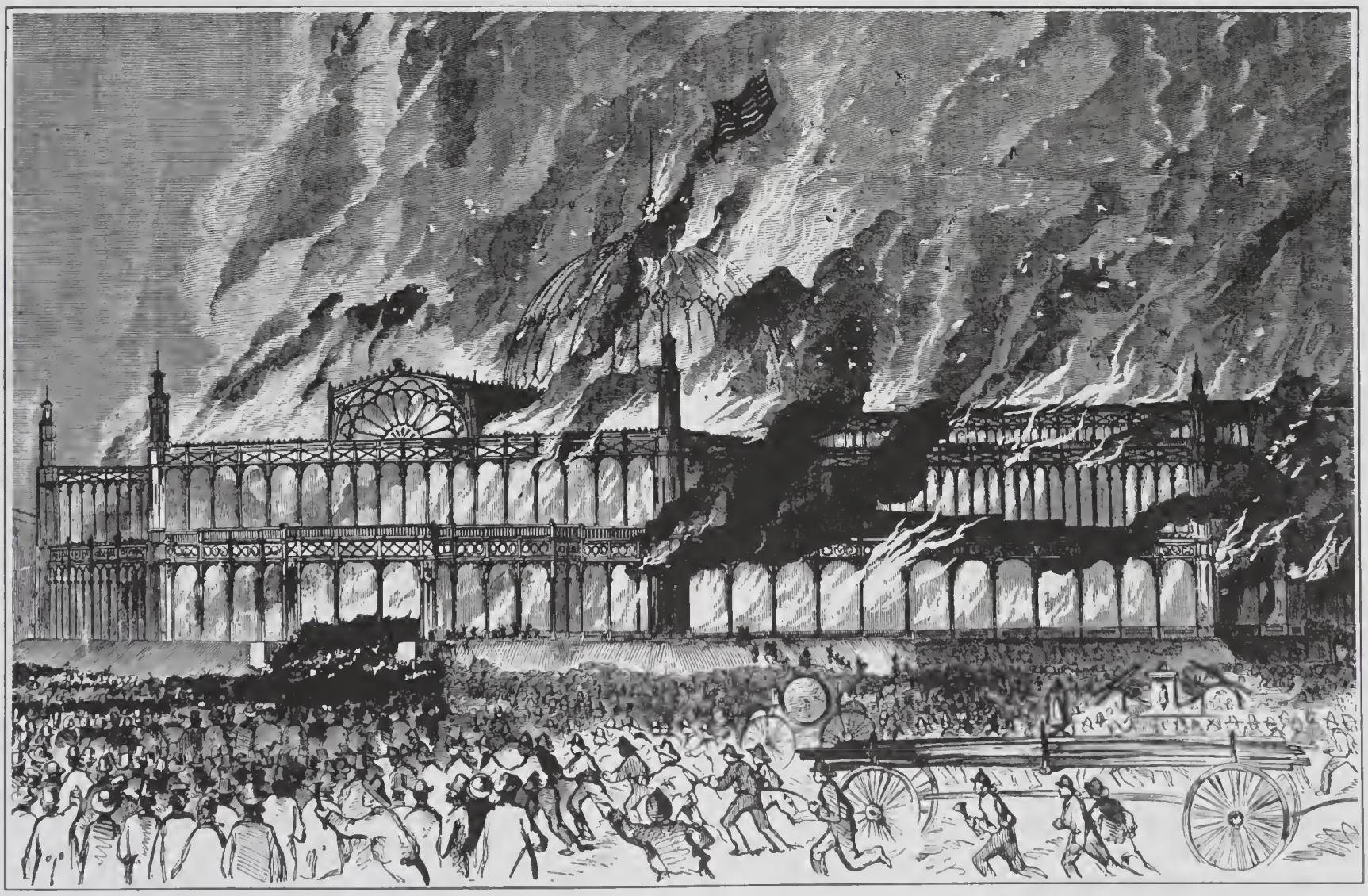
[2] Certain information is adapted from *The Illustrated News*, published by P.T. Barnum in 1853, various issues, especially July 23, 1853. In some instances these numbers are slightly different from those published elsewhere.






Above: View of the Crystal Palace, New York City, in 1853. The architects were J.S. Carstensen and Charles Gildemeister. (*Columbia Historical Portrait of New York*)

Right: The burning of the Crystal Palace as depicted on a medal by Anthony C. Paquet, who at the time was an assistant engraver at the Philadelphia Mint, but who also engaged in private commissions. Not related to Sage's business, this medal was one of several souvenirs produced after the destruction of the building.



The Crystal Palace in flames, October 5, 1858. Depending upon which account you read, the structure was reduced to molten glass and twisted steel in a matter of 15 minutes, or 30 minutes, or, as per the inscription on the medal shown above from dies cut by Anthony C. Paquet, 40 minutes. (*Harper's Weekly,* October 16, 1858, page 660)

23 and the following week's edition, July 30. Featured guest was President Franklin Pierce, who arrived at two in the afternoon in a rainstorm, while a band played *Hail Columbia* and *Yankee Doodle*. Later, the Crystal Palace officials fêted the chief executive at a banquet at the Metropolitan Hotel.

Season's passes were sold for $10 each, mainly to New York City residents who anticipated frequent visits. Throughout the late summer and early autumn various special events were held. On September 10, 1853, the entire Crystal Palace was illuminated at night for the first time, with the burning of about 4,000 gas jets. The immense building and its contents attracted throngs of visitors, but not enough to make it a commercial success. Exhibitors from the United States and two dozen countries set up about 4,800 cases and displays.

On view in 1853, and possibly at later times, was a display of coins and medals known as the Crystal Palace Collection. On Friday, October 14, 1856, these were. described on a "large sheet" and offered at auction by Bangs & Bro., New York City.[1]

The name of the structure was picked up by various entrepreneurs not associated with the attraction, who offered Crystal Palace Perfume, Crystal Palace carpeting, and operated such businesses as the Crystal Hall of Pleasure (said to have been a risqué exhibition), the Crystal Stables, and the Crystal Fruit Stand.

Throughout the summer, crowds thronged the exhibits, but in numbers smaller than anticipated. The Crystal Palace was then closed as cold weather approached, and most exhibits were dismounted, although enough remained that tickets were sold to view the remaining statues, equipment, and other things left behind. In addition, in later years the facilities were used for occasional trade shows and other purposes. Early in 1854, indefatigable showman P.T. Barnum was named as its president, but even this wizard of showmanship could not make the Crystal Palace Company turn a profit.

**Remains of the Crystal Palace. (*Harper's Weekly*, October 16, 1858)**

The Crystal Palace was host on September 1, 1858, to Cyrus W. Field and others associated with the laying of the Atlantic cable, on which occasion a gold impression of the Lovett-Sage medal was presented to him (see Chapter 8).

On September 16, 1858, the American Institute opened its annual exhibition and fair there to display various manufactured products and items of art and science, with each participant to receive a medal and a certificate useful for later advertising.[2]

On October 5, while the American Institute show was still in progress, an incendiary set fire to the structure, and in a little over 15 minutes the Crystal Palace was but a heap of ruins.[3] Seeking to snatch a small victory from the jaws of defeat, Mrs. Richardson, whose exhibit had been burned out, set up at the provisional location of the American Institute fair office, now removed to the Palace Garden,[4] and offered "a number of curiosities very valuable for a cabinet, produced by the melting of the building.... They consist of vitrified masses of glass, metals, &c., showing the intense heat which prevailed in the building at the time of the destruction."

In November 1858, the site of the Crystal Palace drew crowds to watch Professor Lowe prepare his airship (gas-filled balloon), *City of New York*. Lowe's ambitions were chronicled in the popular press and also furnished the subject for a medal.

In the same year that the Crystal Palace opened, 1853, another attraction built in New York City was the Hippodrome at the northwest corner of Broadway and 23rd Street. The structure had brick walls which supported a tent top guyed by poles. The seating capacity is said to have been 10,000. Similar to the story of the Crystal Palace, the Hippodrome was a financial failure. It was demolished in 1856, and the Fifth Avenue Hotel was built on the site (and operated 1856-1909).

**OBVERSE design:** Corner-on, ground-level view of the structure engulfed in flames; large clouds of smoke billowing upward to the left. Inscription CRYSTAL PALACE above, BUILT 1853 / BURNED 1858 below. Signed L. The U is defective and has the left serif broken. The numeral 3 in 1853 is over a previous erroneous 8. Many raised die finish lines, oriented more or less horizontally, are seen at the lower inscription area (and, on early strikings, on the complete surface of all field areas), indicating that the die was made in haste.

Obverse with small "shelf" border, no beads, inside of a raised rim; other tokens in the Odds and Ends series have beaded borders.

**REVERSE design:** Wreath, open at the top, star at apex, enclosing ALL / IS / VANITY. Below the wreath is the inscription, AUG. B. SAGES No. 1 ODDS & ENDS, the "No. 1" being between the wreath stems; period below "o" of No is a round dot placed too high and touching the "o." The word SAGES lacks punctuation. On this and No. 2 an ampersand (&) is used in the inscription; on No. 3 the word "AND" is employed.

Reverse with border of connected beads inside of a *raised rim*,

[1] Cited by W. Elliot Woodward in the sale of his collection of catalogues, October 13-18, 1884, Lot 3317: "Coins and Medals, Friday, Oct. 14, 1856, by Bangs & Co., 13 Park Row, large sheet. The coins are known as the Crystal Palace Collection. Sheet of prices."

[2] A trade organization chartered by the State Legislature of New York on May 2, 1829, the American Institute held fairs and exhibitions and invited various merchants and manufacturers to display their wares. Medals were awarded in profusion and were consequently used in advertising by the recipients and were widely reproduced including on a Hard Times token die (cut by Edward Hulseman). The annual fairs of the Institute were held at Niblo's Garden (on the northeast corner of Broadway and Prince Street) in the 1840s, later at Castle Garden (an immense circular structure, earlier used as a fortress, built offshore and connected with a causeway to lower Manhattan, near where the World Trade Center is today; at Castle Garden, Lafayette was welcomed in 1824 and Jenny Lind in 1850) until 1857, when the venue was changed to the Crystal Palace. In 1858, offices of the Institute were at 351 Broadway (in 1859 the offices were relocated to the Cooper Union building).

[3] *Harper's Weekly*, October 16, 1858, carried coverage and printed a full-page illustration of the conflagration.

[4] West 14th Street near 6th Avenue; this facility furnished the venue for the next American Institute Fair, opened in autumn 1859.

an unusual feature; other tokens in the Odds and Ends series have beaded borders. Many raised finish lines are seen and are especially prominent near the border.

The reverse inscription is of a philosophical nature and is from the Bible, *Ecclesiastes* I:2 repeated at XII:8, King James Version, "Vanity of vanities; saith the Preacher; all is vanity." Its use on the token may have referred to the elegant appearance of the Crystal Palace structure as contrasted with its ephemeral existence and financial disappointment, all this being in general keeping with the theme of *Ecclesiastes*. Here we see (pardon the expression) Sage the sage.

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 10, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier.

CRYSTAL PALACE

RELICS!

Mrs. RICHARDSON, of New York, (who was one of the unfortunate persons burnt out by the fire that destroyed the Crystal Palace,) by permission of the MAYOR OF NEW YORK, and of JOHN H. WHITE, Esq., Crystal Palace Receiver, obtained a number of curiosities very valuable for a cabinet, produced by the melting of the Building, and articles on exhibition, which she now offers to visitors at the FAIR AT PALACE GARDEN, as interesting souvenirs of all that remains of the finest building ever erected in America—a building made entirely of glass and iron, except the floors—and supposed to be almost wholly free from danger of fire; yet, it was utterly destroyed on the 5th of October, 1858, in fifteen minutes' time. The evidence of the immense heat will be seen in the articles now offered for sale, as well worthy the attention of the curious.

An interesting memorial of the great Crystal Palace Exhibition, is found in Mrs. RICHARDSON'S collection of Relics, which is on exhibition in the 2d floor. They consist of vitrified masses of glass, metals, &c., showing the intense heat which prevailed in the building at the time of its destruction.—THE SUN, Oct. 11.

Wynkoop, Hallenbeck & Thomas, Printers, 113 Fulton Street, N. Y.

*Museum of the City of New York*

**Broadside issued after the fire. A Mrs. Richardson, who had been burned out, was offering relics of the Crystal Palace at another address, on the third floor of the Palace Garden. (*Columbia Historical Portrait of New York*)**

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks). Sometimes carelessly struck with weak rims. On the reverse, some letters in the inscription, AUG. B. SAGES No. 1 ODDS & ENDS, are partially filled, with AUG. B. being nearly completely filled on late strikings.

Commentary: Of the three subjects (and four varieties) known in the Odds and Ends series, the Crystal Palace token seems to be the most available, although it is hardly common.

## SAGE'S ODDS AND ENDS

### No. 2 [2a.]
### Old Sugar House, Liberty Street, N.Y.
### (first obverse die)

**History:** This token memorializes one of the infamous British prisons used in New York City during the Revolutionary War. The structure depicted on the token, known as Livingston's Sugar House during the eighteenth century, was situated at 34 and 36[1] Liberty Street in lower New York City. During the British occupation of New York City in the Revolutionary War it was used to confine captured patriots.

Historian Washington Irving commented:[2]

> "The horrors of the Sugar House converted into a prison are traditional in New York; and the brutal tyranny of Cunningham, the provost marshal, over men of worth confined in the common jail, for the sin of patriotism, has been handed down from generation to generation."

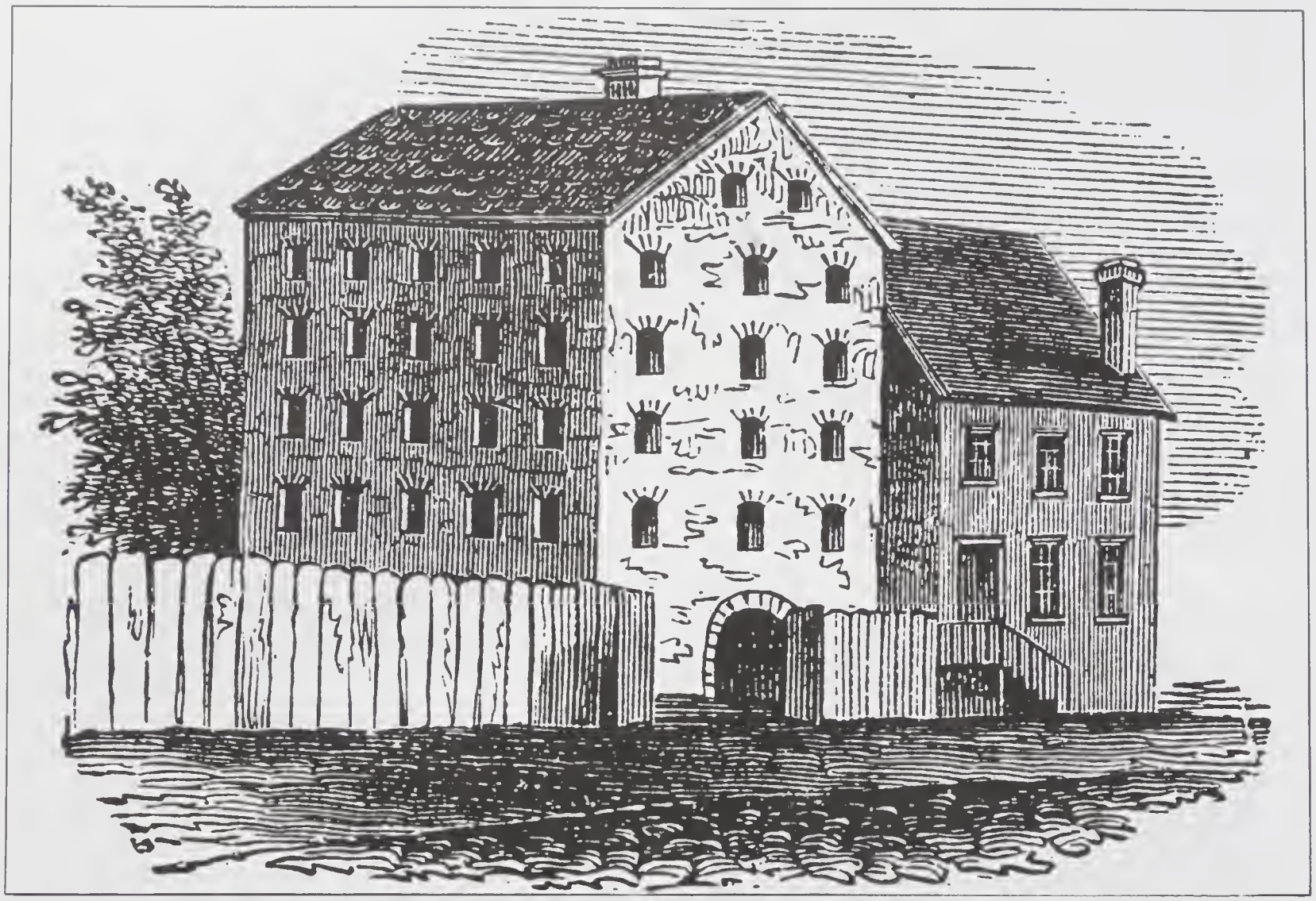
Elsewhere it was related that Cunningham, also spelled Conyngham, enjoyed walking among the helpless prisoners and lashing them with a whip and capriciously subjecting them to cruel punishments. Of Cunningham, more will be related in Chapter 10.

The following is from *Domestic History of the American Revolution*, by Mrs. E.F. Ellet, 1850, pages 106-108:

> "Some notice of the British prisons in New York will be here appropriate; the more so, as no account of them is given in any general history.
>
> "At the battle of Long Island twelve hundred Americans fell into the hands of the enemy. These prisoners were distributed into the churches of Brooklyn, Flatbush, Flatlands, and New Utrecht, while some were put on board the British shipping in Gravesend Bay. Here the sick and wounded suffered much from neglect of cleanliness, breathing an infected air, and want of medical attendance. Ten days after the battle, Dr. Richard Bailey, of New York, a

[1] One account gives the address as 28 to 36 Liberty Street.

[2] *Life of George Washington*, Vol. III, 1856, p. 23, as part of a general account, "Treatment of American Prisoners."



**Sugar House on Liberty Street, a Revolutionary War prison depicted on Sage's Odds and Ends token No. 2. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 660) Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book* must have been a great inspiration to Sage, for he used it as the source for many images on his tokens.**

loyalist, was appointed to the charge of them. He was assisted by Dr. Silas Holmes, of Norwich, a prisoner. Dr. Bailey procured a sack-bed, sheet and blanket for each patient, put them into the adjacent barns, and permitted them to visit the neighboring houses to buy milk and other refreshments. When the British occupied New York, the prisoners were removed thither, and placed in the city prisons. The tide of war was now turned in favor of the royalists. The action at White Plains, and the capture of Fort Washington, combined with the defeat at Brooklyn, placed in their power upwards of four thousand men. If to these we add the private citizens who were arrested for political considerations in the vicinity of New York and on Long Island, we may safely conclude that the British commander had at least five thousand souls to provide for.

"The sudden influx of so many prisoners, the recent capture of the city, and the unforeseen conflagration of a fourth part of it, threw the commandant's affairs into such confusion, that the captives must of necessity have suffered much from want of food and other comforts. To these privations were superadded the wanton cruelty of Capt. Cunningham, the Provost-marshal, and his deputies, and the criminal negligence of Sir William Howe. The ordinary places of confinement were totally inadequate to contain so vast a number of prisoners. Accordingly the Sugar House, the North and Middle Dutch Churches, the Brick Church, King's (now Columbia) College, the New Bridewell, the Old City Hall, and the New Jail, were appropriated to their use.

"Till within a few years the Sugar House stood in Liberty street, south of the Middle Dutch Church; a dark, stone building, with small, deep, port-hole looking windows, rising tier above tier, exhibiting a dungeon-like aspect. It was five stories high, and each story was divided into two dreary apartments. On the stones and bricks in the walls were to be seen initials and dates, as if done with a prisoner's pen-knife or nail. There was a strong, jail-like door opening on Liberty street, and another on the south-east, descending into a dismal cellar, also used as a prison. There was a walk nearly broad enough for a cart to travel around it, where, night and day, two British or Hessian guards walked their weary rounds. The yard was surrounded by a close board fence, nine feet high. 'In the suffocating heat of summer,' says Dunlap, 'I saw every narrow aperture of those stone walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air.' While the jail-fever was raging, in the summer of 1777, the prisoners were let out, in companies of twenty, for half an hour at a time, to breathe fresh air; and inside they were so crowded, that they divided their numbers into squads of six each. Number one stood for 10 minutes as close to the window as they could crowd, and then number two took their places; and so on. Seats there were none; and their beds were but straw infested with vermin. For many weeks the dead-cart

visited the prison every morning, into which eight to twelve corpses were flung and piled up, like sticks of wood, and thrown into ditches in the outskirts of the city."

In 1852, Benson J. Lossing told of British prisons in New York City including the sugar houses. The text is somewhat similar to that of Mrs. Ellet:[1]

"Van Cortlandt's Sugar-house, which stood at the northwest corner of Trinity church-yard, corner of Thames and Lumber Streets; Rhinelander's on the corner of William and Duane Streets, now (1852) Lightbody's Printing-ink Manufactory; and the more eminently historical one on Liberty Street (numbers 34 and 36), a few feet eastward of the Middle Dutch church, now the Post-office, were the most spacious buildings in the city, and answered the purposes of prisons very well. Rhinelander's is the only one remaining, the one on Liberty Street having been demolished in June 1840, and Van Cortlandt's during the summer of 1852....

"Next to the provost prison, the sugar-house in Liberty Street was most noted for the sufferings of captive patriots. It was a dark stone building, five stories in height, with small deep windows like portholes, giving it the appearance of a prison. Each story was divided into two apartments. A large, barred door opened upon Liberty Street, and from another, on the southeast side, a stair-way led to gloomy cellars, which were used as dungeons. Around the whole building was a passage a few feet wide, and there, day and night, British and Hessian sentinels patrolled. The whole was enclosed by a wooden fence nine feet in height. Within this gloomy jail the healthy and the sick, white and black, were indiscriminately thrust; and there, during the summer of 1777, many died from want of exercise, cleanliness, and fresh air. 'In the suffocating heat of summer,' says Dunlap, 'I saw every aperture of those strong walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air.'...

"At length, in July 1777, a jail fever was created, and great numbers died. During its prevalence the prisoners were marched out in companies of twenty, to breathe the fresh air for half an hour, while those within divided themselves into parties of six each, and there alternately enjoyed the privilege of standing 10 minutes at the windows. They had no seats, and their beds of straw were filled with vermin. They might have exchanged this horrid tenement for the comfortable quarters of a British soldier by enlisting in the king's service, but very few would thus yield their principles. They each preferred to be among the dozen bodies which were daily carried out in carts and cast into the ditches and morasses beyond the city limits.

"Sheds, stables, and other outhouses received hundreds of prisoners, who suffered terribly from cold and hunger during the winter succeeding their capture at Fort Washington. Few now live to recite their experience of this horrid sacrifice to the demon of discord, and humanity would gladly drop a tear upon this chapter of the dark record of man's wrongs, and blot it out forever. Escapes, death, exchange of prisoners, and a more humane policy, gradually thinned the ranks of the sufferers in the city prisons, and when peace came, few were left therein to come out and join in the general jubilee. Hundreds had left their brief records upon the walls and beams (the initials of their names), which remained until these prisons were demolished."

An unsigned account in the *Boston Herald,* September 17, 1907, featured an interview with a New York City contractor, who regaled the reporter with many stories of items found in old structures he razed.[2] Included was this account, apparently of the structure known years earlier as Rhinelander's Sugar House, one of the three sugar houses used by the British to incarcerate revolutionists:[3]

"The most interesting of the many finds made in tearing down old houses was unearthed in the old Sugar House, at Rose and Duane streets, New York, built in 1763, and transformed during the Revolution into a military prison.[4] When the baseboards were torn away many old coins were found. They were discovered in little piles and were of different mints—Spanish, Swedish, English—as if each prisoner had put his money away for safekeeping and there had been a feeling that one prisoner should not interfere with another. Many of these prisoners were shot, many others died there, and so there was none to claim their little hoards of money and none to know about them. Year after year they stayed there until a blow of the hammer revealed them."

In the interest of historical objectivity it should be mentioned that British and Hessian soldiers imprisoned by the American patriots were also kept in sordid conditions. The horrors of the Newgate Prison in Simsbury, Connecticut, an old copper mine in which British soldiers were kept 70 feet underground in a dark, wet chamber, could be cited. The Americans had their own prison-ships for their captives including at New London, Connecticut; in Boston; and the "Fleet Prison" at Esopus Landing on the Hudson River. The conditions in the cellar of the Court House at Kingston, New York, were so bad that it was suggested that British prisoners on upper floors be allowed to smoke "in order to disguise the sickening stench from the captives below."[5]

It seems that during the early years of the war in particular, neither the American patriots nor the British forces had the means to confine and care for prisoners properly, and that abuses occurred on both sides. Exchanges of prisoners were effected from

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[1] *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1852 (updated in 1859), Vol. II, pp. 658-661, as part of an account of British prisons. Additional commentary by Lossing concerning British prisons is included in Chapter 10 of the present work.

[2] Citation furnished by David Sundman.

[3] Sometime 1892 or later a 44 mm. medal was made depicting a five-story building on the obverse (seemingly copied from Sage's token), with the inscription THE OLD SUGAR HOUSE ROSE ST. N.Y. / FOUNDED 1763 DEMOLISHED 1892. The reverse of this medal shows a triangular image of a window at the top of the building, manacles with chains, a key, and the inscription, A BRITISH PRISON / DURING / THE REVOLUTION. This medal is illustrated and discussed in detail by Guido Kisch, "War-Prisoner Money and Medals," *The Numismatist,* June 1945, pp. 569-571.

[4] Establishment date and location vary in this account in comparison to the inscription on the token. Establishment dates of various sugar houses seem to be quite mixed in historical citations, with 1763 and 1769 being especially popular in printed accounts.

[5] One of the more impartial accounts of Revolutionary War prisons can be found in "Juggling the Prisoners," Chapter XII, of *George Washington, The Savior of the States, 1777-1781,* by Rupert Hughes, 1930 (part of a trilogy on Washington).

time to time. In one memorable situation, General Washington refused to exchange healthy Hessian soldier captives for sick and emaciated American soldiers held by the British, as he felt that the Americans would be of no use to the Continental Army, while the Hessians would quickly re-enter the service of the enemy.[1]

**OBVERSE design [2a]:** First die. Angular view of structure. OLD SUGAR HOUSE, LIBERTY ST. N.Y. in arc above, FOUNDED 1689 / DEMOLISHED / 1840 below in *three lines.* Initial L for Lovett at left, nearly in a line with the base of the fence. Wooden fence higher than on following, perhaps more in keeping with historical reality. The windows on the left side of the house are much smaller, but with more prominent tops to the casements, than on the following obverse die. From a different (not altered) die; different topology of lettering vs. building, etc.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 660; there as "Sugar-House in Liberty Street," with the note: "This is from a sketch by William J. Davis, of New York, to whose courtesy I am indebted for a knowledge of many interesting relics of the 'olden time' in the city. When the Liberty Street Sugar-House was taken down, some of its timbers were converted into canes and other objects, by persons of antiquarian taste. Among these was Mr. David Barker, a merchant of New York, who possessed a cane made of the wood. Toward the close of 1851, he communicated, through a city paper, his desire to present the cane to a survivor of the sugar-house prisoners, if one was living. Several claimed the prize, all of whom were undoubtedly prisoners there. In determining the award by lot, the precious relic fell to Levi Hanford, of Walton, Delaware County, who lived until November 19th, 1854, in the enjoyment of fair health and vigor. He was confined in the sugar-house for seventeen months."

**REVERSE design:** Border with chain and manacle at right end; open at the bottom, signifying a shackled and chained prisoner; 30 two-part links face the viewer. Inscription: A BRITISH / PRISON / DURING THE REVOLUTION / No 2 / AUG. B. SAGE'S ODDS & ENDS. There is no period below "o" of No, a diecutting error. The apostrophe in SAGE'S is a period.

Earlier state of the die (as compared to the following variety).

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

Die State II: Obverse with rim cud break from above T in ST., clockwise to above left side of Y in N.Y. 177.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Xenos specimen).

Specimens of this variety are notably scarcer than those with the 2b obverse.

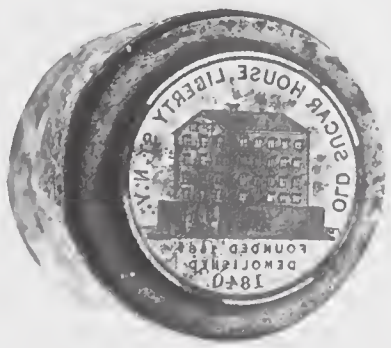
### RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Extremely rare. 197.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (Baker Collection).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with rim cud break from Y in LIBERTY, clockwise to above left side of Y in N.Y.; another rim cud break, quite irregular, beginning below and to right of the second D in DEMOLISHED, clockwise to between the 4 and 0 in 1840. Reverse with rim cud break beginning below G in SAGE'S, clockwise to a point opposite the center of P in PRISON, continuing irregularly through six or seven beads and exiting at the rim.

Die State II: Obverse with rim cud break from Y in LIBERTY, clockwise to above left side of Y in N.Y.; another rim cud break, quite irregular, beginning below and to right of the second D in DEMOLISHED, clockwise to between the 4 and 0 in 1840. Reverse with rim cud break beginning below S in ODDS, clockwise to a point opposite the center of P in PRISON, continuing irregularly through six or seven beads and exiting at the rim (Irion Collection).



**Original obverse die from which Sage's Odds and Ends token 2a was struck, OLD SUGAR HOUSE, LIBERTY ST. N.Y. Lower inscription in *three* lines. This and views of dies in the present book show the shank of the die at the left, a darker area showing the tapered area from the shank narrowing down to the die face, and the die face.**

**Note that the rim or border has broken away at much of the outer rim, including from the lower right, upward to the S (SUGAR), as evidenced by a darker area. The outer rim is also gone over the H of HOUSE, for a section past the Y in LIBERTY, and at the lower left. The interior circle of beads in the die served to weaken the die from that point onward. Among various dies George H. Lovett made for Sage, many suffered rim breakage. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

## SAGE'S ODDS AND ENDS

**No. 2 [2b.]**

**Old Sugar House, Liberty Street, N.Y.**

**(second obverse die)**

**OBVERSE design [2b]:** Second die. Angular view of structure. OLD SUGAR HOUSE, LIBERTY ST. N.Y. in arc above,

[1] Jared Sparks, *Life of George Washington,* p. 224.

FOUNDED 1689 / DEMOLISHED 1840 below in *two lines*. At bottom border, large star flanked on each side by a small star. Signed L on the left, the letter being partly below the base line of the fence. Numeral 0 in 1840 is broken at the top.

The wooden fence is lower than on preceding. The windows on left side of house are much larger and the front door is smaller than on the preceding. It will be recalled that one account related that the actual fence measured nine feet high.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: Similar to the preceding die, this is from an engraving reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 660; there as "Sugar-House in Liberty Street." However, the present image is not quite as faithful to the original engraving.

**REVERSE design:** Same die as preceding, but struck later. Border with chain and manacle at right end; open at the bottom, signifying a shackled and chained prisoner; 30 two-part links face the viewer. Inscription: A BRITISH / PRISON / DURING THE REVOLUTION / No 2 / AUG. B. SAGE'S ODDS & ENDS. There is no period below "o" of No, a diecutting error. The apostrophe in SAGE'S is a period.

Some specimens are of a later die state with rim broken at reverse border at left, extending from the 9 o'clock position downward to opposite the A in AUG.

*Both obverse and reverse dies are preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

## FIRST ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Apparently, strikings from this obverse die are more plentiful than from the first variety. Sharp striking seems to have been a problem, and about half of the specimens seen have had some indistinct or flat areas on part(s) of the rim.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies. Diameter: 30.7 to 30.8 mm.

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Probably a restrike, but no documentation survives. Struck using a larger diameter collar, 30.9 mm. and on a slightly heavier planchet. Slightly scarcer than the preceding.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse perfect. Reverse with a cud break at the rim beginning below the A in AUG. and continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom of the P in PRISON.

Die State II: Obverse perfect. Reverse with the cud break at the rim beginning below the A in AUG. and continuing clockwise to about the 11 o'clock position (Orosz Collection).[1]

Commentary: In his *Catalogue No. 1,* dated February 1859, but probably prepared in late 1858, Sage noted that there were "two dies" for this token, but did not describe the differences. Typical auction appearances have not distinguished the two varieties, and the pieces have not been of sufficient value to merit illustration in auction catalogues.

One might suppose that one die broke, and that another was made to replace it. However, this notion is negated by the muling, discussed below, which indicates that both dies were in existence and serviceable at the same time. However, the reverse die state of No. 2b suggests that 2a was struck first. Moreover, both obverse dies and the single reverse die survived until later years and at present are in the museum of the American Numismatic Society. Perhaps certain structural details on the first obverse die were considered to be inaccurate and a second die was cut.

**Original obverse die from which Sage's Odds and Ends token 2b was struck, OLD SUGAR HOUSE, LIBERTY ST. N.Y. Lower inscription in *two* lines. The view shows the shank of the die at the left, a darker area showing the tapered area from the shank narrowing down to the die face, and the die face. Note that the rim or border has broken away over most of the OLD SUGAR part of the inscription. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

## MULING:

**Combination of both obverse dies showing both styles of building.**

**Copper. Plain edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 1357: " 'Old Sugar House, Liberty Street, New York;' rev. a different view of the same building; bronze proof, excessively rare." [Realized 60¢] A specimen appeared as part of Lot 2056 in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Witham Collection, 1992.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Side with 2-line inscription from perfect die except for tiny radial die crack from beads at rim past D of OLD. Side with 3-line description displays extensive cud breaks at the rim, including from directly below F in FOUNDED, continuing clockwise to between D in OLD and S in SUGAR; another from above R in SUGAR, clockwise to over H in HOUSE; another from above Y in LIBERTY to above upper left of Y in N.Y.; another from below second D in DEMOLISHED to "0" in 1840 date. Struck slightly earlier than the preceding. 191.3 grains; 30.9 mm. (Xenos specimen).

Die State II: Side with 2-line inscription from perfect die. Side with 3-line description displays extensive cud breaks at the rim, including from directly below F in FOUNDED, continuing clockwise and irregularly (cud varies in size) to near upper left of O in HOUSE; another from above Y in LIBERTY to Y in N.Y.; another from below second D in DEMOLISHED to "0" in 1840 date. Apparently struck at about the same time as the restrikes with the regular reverse.

Commentary: The purpose of this muling, not advertised by Sage, is unknown as is its time of striking. Perhaps it was made up at a later date by George H. Lovett.

**White metal. Plain edge:** Tentative listing. Thomas L. Elder's sale of June 13, 1914 included this: "Lot 390: Old Sugar House, A British Prison, N.Y. AE & WM. [Size] 43. Scarce. 2 pcs." The variety(ies) of these copper and white metal pieces is not known, and may be of the muling described above.

[1] Ex Dick Grinolds, List EX-88, 1995, Lot 224.

## SAGE'S ODDS AND ENDS

### No. 3.

### Paul Morphy.

**History:** Paul Morphy (life dates: June 22, 1837 to July 10, 1884) was considered to be the world's champion chess player, *de facto* from his accomplishments following a series of contests held in America and Europe from 1857 to 1859, although not in official tournaments. His interest in the subject began at the age of 10 when one of his grandfathers taught him the game. Two years later he was recognized as the best player in his home city, New Orleans. He seemed to dislike pawns, it is related, and would often exchange or sacrifice them early in the game so that he could concentrate upon moves by the more powerful pieces. This seemingly illogical action, contrary to the way most others played, caused merriment among onlookers, especially when Morphy went on to win.

In 1850 he challenged noted Hungarian chess master J.J. Löwenthal, winning two matches and drawing another. In college he studied law and mathematics, becoming proficient in both disciplines. In October 1857 he competed in the first American Chess Congress in New York City and swept the field.[1]

Returning to New Orleans, he gained further acclaim in public matches in which his being blindfolded was no deterrent to winning. In June 1858 he sailed to England at the invitation of the British Chess Association to challenge Howard Staunton, the pre-eminent chess master in England and that country's foremost writer on the subject. Staunton declined to play, after which Morphy took on his old adversary, the Hungarian player Löwenthal, winning nine games, losing three, and drawing two. Significantly, Löwenthal had recently beaten Staunton in tournament play, thus by extrapolation suggesting that Morphy would have been victorious in any contest with Staunton. At the British event, held in Birmingham, other competitors including Barnes, Bird, Boden, Medley, and Owen, were also vanquished. On August 27, 1858, he played eight competitors simultaneously, when blindfolded, winning six, losing one, and drawing another.

After the conclusion of the chess matches in Birmingham, he went to Paris and repeated the blindfolded exhibition, beating six highly regarded opponents and drawing two. In a match of eight games with champion Harrwitz, he won five, lost two, and drew another, after which Harrwitz resigned from further play. In Paris other challenges were mounted and decisively won against Mongredien and the greatest player in Europe, Anderssen.

Meanwhile, details of his chess games, move by move, were carried in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*. Upon his return to America in April 1859, Morphy found himself to be a national hero. In that year and for part of 1860 he was an editor of the *American Chess Monthly* (of which numismatist Daniel Willard Fiske, of the Astor Library staff, had been editor since 1857). In May and June 1859 he was lionized in New York City and Brooklyn (not then a part of the City), and occasionally played matches at the New York Chess Club and at the "Morphy Chess Rooms," the latter at the corner of Broadway and 4th Street. On May 25 in a ceremony held by the New York Chess Club at the Chapel of New York University, the master was given a gold watch (made by the American Watch Co., Waltham, Massachusetts) and an elegant gold and silver chess set (made by Tiffany & Co.).[2] From August 1859 until early 1860 Morphy conducted a chess column in the *New York Ledger*.[3]

Morphy, who endeavored to practice law as a career and who considered chess only as a recreation or diversion, returned to New Orleans, where he had a series of personal problems possibly including mental illness. He played chess occasionally, with his last known game being staged in 1869, although for a time in 1875 he considered the possibility of playing matches at the Centennial Exhibition to be held in Philadelphia the following year. In later years he lived with his mother in his home town. Upon his death in 1884 he was widely remembered as the greatest chess expert the world had ever known.

**OBVERSE design:** Head and collar portrait of Morphy facing left. Inscription: PAUL MORPHY, THE AMERICAN CHESS KING.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Wreath of laurel(?) leaves, open at top, enclosing: HE / HAS BEATEN / HARRWITZ / IN / CHESS PLAYING / AND / STAUNTON / IN COURTESY. Below: No. 3 / AUG. B. SAGE'S ODDS AND ENDS. Period below "o" of No is a round dot. As the October 1858 issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* specifically mentioned Harrwitz, "esteemed as the best player in Europe," it was logical for Sage to select his name for the inscription on this token.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**Original reverse die from which Sage's Odds and Ends token 3 was struck. The text describes Paul Morphy's chess wins. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society; rust shows at the lower right of the die face)**

[1] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* October 31, 1857, described his talent.

[2] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* May 28, 1859, p. 401; June 4, 1859, pp. 4-6 (description and illustrations of May 25th event).

[3] Founded in 1847 by D. Anson Pratt. The publication contained many stories and articles and relatively little current news.

Chess champion Morphy shown in *Harper's Weekly,* October 9, 1858, together with reportage move by move of several games he played in England, including a blindfolded contest against eight opponents simultaneously (which he subsequently repeated in Paris). (*Harper's Weekly,* October 9, 1858)

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

**Silver:** Only one reported, that in the Presidential Coin and Antique Co. sale of May 30, 1981, Lot 368: "Silver. XF, small planchet clip." Realized $75. Could this have been a piece presented to Morphy? No other information has been located, and this particular specimen has not been examined by the author, and it is not known if a specific gravity test was taken.

Commentary: The reverse differs from the "Odds & Ends" inscription of the earlier tokens and has "Odds and Ends" spelled out, without ampersand.

In the *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1867, Augustus B. Sage's March 26, 1867, recollection of Daniel W. Fiske (a collector who had joined the American Numismatic Society on May 11, 1858) appeared, and is relevant to the Morphy token:

"1856, I think it was, I first met Mr. Daniel Fiske. At time he was one of the assistant librarians in the Astor Library, New York, and through the kindly courtesies of Mr. Fiske and his gentlemanly associate, F.H. Norton, Esq., I was enabled to obtain much valuable information on the subject of numismatology. That was the year, I believe, in which Paul Morphy made his *entrée* into the chess world, and Mr. Fiske assumed the editorial chair of the *Chess Monthly,* a journal that is no longer subject to the payment of taxes. Mr. Fiske had a fair collection, but whether he is collecting or not at present, I do not know. By the way, speaking of Morphy, a medalet in copper was struck by Lovett, of New York, during the year 1858, having, it must be said, not a very accurate profile of the champion chess player."

It is curious that Sage recalled his own Odds and Ends token in such a detached manner.

In recent decades the Morphy token has always had a special appeal due to its connection with chess. Various dealers in tokens have reported a special demand for it.

# CHAPTER 10

# *Sage's Historical Tokens*

*(Circa December 1858)*

## A NEW SERIES

It seems that after Augustus B. Sage commissioned George H. Lovett to create the three subjects comprising the four varieties of the Odds and Ends series, he had second thoughts. Perhaps "Odds and Ends" was not a title that encouraged sales. Perhaps such unrelated topics as the burning of the Crystal Palace, a sugar-house Revolutionary War prison, and the chess prowess of Paul Morphy did not come together to create a series for which collectors eagerly anticipated the next eclectic entry.

Or, perhaps there was another reason.

In any event, shortly after Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of the Odds and Ends series were created, the series came to an abrupt halt. At this point it seems that the entire token-issuing project was reviewed, and Sage determined to head in a slightly different direction. A new series would be created, and it would feature the images of structures important in American history. Sage's Historical Tokens would be the new name.

Soon after the dies for the Odds and Ends tokens were taken from Lovett's coining press, the first several dies for the Historical Tokens were ready, probably in the last few weeks of the year 1858.

What specific topics should be selected?

The thought of the horrible conditions in British-operated Revolutionary War prisons in America would not go away. Reading Benson J. Lossing's two-volume 1852 book, *Pictorial Field-Guide to the Revolution,* Sage encountered illustrations and descriptions of several different buildings and ships where unfortunate captives suffered unspeakable treatment. And yet, such prisons were not widely remembered in 1858, and most basic books about the Revolution treated them lightly or did not mention them at all.

At the same time Sage realized that one person was central to the success of the Revolution: General George Washington. Lossing's book told of the author's visits to various Revolutionary War sites, covering over 8,000 miles of travel. Along the way Lossing visited and sketched several of the buildings Washington had used as headquarters facilities as the Continental Army units moved here and there to clash with the British. Moreover, in 1858, Washington's home, Mount Vernon, on the shore of the Potomac River, had been in the news lately as a nationwide fund-raising campaign was being mounted for its purchase and restoration as a shrine for the American public. With the two-volume Lossing study at hand, Sage considered the various historical incidents and sketches therein, and selected those of interest. Presumably, engraver George H. Lovett had his own copies or borrowed Sage's.

The Revolutionary War would furnish a great theme for the Historical Tokens series Sage reasoned, and the project was begun forthwith.

## WASHINGTON ISSUES OF OTHERS

On the numismatic scene in autumn 1858, coins, tokens, and medals pertaining to George Washington were fairly popular, and several dozen different varieties with his *portrait* attracted the attention of collectors. The only significant exceptions to the use of Washington's image were the "Seasons medals" dated 1796 and inscribed SECOND PRESIDENCY on the reverse. Depicted on the obverse of each are scenes intended to inspire domesticity, including a shepherd and his flock, a farmer in his field, and the living room of a private home, but no portrait of the Father of our Country. It is related that Lewis and Clark on their expedition to the uncharted Northwest in 1804-1806 took a generous supply of such pieces for distribution to the Native Americans they encountered along the way.

Particularly in demand by numismatists were Washington tokens made from the 1790s through the 1830s including the highly acclaimed issues by Charles Cushing Wright and several varieties of 1791-1795 copper tokens struck in England (mainly) and America. Many Ameri-

# WASHINGTON MEDALS:

## The Profane and the Sacred

Shown on this page are two of the several dozen different styles of medals honoring George Washington, produced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Eccleston medal, the larger of the two, is a caricature upon his memory. The other piece, the Manly medal, was intended as a sincere tribute.

ECCLESTON MEDAL (1805): Writing in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1879, W.E. Dubois commented concerning medals with American portraits from dies made in Europe: "There have been numerous medals of American officers and statesmen struck in Paris, at a time when we had no home artists equal to such work; but these were ordered by our government, and therefore not from the engraver's own heart, save as he expected to be paid for his labor. I should here make an exception, in the case of the remarkable medal of General Washington, struck by or for account of D. Eccleston of Lancaster, in England, in 1805. Such a medal must have been the result of a high appreciation, and of not a little boldness and independence. Those who own it ought to prize it."

However, upon inspection it is seen that Washington is shown encased in a suit of heavy armor, "a singular conceit" (as W.S. Baker commented in his 1885 book on Washington medals). The Indian on the reverse is surrounded by the inscription, THE LAND WAS OURS, hardly a tribute to either Washington or the American government, in view of seizures of property from Native Americans.

Eccleston was a well-known eccentric in England, a British version of our own Lord Timothy Dexter (of Newburyport, MA), as the name by which he styled himself might indicate: Daniel Belteshazzar Fitz William Caractacus Cadwallador Llewellyn Ap-Tudor Plantagente Eccleston. However, according to an article about him in the *Lancaster Gazette,* December 21, 1816, Eccleston had "a good heart."

It is said that Eccleston visited Washington in Mount Vernon, but the present writer has not been able to locate any specific account of such an occasion.

MANLY MEDAL (1790). So far as is known, the first medal produced in America honoring George Washington is the so-called "Manly Medal." Engraved by Samuel Brooks, the piece features a portrait of Washington as an aged man. W.S. Baker believed that the image was furnished by Joseph Wright, who earlier (in 1784) executed a portrait of Washington from life.

On March 3, 1790, *The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser* offered these medals for sale. Featured was a certificate dated February 22, 1790 (Washington's birthday anniversary) by Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania; Richard Peters, speaker of the House of Assembly; Christian Febiger, treasurer; and Francis Johnston, colonel of the army, who declared that the portrait was "a strong and expressive likeness and worthy of the attention of the citizens of the United States of America." Prices were given as one dollar for a medal in "fine white metal, to resemble silver," two dollars for a "fine gold-colored metal," four dollars for a fine silver metal, and it was noted that gold impressions were available at a price "in proportion to weight."

can-made tokens of the early nineteenth century used the profile image of Washington created by French sculptor Jean Antoine Houdon, who visited Mount Vernon in October 1785. In its most famous medallic incarnation, Houdon's bust was employed in 1786 by Pierre Simon Duvivier to create the Washington Before Boston medal authorized by the American Congress in 1776 to commemorate the evacuation of that city.[1]

Somewhat more esoteric, but eagerly sought, were such Washington pieces as the Manly medal (issued in 1790, perhaps the first American-made medal to bear his image), the elegant but satirical Eccleston medal, the Twigg medal, the 1792 copper and silver pieces made by Peter Getz in Lancaster, and others.

The great Washington token and medal mania was still a few months away, and James Ross Snowden had not yet inaugurated the Washington Cabinet as part of the Mint Collection in Philadelphia. The deluge had not yet occurred.

## GREAT EXPECTATIONS IN DECEMBER 1858

Sage's Catalogue No. 1, dated February 1859, was probably prepared in the waning days of 1858. An advertisement on the first right inside page noted:

**Aug. B. Sage's Historical Tokens.**

This series will consist of about 25 tokens, each one giving a correct representation of some public building, around which there is any thing of an historical interest. Eleven pieces in this series have thus far been published, viz.:

1. The Old Provoost Prison, N.Y. Two dies.[2] 2. The Old City Hall, Wall St., N.Y. 3. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass. 4. Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. 5. The Old Jersey Prison Ship. 6. State House, Philadelphia, two dies. 7. Washington's Residence, Mount Vernon. 8. Washington's Head Quarters, Newburgh,[3] N.Y. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y. 10. Washington's Head Quarters, Tappan.

Others will be speedily issued. They are published in copper at 25 cents each.

## EARLY 1859

Sage probably prepared the Bogert Collection catalogue in January 1859 or very early February, in sufficient time to allow distribution before the first sale day was held on February 28. By that time the number of Historical Tokens claimed to have been already issued had expanded from the previous 11 to a new total of 15, plus some die varieties. On the inside back cover of the Bogert catalogue an advertisement began with this commentary, slightly revised and expanded from that printed earlier:

**Aug. B. Sage's Historical Tokens.**

This series will consist of about 35 Tokens, each one giving a correct representation of some Public Building around which there is any thing of an historical interest. The following have thus far been issued, viz.:

1. The Old Provoost Prison, N.Y. (two dies). 2. The Old City Hall, Wall-st., N.Y. 3. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass. 4. Carpenters' Hall, Phil., Pa. 5. The Old Jersey Prison Ship. 6. Washington's Residence, Mount Vernon. 7. Washington's Headquarters, Newburg, N.Y. 8. State House, Philadelphia. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y. 10. Washington's Headquarters, Tappan. 11. Washington's Headquarters, Valley Forge. 12. Sir H. Clinton's House, N.Y. 13. The Old Swamp Church, N.Y. 14. Walnut-street Prison, Phil.[4] 15. Old Gothic Hall, N.Y.[5]

Others will speedily be issued. They are published in copper at 25 cents each, and are the size of the Half Dollar.

If, in fact, these pieces had already been issued by early 1859, when the Bogert catalogue was being prepared, then there are some mysteries with relation to the 15 subjects described by Sage and the numbering and subjects of pieces known to exist today. Further, the numbering arrangement changed slightly between the two listings. As an example, the earlier listing placed the State House, Philadelphia, token as No. 6 and noted that there were "two dies." The later listing has it as No. 8 and without mention of an additional die. The various discrepancies will be discussed below. It will be shown that the listing in the Bogert catalogue must have been anticipatory, not a reflection of what had actually been done to that point.

By the time he wrote the Bogert catalogue, Sage's ambition had broadened from a projected "about 25" tokens to a new goal of "about 35."

## SPRING 1859

Sage's June 1859 catalogue, probably prepared in advance of June, but at least a month or two after the Bogert catalogue had gone to press, advertised the Historical Token series, which by that time seemed to be fixed in number. Moreover, the numbers listed corresponded with the actual subjects found on the tokens. Fourteen subjects were listed, with varieties bringing the total to 16, with just a casual mention of future issues, seemingly not to be produced imminently:

The attention of numismatists is respectively requested to the series of Historical Tokens we are issuing. Fourteen have thus far been issued....

1. The Old Provoost Prison, 2 dies. 2. The Old City Hall, Wall-Street. 3. Faneuil Hall, Boston. 4. Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. 5. Old Jersey Prison Ship. 6. State House, Philadelphia, 2 dies. 7. Mount Vernon, Washington's Residence. 8. Old Hasbrook House,

[1] The Washington Before Boston medal is also noticed in Chapter I.

[2] QDB note: The first die read BRISON rather than PRISON; a second die was made to correct the error. The facility was generally known as the Provost prison in historical accounts; for some unknown reason it appeared as PROVOOST on the token.

[3] On the token it was spelled NEWBURG.

[4] This variety is not described in modern numismatic literature, and it is not known if it was actually struck.

[5] This variety is not described in modern numismatic literature, and it is not known if it was actually struck.

# AUG. B. SAGE'S

# HISTORICAL TOKENS.

This series will consist of about 35 Tokens, each one giving a correct representation of some Public Building around which there is any thing of an historical interest. The following have thus far been issued, viz. :

1. The Old Provoost Prison, N. Y., (two dies.)
2. The Old City Hall, Wall-st., N. Y.
3. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.
4. Carpenters' Hall, Phil., Pa.
5. The Old Jersey Prison Ship.
6. Washington's Residence, Mount Vernon.
7. Washington's Headquarters, Newburg, N. Y.
8. State House, Philadelphia.
9. Richmond Hill House, N. Y.
10. Washington's Headquarters, Tappan.
11. Washington's Headquarters, Valley Forge.
12. Sir H. Clinton's House, N. Y.
13. The Old Swamp Church, N. Y.
14. Walnut-street Prison, Phil.
15. Old Gothic Hall, N. Y.

Others will speedily be issued. They are published in copper at 25 Cents each, and are the size of the Half Dollar.

## AUG. B. SAGE'S ODDS AND ENDS.

This series comprises general subjects. Four have thus far been issued, viz. : No. 1. Crystal Palace, New-York. 2. Old Sugar House, Liberty-street, N. Y., (two dies.) 3. Paul Morphy. They will be issued from time to time, and will chronicle passing events, &c. They will be uniform with the above in size and shape.

## Aug. B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery.

This series will consist of about 30 Medalets, having for their obverses the busts of the prominent Numismatists of our country. They will also be uniform to the above. A splendid variety of Wreaths and Lettering will be introduced in this series.

## Aug. B. Sage's Monumental Medalets.

This series, having for obverses representations of the Monuments of our Revolutionary and other Heroes, and noted men, will shortly be commenced.

**The Historical Tokens series as delineated as 15 different subjects in this advertisement published in February 1859 in the Bogert sale catalogue. As it developed, actual numbering of certain subjects differed from that in the advertisement, and the Walnut Street Prison, Philadelphia, was never issued. The Old Gothic Hall, New York, was shelved as a historical token subject but appeared later as the single item in the short-lived Masonic Medalets Series.**

Newburgh. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y. 10. Washington's Head Quarters, Tappan. 11. Washington's Head Quarters, Valley Forge. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House, N.Y. 13. The Old Swamp Church. 14. The Charter Oak.

Upon receipt of $4.00, we will send a complete set of the above tokens to any place in the United States. The series will be continued from time to time.

In comparison to the list in the Bogert catalogue, the new line-up now notes that there are "2 dies" for the State House (which had been mentioned in Sage's February 1859 *Catalogue No. 1,* but not in the Bogert auction catalogue), Philadelphia, and this topic is now assigned No. 6 instead of the previous No. 8. Mount Vernon is now No. 7, in contrast to No. 6 earlier. No. 8 is the Old Hasbrook House, Newburgh, which earlier had been called No. 7 and described as Washington's Headquarters, Newburg, N.Y., with no mention of the Hasbrook House. No. 14 is now the Charter Oak, replacing the Walnut Street Prison (which, apparently, was never issued in any form by Sage). There is no token listed as No. 15.

Per the above listing a complete set would have consisted of 16 pieces, including die varieties of Nos. 1 and 6, for a total of $4.00 the set, equal to 25¢ per token.

In his *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900,* 1994, p. 229, Russell Rulau commented:

> The set of 14 Historical Tokens was sold for $4 by Augustus B. Sage in 1859. Originals were all in copper, plain edge. Later copper with reeded edges, in both thick and thin planchets, were issued. Later also brass, white metal and silver tokens appeared. All were muled with each other, and there are more than 100 varieties known.

The preceding "100 varieties known" statement probably applies to irrelevant mulings made with certain other dies made by Lovett, but not to the order of Sage.

The dies for Sage's Historical Tokens series were fairly simple in their artistry, but did employ different obverses and reverses. It would have been cheaper had Lovett combined different obverses with a "stock" reverse. Further, within the series, on the reverses in particular, an effort was made to use a variety of lettering styles from simple sans-serif to ornate letters with flourishes.

Each original token, copper with plain edge, measured by the author is 30.7 to 30.8 mm.[1] diameter. The border of each is beaded. Weights vary and generally range from about 175 to 195 grains, with a few pieces being outside of these limits. Lighter-weight examples are sometimes lightly struck on the rims. An inspection of one lightly-struck piece revealed characteristics of the original planchet, showing a cross-hatching of grinding wheel or file marks. This would seem to indicate that the original planchets were not made with precision, and were filed or ground down to an approximate weight, and then struck (also see Appendix IV).

The description around the top border of each of the 14 known obverse dies is in block sans-serif letters, except for No. 13, The Old Swamp Church, which is in letters with serifs. Lettering at bottom of various tokens is not consistent; some lettering is with serifs and some without.

On the reverse lettering varies from simple sans-serif to ornate and is sometimes a mixture. Ornamentation includes the use of such devices as wreath, chain and manacles, liberty cap, skull and crossbones, stars, beads, pellets, snake, etc.

It is apparent that Lovett intended the obverse and reverse dies to be oriented in the same direction, or *medal wise.* There are some slight variations in which the reverse is skewed slightly to the left or to the right of this norm. Appendix IV discusses such anomalies.

## LOVETT'S DIES

George H. Lovett created the dies for the series using illustrations probably provided by Sage. The author has been able to track down a number of early engravings used by in this regard. In such instances, as illustrated in the present text, Lovett usually copied the perspective of buildings and their general outlines, but omitted people, trees, and other surrounding items.

Later, Lovett would create a broad series of similar motifs on his own account, perhaps drawing upon the experience he had with Sage's commission. The so-called Lovett Series of Washington's Headquarters, combining three different Washington portrait obverses with 10 different reverses, were issued with the following reverse motifs, in all instances more carefully cut and with embellishments (trees, etc.) not found on equivalent pieces he did for Sage.

Lovett's Series included these reverses, each of which was numbered on the tokens:[2]

No. 1. Headquarters at Harlem, N.Y., 1776.
No. 2. Headquarters at White Plains, N.Y., 1776.
No. 3. Headquarters Near Chad's Ford,[3] Pa., 1777.
No. 4. Headquarters at Whitemarsh, Pa., 1777.
No. 5. Headquarters at Valley Forge, Pa., 1777 & '78.
No. 6. Headquarters at Tappan, N.Y., 1778.
No. 7. Headquarters, Morristown, N.J., 1779 & '80.
No. 8. Headquarters Near Sufferns, N.Y., 1780.
No. 9. Headquarters Near Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1781.
No. 10. Headquarters at Newburg [*sic*], N.Y., 1783.

Of the above motifs, the following two have counterparts in Sage's Historical Token Series: No. 5. (Valley Forge); and No. 10 (Newburg/Newburgh). In each instance, Lovett did not use the same perspective or same

[1] Variously cited as 31 mm. or 32 mm. in numismatic literature. Measurements by the author were taken on the vertical axis of each token.
[2] Baker-183 to 192; combinations with additional obverses and strikings in copper, brass, white metal, and silver, brought the related series to a total of 120 different varieties (cf. George J. Fuld, letter, June 17, 1997).
[3] Today called Chadd's Ford.

# HISTORICAL TOKENS,

PUBLISHED BY

**A. B. SAGE & CO.,**

**24 Division Street,**

NEW-YORK.

No. 1. THE OLD PROVOOST PRISON, 2 dies.
2. THE OLD CITY HALL, WALL-STREET.
3. FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.
4. CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA.
5. OLD JERSEY PRISON SHIP.
6. STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, 2 dies.
7. MOUNT VERNON, WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE.
8. OLD HASBROOK HOUSE, NEWBURGH.
9. RICHMOND HILL HOUSE, N. Y.
10. WASHINGTON'S HEAD QUARTERS, TAPPAN.
11. " " " VALLEY FORGE.
12. SIR HENRY CLINTON'S HOUSE, N. Y.
13. THE OLD SWAMP CHURCH.
14. THE CHARTER OAK.

Upon receipt of $4 00, we will send a complete set of the above Tokens to any place in the United States. The series will be continued from time to time.

## MASONIC MEDALETS.

No. 1. OLD GOTHIC HALL. PRICE 25 CENTS.

**Advertisement for Sage's Historical Tokens on the inside front cover of his fixed price list of June 1859. By this time the number had reached 14, but the note was made, "the series will be continued from time to time."**

original engraving that he had used for the Sage pieces. Lovett's Harlem Headquarters building appears superficially similar to Sage's Richmond Hill mansion.

The Lovett's Series tokens were smaller than Sage's (27.5 mm. vs. 30.8 mm), otherwise they probably would have been muled with Sage's dies.

## A COMPLETE SET OF ORIGINAL TOKENS

It seems that most original strikings of Sage's Historical Tokens were distributed in singles and small groups, rather than in complete sets. One can envision a numismatist of the circa 1859 era selecting specific topics that interested him most, with the most popular being the various dies depicting buildings once occupied by George Washington. Today, the availability of the various pieces varies, with the earlier-numbered tokens and the Washington-related pieces being the most often seen, and the later non-Washington pieces being the most elusive.

A complete set of 16 original Sage's Historical Tokens consists of the following copper impressions, each 30.7 to 30.8 mm. with plain edge, and were struck from late 1858 through the year 1859:

**No. 1. The Old Provoost, N.Y.** BRISON reverse; obverse die unfinished (first variety made).

**No. 1. The Old Provoost, N.Y.** PRISON reverse; obverse die finished (second variety made).

**No. 2. City Hall, Wall St., N.Y.**

**No. 3. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.**

**No. 4. Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, Penn.**

**No. 5. The Old Jersey.**

**No. 6. State House, Philadelphia.** RENDESVOUS error spelling reverse (first variety made).

**No. 6. State House, Philadelphia.** RENDEZVOUS with Z punched over S, corrected die (second variety made).

**No. 7. The Home of Washington - Mount Vernon.**

**No. 8. The Old Hasbrook House, Newburg, N.Y.**

**No. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y.**

**No. 10. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan.**

**No. 11. Washington's Headquarters, at Valley Forge.**

**No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House, No. 1 Broadway, N.Y.**

**No. 13. The Old Swamp Church.**

**No. 14. First Meeting House Erected in Hartford.**

All other variations are restrikes or mulings made later than 1859, probably several years later beginning circa 1862.

In the sale of selected tokens from the Edward Groh Collection at Bangs, Merwin & Co., February 28-29, 1862, the cataloguer offered this:

> Lot 507: A.B. Sage's Historical Tokens, complete, all fine, some rare, of which the dies are broken. 16 [pieces].

This reflects that as of the early 1860s certain dies were broken. Whether this refers to dies that had rim breaks, but were still usable, or to dies that were broken beyond use, is not known. In any event, restrikes were not made in complete sets. The most extensive selection of restrikes seems to be the silver issues made for J. Osborn Emery in the early 1860s.

## RESTRIKES (1860 AND LATER)

Although some restrikes may have been made as early as 1860, it seems that most restrikes of Sage's Historical Tokens were made beginning circa 1862, by which time the dies had acquired light rust. The time frame of the Sage restrikes and mulings is not recorded. Restriking was done on more than one occasion, as collectors visited George H. Lovett's shop and commissioned the striking of pieces that interested them. A brass restrike of Sage's CITY HALL Historical Token appeared as Lot 684 of the Bridgens Collection sale, January 1863 (cited in Appendix III); the catalogue would have been prepared in late 1862. The author has weighed and measured many pieces (see Appendix IV), thus revealing certain groupings by weights and diameters. This information, along with analysis of die states, reveals different times of restriking.

Among the collectors commissioning restrikes was J. Osborn Emery, a New York City numismatist, who had a fondness for pieces relating to George Washington. Thus, dies that had been used on certain of Sage's Historical Tokens series were combined with other dies to create rarities, most probably without the permission of Sage. Apparently, certain dies were also purchased by Emery and canceled and destroyed, thus preserving the status of his newly-created rarities. The sale of Emery's collection by W. Elliot Woodward, October 18-22, 1864, offered Washington pieces created as fantasies by Lovett to the order of William Leggett Bramhall in addition to rare Sage-related tokens. It seems that Osborn visited Lovett's shop and made selections from various dies on hand. Concerning Osborn's Sage-related mulings, Woodward hastened to inform potential bidders in 1864 that the dies had been *destroyed* (which they had not been).

Isaac F. Wood, who entered the token-producing scene in 1868 and remained active until the early 1880s, commissioned Lovett to make additional restrikes, apparently, in larger quantities than Emery or anyone else had done earlier and of selected different varieties, concentrating on Historical Token No. 1 (PRISON reverse) and No. 6 (RENDEZVOUS reverse). Wood's own collection, auctioned by the Chapman brothers in July 1894 (and detailed in Appendix III of the present work), contained quantities of restrikes and mulings, and the catalogue descriptions included some production numbers. Apparently, these pieces were left-over inventory. However, it is likely that in addition to the ones that the Chapmans headlined as "Restruck by I.F. Wood; dies are now *destroyed,*" (the false *destroyed* word again!) others of certain fabric were made by Lovett for other sales opportunities. The time period of Wood's restriking was probably the decade of the 1870s, by which time Sage had given certain of his old dies to the American

Numismatic Society. Possibly, the Society made certain dies available for Woods' use.

Dies tended to "wander," and on October 8, 1909, the obverse die used to strike Sage's Historical Token No. 2 (City Hall, Wall Street, N.Y.) turned up as Lot 834 in Thomas L. Elder's 33rd sale (today the die is in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society).

Notwithstanding the destruction of certain dies early in the 1860s (per Woodward's 1864 assertion) and some dies later (per the Chapman brothers' 1894 assertion), several of these dies, like Sherlock Holmes after his slide over Reichenbach Falls, "reappeared" and are preserved today in the American Numismatic Society, along with various dies given to the Society by Sage in 1867. (No one ever said that figuring out the *truth* with regard to restriking and restrikers would be easy!)

It is believed that the original tokens sold by Sage circa 1859 were in copper alloy with plain edges, the metals variously catalogued over the years as copper or bronze. So far as is known, in the Sage's Historical Tokens series only a few copper pieces with plain edges were restruck.

Restrikes were made of selected dies, and not in complete sets or runs. Such specific varieties that have been examined by the author or have been found in auction catalogue listings are delineated under descriptions of the various individual Historical Tokens, numbers 1 through 14.

Restrikes of *certain varieties* in the Sage's Historical Tokens series are known in these formats, with such comments as "early" or "late" being derived from a combination of auction catalogue citations and observed die states on pieces existing today:

• **Copper restrike with plain edge.** Not recorded prior to the present study. Die state information suggests that certain pieces (see Historical Token No. 2, below) were struck 1860 or later. Copper, plain edge, restrikes are specifically noted for the few varieties for which they are known. Candidates for investigation for restrike status include pieces measuring 30.9 mm. and on heavy planchets (195 grains or more).

• **Copper restrike with reeded edge.** Very late restrikes. Includes pieces made to the order of Isaac F. Wood in the late 1870s. Copper reeded edge restrikes are thicker than copper plain edge originals. Reeded edge restrikes in various metals range from 31.1 to 31.2 mm. Many of these are carelessly struck. Some of these seem to have been coated with a dark substance, or artificially toned, perhaps to make them look "old"' such pieces lack mirrored fields and appear with grainy medium-brown surfaces. Other strikings were issued with prooflike surfaces, not artificially treated.

• **Brass restrike with reeded edge.** Produced as early as 1862. This category also includes pieces later made to the order of Isaac F. Wood in the late 1870s. Reeded edge restrikes in various metals range from 31.1 to 31.2 mm.

• **White metal restrike with plain edge.** Early restrikes. White metal, plain edge examples average about 31.2 mm. diameter.

• **White metal with reeded edge.** Possibly struck to the order of Isaac F. Wood in the late 1870s (see Historical Token N **restrike** No. 6). Reeded edge restrikes in various metals range from 31.1 to 31.2 mm. Certain specimens seen today have the crumbling known as "tinpest," indicating a large amount of tin in the alloy.

• **Silver restrike with reeded edge, early restrikes, thick, broader planchets.** Weights range from about 205 to 208 grains, diameter 31.4 to 31.5 mm. Produced in the early 1860s to the order of J. Osborn Emery; only a few struck; on one occasion (Emery Collection sale, 1864) W.E. Woodward stated that certain such pieces were unique.[1]

• **Silver restrike with reeded edge, later restrikes, thin, narrow planchets.** Weights range from about 170 to 183 grains, diameter 31.0 to 31.1 mm. Produced only for a small number of varieties, to the order of Isaac F. Wood in the 1870s, who stated that just 10 were struck of each of the certain varieties in question. Some others may have been produced separately, for Virgil M. Brand acquired one of each number in the Historical Token series, 1 through 14, with the exception of 13. Brand is known to have commissioned unusual strikings of various series (such as aluminum impressions of Indian Peace medals from the U.S. Mint's copy dies). However, as Brand (1861-1926) began his numismatic interest in the 1880s, and probably did not become interested in tokens until the 1890s or later, it is likely that his set was struck to the order of someone else earlier. The Brand pieces were sold *en bloc* as Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

In the past, nearly all auction appearances of silver restrikes have omitted a description of the edge. Thus, information on such issues is inconclusive. Later descriptions of a detailed nature indicate that nearly all silver pieces have reeded edges.

The border of each Sage Historical Token is beaded inside of the rim. As is the case with the earlier Odds and Ends series, weights of the Historical Tokens vary. However, some pieces are slightly lighter in this new series. Weights of original copper strikings range from about 170 to 195 grains, with a few pieces being outside of these limits (heavier pieces may include restrikes, if of a late die state). Lighter-weight examples are sometimes lightly struck on the rims (see Appendix IV).

Rarity ratings may vary within different issues. As noted, full sets or runs of designs were not made in each of these variations. Such pieces have never been seriously studied before, and market and availability information is scarce. Often, historical listings did not note the edge styles of pieces offered.

## MULINGS

Certain dies in Sage's Historical Tokens series were combined with each other (usually one obverse with another obverse), with Sage's advertisement (in two mulings),

[1] Several "silver with plain edge" restrikes have been reported, but the examination of three such pieces by the author has revealed that they are silver-plated copper issues.

and with certain Washington obverse dies made by Robert Lovett, Jr., or George H. Lovett for series not related to Sage.

After Sage issued his series of Historical Tokens in copper, the dies were mated in illogical combinations on later occasions, quite possibly by George H. Lovett on his own initiative, to provide rarities for numismatists. In addition to whatever Lovett may have done for his own account, in the aforementioned 1864 sale of the collection of J. Osborn Emery, cataloguer W. Elliot Woodward stated that Emery owned the dies for many tokens and struck from two to five *sets* of mulings. These were of subjects related to George Washington and employed the Old Hasbrook House, Mount Vernon, and other dies earlier used by George H. Lovett to create Sage's series. Woodward stated that the dies were "now destroyed." While two to five *sets* may have been made up, it is obvious from the existence of specimens today, that numerous mulings were made in additional numbers outside of these sets.

Certain mulings made no later than 1864 combine a Washington die *made in Philadelphia by Robert Lovett, Jr.* Others use Washington dies made in New York City by George Hampden Lovett. These dies, described below, were originally intended for use on various Washington tokens and had nothing to do with Sage. Unfortunately, nineteenth-century cataloguers devised no standard way to describe the GEO: WASHINGTON and GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON dies described below, and often called them, collectively, "equestrian" or "Washington on horseback" motifs; thus, the precise nature of certain mulings appearing in some sales is lost to researchers today. This is rather curious, as even a cursory inspection of the motifs (as described below) will show that on one issue the horse is facing left and on the other the horse is facing in the opposite direction! This was not completely overlooked in the past, as, for example, in his July 1882 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, John W. Haseltine described Lot 134: "Equestrian figure to right...."

## ROBERT LOVETT JR.'S HORSE-FACING-LEFT DIE

**Robert Lovett, Jr.'s GEO: WASHINGTON 1776 die with horse *facing left*. This die was extensively combined with others to create mulings for collectors. Among such mulings, various die states exist.**

Robert Lovett, Jr.'s GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776, obverse die. Horse *facing left;* front legs in air, Washington astride horse with hat in hand. Washington's head is turned to face straight toward the viewer. Six cannonballs in a group at the left foreground, with three cannons at a rampart in the distance. In the distance is the shoreline of Boston along which are many similar, three-story rectangular buildings. In the background are several church steeples. To the right is an encampment of two rows of tents. An American stars and stripes flag flies leftward from a staff. The border is composed of dentils (toothlike projections). Snowden (1861) described the design: "An equestrian figure of Washington, upon an eminence. In the background appears the City of Boston, in the front of which are the American batteries and encampment. *Legend.* GEO. WASHINGTON 1776." W.S. Baker (1885) essentially copied Snowden: "Equestrian figure in uniform, on an eminence, head facing. In the distance appears the city of Boston, and to the right a camp; to the left a battery. Legend. GEO: WASHINGTON, 1776." This die was combined with various reverses, perhaps the best known being in the Baker-50 series, the reverse having the inscription SIEGE OF / BOSTON / 1775-6 and, along the bottom edge, LOVETT'S SERIES NO. 2. PHILADA. Baker-50 with the Siege reverse has nothing to do with Sage and is described here only to establish the primary use of the obverse die. Robert Lovett, Jr., also used this die as the obverse of an advertising token for his own business. Called "Lovett's Second Obverse" by Baker.[1]

## GEORGE H. LOVETT'S HORSE-FACING-RIGHT DIE

**George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776 die with horse *facing right*. This die was combined with others to create mulings for collectors.**

George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776, obverse die. Horse *facing right,* front legs in air, Washington astride horse with hat in hand. Lettering from a different, slightly narrower font than used on the die with horse facing left. In the left background is a tent camp with four tents consisting of, left to right, two small, one large, and one small tent. On the right in the distance

[1] Baker, pp. 30-31, commented: "Impressions [from this obverse die] have been taken after the legend [was] partially erased; they are easily

are six small tents. The small tents are in the shape of inverted V's.

W.S. Baker (1885): "Equestrian figure in uniform, full face, hat in right hand held to the rear; on the foreground, cannon balls and the letter L and in the distance a camp. Legend. GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776." This die was combined with various reverses, perhaps the best known being the Baker-98 series (Rulau-Fuld, p. 68) with the reverse having arcs around the border, enclosing stars, with WASHINGTON surrounded by a glory of rays. Baker-98 with the WASHINGTON reverse has nothing to do with Sage and is described here only to establish the primary use of the obverse die. Attributed by Baker to George Hampden Lovett, New York City, although it bears certain similarities to the GEO: WASHINGTON, 1776 die by Robert Lovett, Jr., of Philadelphia. Perhaps it was copied in certain respects or inspired by Robert Lovett, Jr.'s, die. Called "Lovett's First Obverse" by Baker.

## GEORGE H. LOVETT'S STAR MEDAL DIE

**George H. Lovett's so-called "Star Medal" die. This die was combined with others to create mulings for collectors, but is generally viewed as being scarce.**

George H. Lovett's Washington Star Medal obverse die, so called, was muled with Sage obverses by 1864, with one account placing the date of striking as 1860.[1] However, while opinions and comments concerning mulings are aplenty, facts are scarce. Such pieces were included in the J. Osborn Emery sale. This die features the portrait of Washington facing right, seemingly placed too high within an open wreath. No inscription is on the die, although on some (all?) impressions the signature of *Robert* Lovett can be seen, although faintly, beneath the neck truncation. This portrait die was used in connection with the so-called Washington Star Medals (Rulau-Fuld p. 68) series, Baker-97 (same reverse was also used for Baker-98 described above). Attributed by Rulau-Fuld to George Hampden Lovett, New York City, in whose shop it was probably made, using an old portrait punch from his father's stock. Called "Lovett's Third Obverse" by Baker.

Mulings made from the preceding three obverse dies bear no mention of Sage, with one exception: the muling of Sage's Historical Token No. 10 (Liberty Tree motif) with George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, horse facing right, 1776, die creates the illusion of another issue in Sage's series.

## OTHER IRRELEVANT DIES

**UNION LEAGUE / 1863 die. This and related Union League dies seem to have been made in Philadelphia, where the movement (founded in December 1862) was most intense. Many irrelevant mulings were made, some of which are offered from time to time as "Civil War tokens." (Courtesy of Joseph Levine)**

Sage's Historical Token No. 2, the CITY HALL obverse die, was muled with an irrelevant reverse die inscribed UNION LEAGUE / 1863. This die was made in Philadelphia and had no relationship to Sage.

**Robert Lovett, Jr.'s Penn Treaty die. This die was combined with others to create mulings for collectors, including some irrelevant combinations (not related to Sage) as late as the 1880s.**

recognized, as much of the detail in the distance and to the left on the obverse has also been removed." Baker, writing in 1885, noted that the die had been destroyed "quite recently." On p. 87 Baker gave the opinion that Robert Lovett, Jr.'s, equestrian obverse die was "much better in every respect" than the equestrian obverse die by George H. Lovett. A modern inspection of later impressions from this die (author's collection) indicates that there are at least two reground states, one with the bottom part of the 6 in the 1776 date visible, but with all other evidences of the inscription removed; and the second with this evidence of the 6 removed as well. This may have been done at the behest of Lingg & Bro., Philadelphia, who may have used this die circa 1882 (the same time as the Penn's Treaty bicentennial; see Rulau-Pa-Ph-A255, p. 630 of the *Standard Catalog of U.S. Tokens 1770-1900,* 2nd edition).

[1] By W.S. Baker, 1885; the reference was to the stars on the *reverse* die with which this obverse was combined. Other obverses (B-98 and 99) were also called "Washington Star" by the same author.

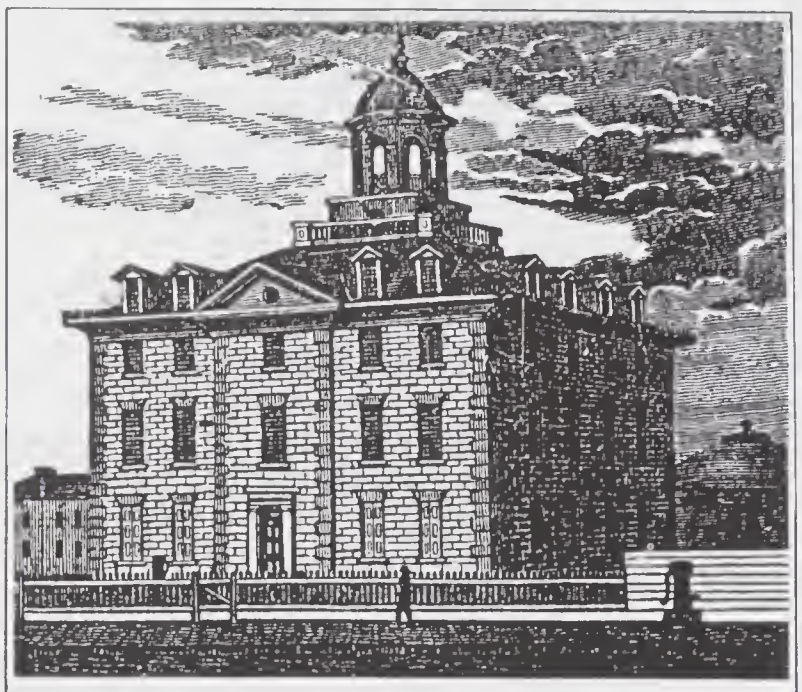
**Buildings were prominent motifs on Sage's Historical Tokens, especially those with stories relating to the Revolutionary War.**

Sage's Historical Token No. 12 was muled with a reverse by Robert Lovett, Jr., depicting a scene of William Penn's treaty with the Indians. This irrelevant die was made for use with Robert Lovett's Series No. 1 medal set.

All of the above-mentioned mulings are described below under the issues designated.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

**No. 1 [1a.]**
**The Old Provoost, N.Y.**
**("BRISON" reverse, 1st die)**



**The Provost Jail, Revolutionary War prison, the image used by Sage for Historical token No. 1, there called the "Old Provoost," a curious spelling. (*History of the American Revolution*, no date, page 220)**

**History:** This structure is usually referred to in historical accounts as the Provost Jail or the Provost Prison, only very occasionally as the "Old Provoost," as Sage has it on his token. A *provost* is defined as a prison keeper,[1] and a *provost house* or other *provost* structure typically refers to a jail. There was, however, a prominent old Dutch family surnamed Provoost in New York City, of which one member served as an early mayor.[2]

A commentary an 1858 meeting of the New-York Historical Society reveals that Revolutionary War prisons were a discussion topic of the time:[3]

> "The regular monthly meeting was held at the society's building on Tuesday evening, February 2d. Hon. Luther Bradish, the president, in the chair....
>
> "The librarian acknowledged the receipt of 'A Diary of a Prisoner in the Provoost Jail during the Revolutionary War.'... The paper of the evening, 'The Prison-ships of the Revolution,' was read by Hon. George Taylor. He gave an accurate and detailed account of the sufferings endured by American prisoners in the prison-ships in New York and other harbors.
>
> "Mr. O'Reilly moved a vote of thanks for the eloquent address, illustrating the sufferings of our countrymen. Mr. Strong seconded the motion, with a few appropriate remarks, thanking the gentleman for his interesting paper."[4]

The Old Provost was located in lower Manhattan in what later became known as City Hall Park, not far from the City Hall, and was used as a prison for debtors and others. During the British occupation of New York City in the Revolution it was used to confine American patriots in what were described as very poor accommodations resulting in many deaths. Ethan Allen, famous in the history of Vermont, was once confined there, after having been first sent in irons to England, then returned. From October 1776 to May 6, 1778, Allen was a prisoner in New York City, sometimes under lock and key, other times on parole. "While here [in New York] he had an opportunity to observe the inhuman manner in which the American prisoners were treated. In one of the churches in which they were crowded, he saw seven lying dead at one time, and others biting pieces of chips from hunger. He calculated that of the prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington, near two thousand perished by hunger and cold, or in consequence of diseases occasioned by the impurity of their prisons."[5]

At the time it was British military policy to offer captured American patriots the opportunity to lay down their arms and side with the occupation forces. Although some did this, a far greater number declined the offer and were incarcerated. Captured officers of high rank were supposed to have been offered less rigorous confinement conditions, and in practice most probably were. However, even the best was apt to be very degrading to the prisoners involved.

Historian Benson J. Lossing told of British prisons in New York City (also see commentary under Sage's Historical Token No. 5, The Old Jersey, below):[6]

> "Associations of intense horror are linked with the

[1] Today, also as an administrative official of high rank in an institution of higher learning.

[2] David Provoost, of the Dutch East India Company, was a founder of Nieuw Amsterdam (New Amsterdam) in 1638. The Provoost family mansion was situated at the end of what later became East 71st Street, overlooking the East River. The estate was sold to John Jones in 1802 and became known as Jones Wood. The Jones Wood Hotel, operated by Isaac Sommers, issued Civil War tokens in 1863.

[3] Adapted from *Historical Magazine,* March 1858, pp. 85-86.

[4] Among other business, the members resolved that Rembrandt Peale (late chief coiner of the Philadelphia Mint, fired for misuse of Mint property) be allowed to use the hall on February 22nd (Washington's birthday) to "deliver his lecture upon the 'Portraits of Washington,' under the auspices of the society."

[5] John Frederick Schroeder, *Life and Times of Washington,* Vol. II, 1859, p. 193. In the present text, Allen's captivity is noticed in Chapter 8 in connection with Benson J. Lossing's article, "Ethan Allen," in the November 1858 issue of *Harper's Monthly,* and its inspiration for a subject in Sage's Odds and Ends token series.

[6] *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1852 (updated in 1859), Vol. II, pp. 658-661, as part of an account of British prisons.

memory and the records of the cruelties practiced and sufferings endured in the prisons and prison ships at New York, in which thousands of captive patriots were from time to time incarcerated during the war for Independence. Those who were made prisoners on land were confined in the foul jails of the city, while captive seamen, and sometimes soldiers too, were kept for months in floating dungeons,

*doomed to famine, shackles, and despair,*
*Condemned to breathe a foul, infected air*
*In sickly hulks, devoted while they lay—*
*Successive funerals gloomed each dismal day."*
*-PHILIP FRENEAU.*

"We have before observed that the prisoners taken in the battle near Brooklyn in August, and at Fort Washington in November, 1776, almost four thousand in all, were confined in prisons in the city of New York.[1] Probably more than a thousand private citizens, arrested by the British on suspicion or positive proof of their being active Whigs, were also made prisoners, and at the close of the year, at least five thousand American captives were in the power of the invaders.

"The only prisons proper in the city were the 'New Jail' and the 'New Bridewell.' The former, entirely altered in appearance, is the present Hall of Records in the Park, east of the City Hall; the latter stood between the present City Hall and Broadway. These were quite insufficient, and the three spacious sugar-houses[2] then in the city, some of the dissenting churches, Columbia College, and the Hospital, were all used as prisons. The disastrous effects of the great fire in September, the demands of the British army for supplies, the indolent indifference of Sir William Howe, and the cruel conduct of Cunningham, the provost marshal, combined to produce intense suffering among the prisoners....

"[In addition to the use of three sugar houses—Van Cortlandt's, Rhinelander's, and Livingston's—as jails] the North Dutch church, yet standing on William Street, between Fulton and Ann, was made to contain eight hundred prisoners, after taking out the pews and using them for fuel, and placing a floor across from gallery to gallery. For about two months several hundred prisoners were huddled together in the Middle Dutch church,[3] when they were removed, and it was converted into a riding-school, after taking out the pews. The 'Brick church,' yet standing in the triangle between Park Row and Beekman and Nassau Streets, was used for a prison a short time, when it, and the Presbyterian church in Wall Street, the Scotch church in Cedar Street, and the Friend's Meeting-house in Liberty Street, were converted into hospitals. The French church in Pine Street, and a portion of Van Cortlandt's Sugar-house, were used as magazines for ordnance and stores; and the old City Hall[4] was converted into a guard-house for the main guard of the city. The latter had dungeons beneath it, wherein civil officers, and afterward whaleboatmen and land marauders, were confined. None of these buildings now remain except the two Dutch churches and the 'Brick church.'

"The 'New Jail' was made a provost prison, where American officers and the most eminent Whigs who fell into the hands of the British were confined. Here was the theatre of Cunningham's brutal conduct toward the victims of his spite. The prisoners were formally introduced to him, and their name, age, size, and rank were recorded. They were then confined in the gloomy cells, or to the equally loathsome upper chamber, where the highest officials in captivity were so closely crowded together, that when, at night, they laid down to sleep upon the hard plank floor, they could change position only by all turning over at once, at the words *right—left*. Their food was scanty and of the poorest kind,[5] often that which Cunningham had exchanged at a profit for better food received from their friends or the commissariat. Little delicacies brought by friends of the captives seldom reached them, and the brutal Cunningham would sometimes devour or destroy such offerings of affection, in the presence of his victims, to gratify his cruel propensities. Thus for many months gentlemen of fortune and education, had lived in the enjoyment of the luxuries and refined pleasures of elegant social life, were doomed to a miserable existence, embittered by the coarse insults of an ignorant, drunken Irish master, or to a speedy death caused by such treatment, the want of good food, and fresh air, and innumerable other sufferings, the result, in a great measure, of the criminal indifference (it may be *commands)* of Loring, Sproat, and Lennox, commissaries of prisoners at various times.

"Still greater cruelties were practiced upon the less conspicuous prisoners, and many were hanged in the gloom of night, without trial or known cause for the foul murder. And yet, in the presence of the known fact that British power administered by military despotism was the cause of these sufferings, that infamous time-server, Hugh Gaine, who six months previously was professedly a zealous patriot, dared to insult truth and common honesty by publishing in his papers falsehoods like this: 'There are now five thousand prisoners in town, many of them half naked. Congress, deserting the poor wretches, has sent them neither provisions nor clothing, nor paid attention to their distress, or that of their families. Their situation must have been doubly deplorable, *but for the humanity of the king's officers.* Every possible attention has been given, considering their great numbers and necessary confinement, to alleviate their distress arising from guilt, sickness, and poverty.'

"The heart sickens at the recital of the sufferings of these patriots, and we turn in disgust from the view which the

[1] Lossing, Vol. II, p. 604, estimated that about one-third of the 5,000 patriots in the battle near Brooklyn died, were wounded, or were taken prisoner. *Ibid.*, p. 621: About 2,000 defenders of Fort Washington were made prisoners; the enemy reported taking 2,600, but, if so, this larger number would have included "six or seven hundred militia, volunteers, and stragglers" not included in the smaller count.

[2] See description in Chapter 8 of Odds and Ends No. 2, the Old Sugar House token.

[3] Lossing, Vol. II, p. 629, illustrates the Middle Dutch church; "the dissenting churches were generally devoted to military purposes...."

[4] Illustrated by Lossing, Vol. II, p. 658, captioned "Federal Hall."

[5] By contrast to the miserable fare of those imprisoned, the typical rations for a soldier in regular service in the Continental Army, in autumn 1775, included corned beef and pork four days each week, salted fish one day, and fresh beef two days; quantities amounted to a pound and a half of beef or 18 ounces of pork per day. Each man also had a quart of "strong beer" each day, one pound of flour each day, a section of hard bread one day each week, six ounces of butter or nine ounces of hog lard each week, and three pints of beans or peas or vegetable equivalents each week. (Cf. Lossing, *Field-Guide,* Vol. I, p. 576).

pen of faithful history reveals. Let us draw before it the veil of forgetfulness, and, while contemplating the cruelties and woes of that hour of the past, listen to the suggestions of Christian charity, which observes that much of the general suffering was the result of stern necessity, and that the cry of individual wrongs, inflicted by Cunningham and his hirelings, did not often reach the ears of the more humane officers of the British army...."

Another account further described Cunningham:[1]

"The cruelties inflicted by Cunningham, the brutal provost-marshal, who had the general supervision of American prisoners in New York City, were terrible. He seemed to be acting independent of the military officers. In his confession before his execution in England for a capital crime [unrelated to his earlier conduct in New York City], he said: 'I shudder to think of the murders I have been accessory to, with and without orders from Government, especially in New York, during which time there were more than two thousand prisoners starved in the various buildings used as prisons, by stopping their rations, which I sold!"

The following is from *Domestic History of the American Revolution*, by Mrs. E.F. Ellet, 1850, pp. 109-114:

"The New Jail, or the Provost, now the Hall of Records, was destined for the more notorious rebels, civil, naval and military. An admission into this modern Bastille was enough to appall the stoutest heart. On the right hand of the main door was Capt. Cunningham's quarters; opposite to which was the guard-room. At the entrance door two sentinels were always posted, by day and night. Two more on the first and second barricades, which were grated, barred and chained also at the rear door, and on the platform at the grated door; at the foot of the second flight of steps leading to the rooms and cells in the second and third stories. When a prisoner, escorted by soldiers, was led into the hall, the whole guard was paraded, and he was delivered over with all formality to Capt. Cunningham or his deputy, and questioned as to his name, rank, age, &c., all of which were entered in a record book. What with the bristling of arms, unbolting of bars and locks, clanking of enormous iron chains, and a vestibule dark as Erebus, the unfortunate captive might well shrink as he crossed the threshold of that door which possibly closed on him for life. The northeast chamber, turning to the left, on the second floor, was appropriated to officers, and characters of superior rank, and was called Congress Hall. In the day time the packs and blankets of the prisoners were suspended around the walls—every precaution being used to keep the rooms ventilated, and the walls and floors clean, to prevent jail fever; and as the Provost was generally crowded with American prisoners or British culprits of every description, it is really wonderful that infection never broke out within its walls. In this gloomy abode were incarcerated at different periods, many American officers and citizens of distinction, awaiting, with sickening hope, the protracted period of their liberation. Could these dumb walls speak, what scenes might they not disclose! The Captain and his deputies were enabled to fare sumptuously, by dint of curtailing the prisoners' rations, exchanging good for bad provisions, and other embezzlements."

Many of the American officers who were prisoners in New York, were paroled in January 1777, and billeted on the inhabitants of Flatbush, New Lots, Flatlands and Gravesend on Long Island, Congress agreeing to pay two dollars a week for their board....

"The women of New York did their part bravely in relieving the wants and sufferings of the prisoners. The case of the Quakeress, Deborah Franklin, who was banished from the city by the British commandant for her liberality in thus doing, was but one among many. The services of Mrs. Whetten are noticed in some of the public journals, and were acknowledged after the war with gratitude by Washington himself. The British were sometimes quartered upon her, and she was required to board many of the prisoners, who had reason to remember her generous kindness. She made it her daily business to prepare food for the American soldiers, and sent it regularly to the prisons, as well as mush to the hospitals, using thus all the Indian meal she could obtain. She went sometimes with her daughters to see the prisoners, and encouraged them by cheerful conversation.

"Occasionally they visited the Provost, where the marshal, Cunningham, would now and then show his displeasure by kicking over the baskets of food or vessels of soup they brought, and beating the unfortunate prisoners with his keys. Sometimes he received them with a surly courtesy, making himself amends, however, by indulging in boastful language. He told a gentleman that these ladies were the 'worst rebels in New York.' They continually provided not only provisions but clothes for the use of the captive soldiers, not heeding the surliness of their jailors, or the risk of indignity to themselves. Sometimes they went to a guardhouse close to the Old Sugarhouse, and the sergeant permitted them to sit at the window while the prisoners came into the yard below and talked with them. Not satisfied with such daily ministrations, Mrs. Whetten often had provisions conveyed to the unfortunate inmates of the prison ships. A boat was usually sent to receive the supplies.

"The wife of a prisoner thrown into the Provost in 1777, came alone from Nyack to the city to visit him and bring provisions, leaving six children at home. She was detained four months, and every day took her husband his meals, which he shared with other prisoners. Such and other acts of kindness were continually performed by women, not only in New York, but wherever their good offices were needed. They visited hospitals daily, and provisions were carried from their stores to the captive whose only means of recompense was the blessing of those who were ready to perish. Many in the country raised grain, gathered it, made bread, and carried it to their relatives in prison or in the army, accompanying the supply with exhortations never to abandon the cause of their country."

This account of the British treatment of American prisoners is from James Thacher, M.D., *Military Journal, During the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783,* 1854, pp. 75-76, and is germane to several of Sage's medals:

"It would seem that the application of the term rebel to our prisoners is sufficient to reconcile the consciences of their victors to inflict on them the most unprecedented cruelties. The following is a brief summary of the systematic method adopted and practiced for their destruction, as

[1] Benson J. Lossing, *The Empire State,* p. 250.

taken from the *New London Gazette,* from General Washington's letter of complaint to General Howe, and, and from the verbal statement of the officers and soldiers who have returned from New York by exchange.

"They were crowded into the holds of prison-ships, where they were almost suffocated for want of air, and into churches, and open sugar-houses, &c., without covering or a spark of fire. Their allowance of provisions and water for three days, was insufficient for one, and in some instances, they were for four days entirely destitute of food. The pork and bread, for they had no other sustenance, and even the water allowed them, were of the worst possible quality, and totally unfit for human beings. A minute detail of their dreadful sufferings would only serve to harrow up the feelings of surviving friends; as a gross outrage against the principles of humanity, suffice it to say, that in consequence of the most barbarous treatment, died within a few weeks, no less than fifteen hundred brave young men, the pride and shield of our country. After death had released the sufferers, their bodies were dragged out of the prisons, and piled up without doors, till enough were collected for a cart load, when they were carted out and tumbled into a ditch, and slightly covered with earth.

"Besides the above diabolical treatment, the prisoners were continually insulted and tantalized by British officers and malicious tories,[1] cursing and swearing at them as rebels, saying, 'This is the just punishment of your rebellion; nay, you are treated too well for rebels, you have not received half you deserve, and half you shall receive; but if you will enlist in his majesty's service, you shall have victuals and clothing enough.' Thus these callous-hearted Englishmen meanly endeavored to augment the royal army by the enlistment of American prisoners....

"In one instance, four of our wounded officers, of respectable rank, were put into a common dirt cart and conveyed through the streets of New York as objects of derision, reviled as rebels, and treated with the utmost contempt."

Thacher went on to relate an account of American prisoners having nooses put around their necks and placed on top of coffins, while being carted through the city.

Historian John Pintard (cited below under "Iconography") and others wrote that the second floor of the building was laughingly called Congress Hall and held officers and other prisoners of distinction including Ethan Allan and Judge Fell (of Bergen County, NJ).

After the Revolution the Old Provost (Provoost) again was used as a debtors' prison. In 1830 the building was converted for use as the Register's Office, a.k.a. Hall of Records. In the 1880s increased activity began in the area as it formed the Manhattan terminal for the Brooklyn Bridge (opened in 1883). In 1903 the structure was razed as part of construction for the subway system. Buttons, coins, human bones, and numerous other artifacts were found during the excavation. In 1907 the Mary Washington Colonial Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution marked the site of the Provoost Prison with a memorial tablet.

**OBVERSE design (unfinished die; early state):** Angular view of building. *The building does not have a front door.* THE OLD PROVOOST, N.Y. at top border. Signed L (for Lovett). Below building, one large star flanked on each side by a small star.

Cud break is on the rim above T, N.Y. in legend on *all specimens seen,* indicating that this break must have occurred very early in the life of the die.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 659, there as "Provost Jail"; this also appeared in other publications. Lossing added this note: "This was a small stone building, nearly square in form, and three stories in height, erected in 'the fields' in 1758. Its old walls now form a part of the Hall of Records. The main entrance to the prison was on the south. It had two lobbies, with strong barricades between the external and internal ones. On the right of the entrance was the room occupied by Cunningham, and opposite was that of Sergeant O'Keefe, his deputy in office and cruelty. A grated door was at the bottom of the stairs leading to the second and third floors. The northwest chamber on the second floor was devoted to officers and civilians of highest rank, and was called, in derision, *Congress Hall.* The late venerable John Pintard related the following anecdote of O'Keefe: As the Americans were moving down Chatham to Pearl Street, on the day of the British evacuation, O'Keefe thought it time for him to depart. A few British subjects, convicted of various crimes, were yet in his custody. As he was leaving, one of them inquired, 'Sergeant, what is to become of us?' 'You may all go to the devil,' he replied, in anger, as he threw the keys upon the floor behind him. 'Thank you sergeant,' was the answer, 'we have had too much of your company in this world to follow you to the next.' "

Lossing's depiction seems to have been based upon a drawing of Alexander J. Davis (1803-1892) printed in *The New York Mirror: A Weekly Journal Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts,* September 10, 1831, No. 73, to illustrate an article by John Pintard, "The Old Jail."

**REVERSE design (error reverse):** A / BRITISH / BRISON / DURING THE / REVOLUTION. / No. 1 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS.

Chain and manacles form top, side, and much of the lower border; 27 double links face the viewer, a considerably longer chain than on the second die. Apostrophe in SAGE'S is correct (on the second reverse it is a dot). Period after REVOLUTION. Period below "o" of No is a round dot.

Two reverse dies were made, the first of which had the erroneous spelling BRISON, probably because BRISON included the first three letters of BRITISH above it. Apparently, this error die was not known to Richard D. Kenney, for it is not mentioned in his 1948 study, although it was well known to others (including Guido Kisch, 1945).

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break is on the rim above T, N.Y. in legend on *all specimens seen,* indicating that this break must have occurred very early in the life of the die. Reverse from perfect die.

[1] Tories = Americans with British sympathies. During the long British occupation of New York City during the Revolutionary War, from September 1776, to November 25, 1783, most citizens did not openly oppose the British, but endeavored to conduct their personal and business affairs in a normal manner.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 1. (1b)
### The Old Provoost, N.Y.
### ("PRISON" reverse, 2nd die)

**OBVERSE design (finished die; late state):** View of building. *A front door to the building has been added to the previously unfinished die.* THE OLD PROVOOST, N.Y. at top border. Signed L (for Lovett).

Cud break on rim above T, N.Y. in legend as seen on the earlier use of this die.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

The characteristics of this corrected die were described by Guido Kisch, "War-Prisoner Money and Medals," *The Numismatist,* June 1945, p. 566.

**REVERSE design (new, correct die):** A / BRITISH / PRISON / DURING THE / REVOLUTION / No. 1 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. Star flanked by two long, tapered lines below REVOLUTION.

The second reverse die with correct spelling of PRISON. Chain and manacles form top and side border; 17 double links face the viewer, a considerably shorter chain than on the first die. No period after REVOLUTION. Period below "o" of No is a round dot. Apostrophe in SAGE'S is a dot. The A in AUG. is an inverted V; a diecutting error.

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with cud break on rim above T, N.Y. in legend as seen on the earlier use of this die. Break ends irregularly above the period after Y. Reverse from perfect die.

Die State II: As preceding, but obverse break advanced slightly clockwise, about the distance of two beads to the right of the period after Y (ANS Collection).

**Original obverse die from which Sage's Historical Token No. 1 was struck. Latest state (by definition) with door added to front of building. The rim outside of the beaded border is completely broken away. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

### RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Thicker than the original issue. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, offered 24 pieces! However, such tokens are extremely rare today. Perhaps the Wood hoard remains somewhere, undistributed.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse border modified; the cud break is no longer visible, and the die seems to have been beveled or re-machined from the middle of the beads to the outer edge. Reverse with massive rim break beginning at the manacle on the left (at the 9 o'clock position), continuing clockwise to below the T in HISTORICAL. Apparently, struck immediately after the brass restrikes were made (see below) (ANS Collection).

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, offered 26 pieces! These are scarce today, but are among the more available restrikes in Sage's Historical Tokens series.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse border modified; the cud break is no longer visible, and the die seems to have been beveled or re-machined from the middle of the beads to the outer edge. Reverse not completely struck up, but with left border struck up from 6 o'clock, clockwise to 11 o'clock, and showing no breaks in that area. (Van Sant Collection)

Die State II: Obverse die state as preceding, but the reverse in a later state. The reverse die has cud breaks below TORICA, linking the beads to the rim; similar cud break begins on the left opposite the manacle and connects beads to border, extending clockwise to an undetermined point, as striking is not sharp in this area. Several examples have been seen.

Die State III: Obverse as preceding. Reverse with massive rim break beginning at the manacle on the left (at the 9 o'clock position), continuing clockwise to below the T in HISTORICAL. Later state than the preceding; die state also seen on copper, reeded edge restrike. (ANS Collection)

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** No record.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, Lot 144, stated that only 10 were made of the silver, reeded edge restrikes; of that number, eight were offered in the same 1894 sale. The Chapmans claimed the dies had been destroyed (notwithstanding the obverse die being in the collection of the American Numismatic Society today!). The Bushnell Collection sale (1882) offered a specimen as Lot 462, reverse spelling variety not stated, as: "No. 1 in silver; weak impression, but very rare." Extremely rare today. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

**Commentary:** No. 1 in the Sage series is remarkable for having two major obverse die states and two completely different reverse dies. Most past auction and fixed price listings have not differentiated these; thus, relative rarity is not known. However, an early listing in Edward D. Cogan's sale of the Wiggin Collection, March 1862 (see Appendix III of the present work) described this difference, as did a few later catalogues.

View of the Federal Hall in New York City, the same as the City Hall on Sage's token. Washington was inaugurated here in 1789. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 658)

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 2.

### City Hall, Wall St., N.Y.

**History:** The City Hall was located in lower Manhattan at the corner of Wall and Broad streets in lower Manhattan. The building served as a point for law, order, and administration. Its use is demonstrated by this notice dated March 31, 1755: "Three young lads were last week committed to the City Hall in this city, on evidence of making and passing counterfeit Spanish one shilling pieces."[1]

On April 23, 1775, four days after the Battle of Lexington (in Massachusetts) a group of "Liberty Boys" advanced upon City Hall, forced their way in, and took 600 muskets stored by the British authorities, declaring themselves in charge of New York City. At a later date, after the Declaration of Independence was read aloud, motivated citizens demolished the portrait of King George III at City Hall.

In early 1777 General Charles Lee was imprisoned there under orders of General William Howe of the British forces: "He was in close confinement, it is true; but three rooms had been fitted up for his reception in the Old City Hall of New York, having nothing the look of a prison except that they were secured by bolts and bars."[2] Lee's incarceration became a *cause célèbre,* and numerous diplomatic exchanges were transmitted concerning the situation. Although there were "dungeons" in the cellar of City Hall, and some prisoners were quartered there in the Revolution, this structure does not seem to have been as overcrowded or as filthy as were the several other places of incarceration around the city.

The following is from *Domestic History of the American Revolution,* by Mrs. E.F. Ellet, 1850, pp. 109:

> "The old City Hall stood on the site of the present Custom House, and was converted into a guard-house, for the main guard of the city. It had dungeons and prisons below; and a court room on the second floor, where the refugee clergy preached during the latter part of the war. At first, civil offenders were confined here; but subsequently whaleboatmen and robbers."

In 1788-1789 City Hall was remodeled under the direction of architect Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who had been a hero in Lafayette's contingent in the American Revolution. This was L'Enfant's second commission, the first being a pavilion built in New York City near the intersection of what later would be known as Grand and Centre streets, then known

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[1] Contribution by Damon Douglas to *The Coin Collectors Journal,* January-February 1948, p. 19. "A "Spanish shilling" was a silver one-real piece, commonly known as a "bit."

[2] Washington Irving, *Life of George Washington,* Vol. III, 1856, pp. 16-17. Thacher, 1854, p. 73, relates that Lee was confined in the "provost

as Bunker Hill, earlier known as Mount Pleasant; this pavilion was put up "on the 23d of July 1788 in honor of the Constitution of the United States."

George Washington took his oath of office as president in 1789 from the balcony of City Hall, which from 1785 to 1790 was known as Federal Hall. From 1790 to 1797, the City Hall building served as the New York State Capitol. In the several years before it was razed, among the occupants was Scudder's American Museum, successor to Baker's American Museum, an exhibit of curiosities. Later, the United States Sub-Treasury building was erected on the site.

The story of the building was told by F.W. Doughty in "The Old City Hall Token," *Proceedings 1885-6*, American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, pp. 36-38, here excerpted. Note the "review" of Sage's tokens at the end of the narrative:

> "THE OLD CITY HALL token.... [die with inscription] CITY HALL, WALL ST. N.Y. ERECTED IN 1700. DEMOLISHED 1812.
>
> "As will be seen from the date of erection of the building in question, this token takes us back to the beginning of the second century of our city's history. During the administration of Governor Bellamont, the old *stadt-huys* at Coentie's slip having become so dilapidated that the Mayor and Corporation found it impossible to meet there any longer, they determined upon the immediate erection of a new building. A site was accordingly selected in 1699, and the work commenced. The ground chosen was on the northeast corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, where the present Sub-Treasury building now stands. The foundations of the new structure were laid on a bastion and line of stone fortifications, which extended across the then northerly boundary of the city, from the East to the Hudson River,—from which, as is generally known, the name *Wall Street* is derived. These fortifications had become dilapidated and being no longer regarded as a necessity, many of their stones were used in the erection of the new City Hall.
>
> "The foundation was laid in the spring of 1700, and the building finally completed in 1703. Its appearance on the day of the delivery of its keys to the city authorities, will be found better illustrated in an old engraving, than upon the Token issued by Mr. Sage. It remained for a long period the most magnificent edifice in the city. During the British occupation of New York it was used as a guard house, and escaping the ravages of the enemy, remained entire, although much injured, until the evacuation of the city by the English forces in 1783.
>
> "In the fall of 1784, the Continental Congress removed to New York, and the court room in the City Hall was fitted up for its use. On the adoption of the new Constitution more extensive accommodations were required for the Senate and House of Representatives, about to convene, for which purpose the old edifice was entirely renovated, and an extensive addition made in the rear. The expenses of these improvements were defrayed by a lottery, as was the custom in those days. Major L'Enfant, a French engineer of great ability, in the service of the United States during the Revolutionary war, was the architect; and his skill and taste displayed in the reconstruction of this edifice were greatly admired, and are believed to have given rise to an improved style of architecture throughout the country.
>
> "In the spring of 1789, the first Congress of the United States assembled in New York, their sessions being held in this building, whose name was now changed to Federal Hall. An accurate representation of the edifice as it appeared at that time has been preserved.
>
> "On the 30th of April of this year, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States in the gallery fronting the Senate Chamber, standing between the pillars to be seen in the engraving, in full view of an immense concourse of citizens in Broad Street below.
>
> "The oath of office was administered by Chancellor Livingston on a superb quarto Bible, then the property of the Grand Lodge of Free Masons of the State of New York, and now in the possession—we are informed—of St. John's Lodge, No. 1. Upon its cover, printed in letters of gold, the following inscription was placed:—'On this sacred volume, on the 30th day of April, A.M. 1789, in the city of New York, was administered to George Washington, the first President of the United States of America, the oath of office to support the Constitution of the United States. This important ceremony was performed by the Most Worshipful Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New York, the Honorable Robert Livingston, Chancellor of the State.
>
> "Fame stretched her wings and loud her trumpet blew,
> *Great Washington is near—what praise is due?*
> What title shall he have? She paused and said:
> *Not one—his name alone strikes every title dead.*"
>
> "The ancient edifice, after the removal of the national capital to the new city of Washington, was again occupied by the New York city officials. For the increased business of the rising metropolis, however, its accommodations soon became inadequate. It was consequently demolished upon the completion of the present City Hall, in 1812 and its site cut up into lots, sold to individuals, and private dwellings erected thereon. Later, the United States purchased the corner of Wall and Nassau streets, and established the Custom House in one of these. Upon their site, as has been already mentioned, the Sub-Treasury now stands, upon the steps of the which, the bronze statue of Washington, recently placed in position, commemorates our beginning as a nation, and the most important event in the history of the old City Hall.
>
> "Contemptuous as is the feeling with which the issues of Mr. Sage have been regarded by many, it needs but one glance at this Token on the part of the discerning collector to perceive its value to the numismatist of the future, as the only medallic representation of a building holding so important a place in the chronicles of the United States. A

prison" (see Sage Historical Token No. 1). Thacher stated in his journal, written during the Revolution, that the imprisoned Lee "receives the most rigid and ungenerous treatment." Benson J. Lossing, *Our Countrymen*, 1855, pp. 308-309, included a profile of Lee, noting that he was held captive until 1778, when he was exchanged for British General Prescott, who had been captured in Rhode Island. It was suggested that Lee had deliberately engaged in an unnecessary retreat and had caused the loss of the Battle of Monmouth a month after his release, in order to embarrass Gen. Washington, whose position as commander he envied and hoped to gain. He was suspended from his duties, court-martialed, had his sentence confirmed by Congress, and left the Continental Army in disgrace. Further from Lossing: "General Lee was a brilliant man in many respects, but he lacked sound moral principles, was rough and profane in language, and neither feared nor loved God nor man."

similar remark is pertinent in connection with that other issue of Mr. Sage, upon which is depicted the old Kennedy House, No. 1 Broadway."[1]

**OBVERSE design:** CITY HALL, WALL ST. N.Y. at border. Below: ERECTED IN 1700 / DEMOLISHED / 1812. Signed L (for Lovett). Lower lettering is misaligned in some areas, with the R in ERECTED and the 8 in 1812 too high and the second D in DEMOLISHED too low. Advertised as *Old* City Hall, but the word OLD does not appear on the token.

On October 8, 1909, this die was sold as part of Lot 834 in Thomas L. Elder's 33rd Sale. *This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving of the 1850s reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 658, there as "Federal Hall." Lossing added this note: "This is a view of the old Federal Hall, which stood on the site of the present Custom House in Wall Street, at the head of Broad Street. The view is from Wall Street, looking toward Broadway. Upon the balcony seen in front, the oath of office was administered to Washington. It was erected at the beginning of the last century. Its upper part projected over the side walk and formed an open arcade. Apartments in it were used as jails, until the erection of the 'new jail,' the provost prison of the Revolution."

Lossing's engraving is somewhat similar to and may have been adapted from "A Perspective View of the City Hall," emphasizing the right side of the building, drawn and engraved on a copper plate circa the early 1790s by Cornelius Tiebout.[2] Most other extant views show the building from the front, or as part of a group.

**REVERSE design:** A / BRITISH / PRISON / DURING THE / REVOLUTION / No. 2 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. Below REVOLUTION is a large star flanked on each side by two small stars. Skull and crossbones motif[3] to left and right of PRISON. Chain and manacles around most of the border; 24 double links face the viewer. In DURING the I is over a previous erroneous R, the undertype of which is still very clear; apparently, Lovett punched DURR, then realized his error and corrected it before completing the word. Period below "o" in No is a square.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has a trial piece of this die.[4]

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die perfect (no breaks). On all pieces seen there is a massive cud break at the reverse rim, typically beginning at the left side of the second chain link to the right of A at the top of the inscription (not counting the link directly above the A), extending clockwise to opposite H in HISTORICAL. This is also true of the two pieces in the American Numismatic Society cabinet, one being the gift of A.B. Sage.

**Pair of dies, rusted, from which Sage's Historical Token No. 2 was struck. The rim outside of the beaded border is completely broken away on both dies. Tracing the peregrinations of dies is no easy matter. For example, the above *obverse* die was sold as Lot 834 in Thomas L. Elder's 33rd Sale on October 8, 1909. On earlier occasions, two of America's most respected dealers, W. Elliot Woodward and one of the Chapman brothers (probably Henry), stated that Sage's dies had been *destroyed.* (Dies preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

Die State II: On the obverse there is a beginning break in the beading at the rim to the left of the building. Reverse as preceding.

Die State III: Obverse now has a cud break beginning opposite the highest ground (or sidewalk) line at the left, extending clockwise to below C of CITY. Reverse as preceding.

Die State IV: The obverse rim cud break has expanded below to opposite the lower left corner of the building, and on the reverse the break has expanded slightly to the left, to nearly halfway between the first and second links (cf. Perry-Feldman specimen among others). The *1860* Sage store card, Adams-Miller NY-752 was struck with this very late obverse die state (see Chapter 17).

Also see restrikes, copper, plain edge, below.

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Very late state of the dies. Only one seen (Ackerman specimen).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with entire rim broken away from center of beads outward. 30.9 mm., 196.4 grains (Ackerman). Reverse with expanded cud break beginning at the left side of the second chain link to the right of A at the top of the inscription (not counting the link directly above the A), extending clockwise to the 10 o'clock position. *This is a later die state than on the 1860 Sage store card, Adams-Miller-752, indicating it was struck 1860 or later; hence, it is a restrike.*

**Copper. Reeded edge:** No record.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

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[1] In somewhat related context, but with no mention of Sage, Andrew C. Zabriskie, president on the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, in his annual address given on March 18, 1901 (cf. *Proceedings,* 1901), suggested paths of collecting including: "In speaking just now of representations of buildings upon medals, I am reminded of what seems to me an interesting specialty in medal gathering, and one not appreciated by collectors—that is, a series showing New York buildings, statues, monuments, and the like. I commend this interesting field to young collectors, who, at a comparatively small outlay, may make an attractive and instructive collection.... Specialization in collecting is a feature among collectors which produces most effective results."

[2] A copy of the print is preserved in the Museum of the City of New York.

[3] Each head is from the same prepared design punch; also used on the obverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 5. The same death's head motif was used, for example, on the masthead of *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser,* October 31, 1765.

[4] Malcolm Storer, M.D. *Numismatics of Massachusetts.* Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1923, p. 47, catalogue no. 362.

Earliest specific appearance found: January 29, 1863. A specimen, edge style not recorded (but probably brass), appeared in the "Bridgens Collection" sale, January 29, 1863. As the catalogue was prepared in 1862, this would indicate restriking in or before that year. This is the earliest description of *any* Sage Historical Token restrike located by the author.

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** No record.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

## MULINGS:

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 2/3:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett City Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 2) and Faneuil Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 3) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 2042 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992). A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, edge not stated (cf. Storer, p. 47).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL side with rim broken or tooled away and revealing only the innermost parts of certain beads. FANEUIL HALL side with massive cud break at rim from above first L in HALL, clockwise to below H.L. (of G.H.L.). Cf. two specimens studied. This obverse die state is the same as used to strike Sage's 1860 store card, Adams-Miller NY-751 (see Chapter 17).

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with rim either a massive cud break all around, or else treated by Lovett to tool away area between the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads to the outside rim. Reverse with massive cud break at rim from first L in HALL, clockwise to below H.L. part of Lovett's G.H.L. signature.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 572 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III). A specimen appeared as Lot 2043 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL side with rim broken or tooled away and revealing only the innermost parts of certain beads. FANEUIL HALL side with massive cud break at rim from above (or near; specimen not distinct in this area) first L in HALL, clockwise to below H.L. (of G.H.L.). (Feldman Collection)

**Silver. Plain edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 571 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III).

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 2/4:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett City Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 2) and Carpenter's Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 4) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227. Another piece, very thick planchet and with bronzed surfaces, is in the author's collection.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse and reverse dies with massive cud break from centerpoint (approximately) of beads to outer rim; perhaps this part was deliberately broken away.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 2044 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CITY HALL) with rim either a massive cud break all around (not likely), or else treated by Lovett to tool away area between the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads to the outside rim. Reverse with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom.

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 2/5:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett City Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 2) and The Old Jersey (Sage's Historical Token No. 5) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. The OLD JERSEY die has a cud break at the rim from above the left top of the second E in JERSEY, clockwise to where the bottom right bone (of the right-side skull and crossbones) reaches the border.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. THE OLD JERSEY die is perfect.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. THE OLD JERSEY die is perfect. (ANS Collection; carelessly struck with a very high wire rim on the top part of the obverse).

**The obverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 2, City Hall, was muled with a new reverse die to create an advertising token** (described in Chapter 17; Adams-Miller NY-749 through 751).

**Muling of CITY HALL (Historical Token No. 2) / GEO: WASHINGTON.** Baker-627:

Lovett muled the CITY HALL obverse (No. 2) with Robert Lovett, Jr.'s GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776, horse facing left, obverse die to create Baker-627. This was done by 1864, probably at the same time other irrelevant Washington portrait and equestrian mulings were made.

**Baker-627: Copper.** Rulau-Fuld (1985, p. 245): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: Henry Cook Collection sale, July 30, 1862, Lot 320.

**Baker (unlisted). Brass:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2453. Woodward stated that this was extremely rare, perhaps unique. A specimen also appeared as Lot 1597 of Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III), there called "scarce."

**Muling of CITY HALL (Historical Token No. 2) / UNION LEAGUE 1863.**

Irrelevant muling combining the obverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 2 with a reverse depicting a shield at the center, enclosed with an open wreath, UNION LEAGUE above, date 1863 below. The Union League, also called the National Union League, was organized in Philadelphia on December 27, 1862,[1] and was a

[1] Per the inscription on the reverse die of a token (not discussed in the present text) listed by DeWitt and Sullivan as U 1862-2.

patriotic organization that flourished in 1863, during which year various medals, badges, and regalia were produced in connection with it.[1]

The dies for this muling appeared as Lot 834 in Thomas L. Elder's 33rd Sale, October 8, 1909; the consignor not identified, although an earlier page noted that certain federal U.S. coins were the property of an unnamed Bucksport, ME, consignor. Lot 834 was described as: "1863. New York. Union League. Shield. View of old City Hall, Wall St., N.Y. Built in 1700. Fine set of dies." Included as part of the same lot, but not relevant to Sage: "Small Grant dies. Bust. Rev. For President, General U.S. Grant, 1868. Fine dies."

An example of the muling offered by Presidential Coin and Antique Co., sale of July 20, 1981, was described as follows:

"Lot 1145: Hist. No. 2 CITY HALL, WALL ST. NY. but reverse UNION LEAGUE 1863. Shield center. Copper. Plain edge." The buyer was David Schenkman.[2]

This reverse die is recorded several places in the literature, but in combination with non-Sage-related obverses. In Russell Rulau, *United States Tokens 1700-1900* it is listed under "Trade Tokens" as Pa-Ph-309 in combination with a die inscribed LANCASTER / PENNA. around the border, with a blank center, apparently an unfinished die. The same variety is listed by George and Melvin Fuld as No. NC-26 (in white metal). The size is given as 31 mm.

The DeWitt and Sullivan studies state that the UNION LEAGUE / 1863 die was by Robert Lovett, Jr., of Philadelphia. The same reference lists these mulings with it: No. U 1862-4: LANCASTER / PENNA. die as described above. White metal. No. U-2862-5: Muled with Robert Lovett, Jr.'s PENN'S TREATY die (which was also muled with a Sage-related die; see Historical Token No. 12, SIR HENRY CLINTON'S HOUSE, described below).

Although various UNION LEAGUE mulings have been described in numismatic literature, the combination with Sage's CITY HALL obverse is generally unknown.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State 1: CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. UNION LEAGUE die perfect. (Consigned to Joseph Levine)

**Copper. Plain edge**: Very rare.

Commentary: The 31 mm. UNION LEAGUE / 1863 die is conceptually related to other tokens including a 34 mm. piece with inscription, UNION LEAGUE / JULY 4th / 1776 1863 / PHILADELPHIA (Fuld NC-25e and other citations). Another token, 25 mm., bears the inscription NATIONAL UNION LEAGUE / OF / THE / 1863 / UNITED STATES, also with a shield and open wreath design, but different from that employed in the larger-diameter die used on the CITY HALL muling described above. This National Union League of the United States die is known muled with a die advertising Charles K. Warner, rare coin dealer at 326 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia (Fuld NC-27a and variants, ascribed to circa 1870). Warner was a very active coin dealer (among other things, he had a retail trade in Philadelphia for many years and in 1867 catalogued the Louis Brechemin Collection for auction).[3] Among his dealer friends in Philadelphia in the 1860s was E.L. Mason, Jr.

The peregrinations of George Hampden Lovett's CITY HALL die made for Sage in 1858 are not recorded, nor is the involvement, if any, of Lovett with the Union League dies and their subsequent use. It may be that the CITY HALL / UNION LEAGUE muling was made in George H. Lovett's shop from dies that were borrowed or bought from his older brother in Philadelphia, possibly by a collector (various engravers sold their dies to collectors, who enjoyed owning and sometimes *using* them; various comments concerning such situations appear here and there in nineteenth-century auction catalogues).

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 3.

### Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.

**History:** This large brick structure, which still stands today and is a prime Boston tourist attraction, was constructed by Peter Faneuil, beginning on September 8, 1740, and presented to the city of Boston on September 10, 1742. For many years the lower section was used for various offices and shops, while the upstairs served as a large meeting hall, although from time to time it was closed for periods of several months or more.[4]

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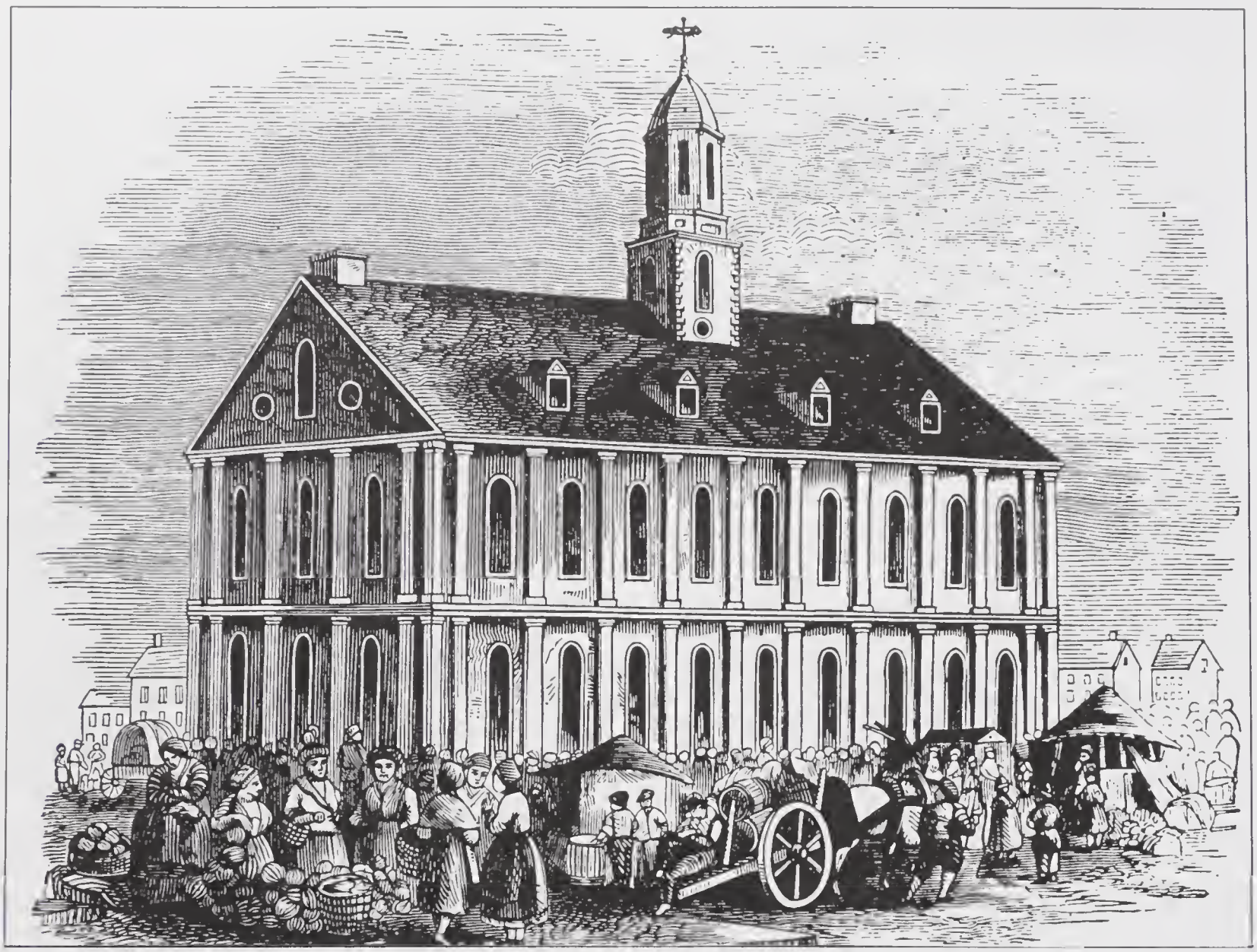
[1] As an example, *Harper's Weekly,* June 6, 1863, carried several advertisements for National Union League pins sold by Salisbury, Bro. & Co., Providence, RI; and badges offered by E.N. Foote & Co., New York City, and John W. Everett, also of New York City.

[2] The token was subsequently sold by Schenkman; invoice not presently located. Letter, June 11, 1997.

[3] Warner was associated with the firm of William H. Warner & Brother, being the "brother," in a partnership which advertised in 1883: "William H. Warner & Brother. Established 1823. Manufacturers of medals and badges for colleges, schools, institutes, horticultural, agricultural and other societies. Designs made and estimates given for dies and medals. No. 1123 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. William H. Warner, Charles K. Warner." Charles' involvement with muling, numismatic delicacies, etc., is reflected by W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the J.N.T. Levick Collection, Lot 1140, a store card: "Warner, Charles K., dealer in American and foreign medals, 728 Chestnut Street; small head of Washington; head of Washington on clouds; copper, brass, tin, Proofs. 3 pieces." This was part of a listing of tokens relating to Warner, some of which were muled with *Robert Lovett, Jr.,* tokens. Lot 1155: "Warner, C.K. Numismatist., 326 Chestnut St.; various reverses, Washington, Lincoln, Grant and McClellan; brass and tin. all fine, 8 pcs." In December 1910, the following recollection by Charles K. Warner was printed in *The Numismatist,* here excerpted: "I have at times in the past promised to write you something regarding my boyhood days around the old Mint building, which still stands on the east side of Seventh street.... My father, the late John S. Warner, who from 1823 to 1868 was the oldest established medallist in the United States, was well acquainted with a certain William Sellers who for many years conducted the business of a silversmith in the old Mint building. He occupied the entire first floor and a greater part of the basement. As a lad I frequently visited the old Mint building on errands to Mr. Sellers for my father and often played about the building with a son of Sellers, who was about my age. I well remember the old vault. I could have easily explored the vault, and no doubt could have found many things which, if preserved, would be of great interest today, but lad that I was, I had no interest in such things."

[4] Certain information is from Samuel G. Drake, *The History and Antiquities of Boston,* 1856, pp. 610-613.



**View of Faneuil Hall, Boston, reproduced by Lossing, and credited as being "From an English print of the time." The same writer went on to state: "Faneuil Hall has been denominated 'the cradle of American liberty,' having been the popular gathering place of the Sons of Liberty during the incipient stages of the Revolution." (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 471)**

As the American Revolution neared, the private citizens of Boston refused to provide lodging for British soldiers as required under the Quartering Act. Thus, troops billeted in Faneuil Hall. During the British occupation of Boston in 1775-1776 Faneuil Hall was used as a theatre. Before and during the Revolutionary War, Faneuil Hall and the surrounding streets served as a rallying point for patriots. In the nineteenth century, shops were located on the first floor of the building, including the clothing shop of William H. Milton in rooms 4 and 6, who issued many copper tokens circa 1830-1834 under his own name, and 1834 and later as William H. Milton & Co., in each instance noting that he operated the Faneuil Hall Clothing Warehouse.[1]

One can imagine today that when creating this token in 1858, Augustus B. Sage contemplated these words in Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, page 478, and saw the nearby engraving of the same building, an image copied by Lovett on the token:

> "The Sons of Liberty called a meeting at Faneuil Hall on the afternoon of the 13th. A large concourse assembled, and the principal business done was preparing a petition to the governor, asking him to remove the man-of-war from the harbor. The Council passed resolutions condemnatory of the rioters, but the House of Representatives took no notice of the matter. Legal proceedings were commenced against the leading rioters, but the difficulty of procuring witnesses, and the bad feeling that was engendered, made the prosecutors drop the matter in the following spring.
>
> "Alarmed by these tumultuous proceedings, the governor requested General Gage, then in New York, and captain general of all the British forces in America, to act upon a permission already given him by Lord Hillsborough, in a secret and confidential letter, to order some royal troops from Halifax to Boston. Intelligence of this request leaked out, and the people of Boston were greatly irritated. The arrival of an officer sent by Gage to prepare quarters for the coming troops occasioned a town meeting, and a committee, consisting of James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and John Adams, was appointed to wait upon the governor, ascertain whether the report was true, and requested him to call a special meeting of the Assembly. The governor frankly acknowledged that troops were about to be quartered in Boston, but refused to call a meeting of the Assembly until he should receive instructions from home."

Further and significantly (from the aspect of Sage's token inscription) from Lossing:

[1] A relevant article titled "The Milton Store Cards" appeared in *The Numismatist,* February 1914; many other citations could be given as well, including modern listings by Russell Rulau.

"Faneuil Hall has been denominated 'the cradle of American Liberty,' having been the popular gathering place of the Sons of Liberty during the incipient states of the Revolution. It was erected in 1742, at the sole expense of Peter Faneuil, Esq., of Boston, and by him generously given to the town—the basement for a market, with a spacious and most beautiful hall, and other convenient rooms above, for public meetings of the citizens. It was burned in 1761, nothing but the brick walls remaining. The town immediately ordered it to be rebuilt. Mr. Faneuil had then been dead several years. The engraving [the same one used by Sage and Lovett] shows it as it appeared during the Revolution. It was enlarged in 1805, by the addition of another story, and an increase of forty feet in its width. The hall is about eighty feet square and contains some fine paintings of distinguished men. The lower part is no longer used as a market. The original vane, copied from that of the London Royal Exchange, still turns upon the pinnacle. It is in the form of a huge grasshopper (the crest of Sir Thomas Gresham), through whose munificence of the Royal Exchange was built."

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of Faneuil Hall. Inscription FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, MASS. At top border. Signed G.H.L. below building.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From a popular engraving of the 1850s reproduced in several publications including Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, p. 471 Lossing credited the image as being from an old print. A similar print from Drake, the same perspective, but lacking certain features of the print used by Lossing and Sage, is in Samuel G. Drake, *The History and Antiquities of Boston,* 1856, p. 611, and is an obvious copy of the same "old print." Also see John Frost, *An Illuminated History of North America,* 1854, p. 314.

**REVERSE design:** Within wreath: THE / CRADLE / OF / AMERICAN / LIBERTY. Below: No. 3 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS.

Period below "o" of No is a small dash.

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Thicker than the original issue. Extremely rare. Somewhat crudely struck.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with massive cud break at rim, beginning to the right of the second L in HALL, continuing clockwise along the rim to the 5 o'clock position (about below the 4th column from the right on the lower part of the building).

Die State II: With obverse rim cud break beginning above the first L in HALL, continuing clockwise to a point below the space between the H. and L. in G.H.L. Reverse with cud break at rim beginning above the right tip of T in THE, clockwise for a short distance through 11 beads. 199.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker Collection).

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 2040 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse rim cud break beginning above the first L in HALL, continuing clockwise to a point below the period after the L in G.H.L. Reverse with cud break at rim beginning above the right tip of T in THE, clockwise for a short distance through 11 beads. Struck after the white metal, reeded edge restrike, and between the early and late die states of the copper, reeded edge, restrike.

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: With massive cud break at rim from first L in HALL, clockwise along the rim to the 5 o'clock position (about below the 4th column from the right on the lower part of the building). Extensive die rust on the reverse. This impression was struck later than the copper, reeded edge, restrike, early impressions, but before the later state of the copper, reeded edge, restrike.

**White metal. Variant:** The American Numismatic Society has a specimen in white metal or some related composition, possibly with much lead; extensively corroded so that most of the mass is no longer present. 82.9 grains; 31.9 mm., but so corroded that the original diameter was probably larger. *Coin-wise (not medal-wise) die alignment.*

**Silver. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

## MULINGS:

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 2/3:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett City Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 2) and Faneuil Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 3) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 2042 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992). A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, edge not stated (cf. Storer, p. 47).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL side with rim broken or tooled away and revealing only the innermost parts of certain beads. FANEUIL HALL side with massive cud break at rim from above first L in HALL, clockwise to below H.L. (of G.H.L.). Cf. Witham specimen.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with rim either a massive cud break all around (not likely), or else treated by Lovett to tool away area between the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads to the outside rim. Reverse (Faneuil Hall side) with massive cud break at rim from first L in HALL, clockwise to below H.L. part of Lovett's G.H.L. signature.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 572 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III). A specimen appeared as Lot 2043 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL side with rim broken or tooled away and revealing only the innermost parts of certain beads. FANEUIL HALL side with massive cud break at rim from above (or near;

specimen not distinct in this area) first L in HALL, clockwise to below H.L. (of G.H.L.). (Feldman Collection)

**Silver. Plain edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 571 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III).

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 3/4:** Sage obverse No. 3 (Faneuil Hall) muled with Sage obverse No. 4 (Carpenters' Hall):

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud break at rim, beginning above the top right of the second O in BOSTON, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim.

Die State II: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud break at rim, beginning to the right of the second L in HALL, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud break at rim, beginning above the top right of the second O in BOSTON, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim (Irion Collection).

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare. Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) perfect (no rim breaks). Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** A specimen, edge style not stated (but probably reeded),[1] was in W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Seth Chadbourne Collection, 1878, Lot 3357.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud break at rim, beginning to the right of the second L in HALL, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham).

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 3/5:** Sage obverse No. 3 (Faneuil Hall) muled with Sage obverse No. 5 (Old Jersey):

**Copper:** A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society (cf. Storer, p. 48). A specimen appeared in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, Lot 576 (see Appendix III).

**White metal. Reeded edge:** A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, edge not stated (cf. Storer, p. 48). A specimen appeared in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, Lot 575 (see Appendix III).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (Faneuil Hall side) from perfect die, without rim cud break. Reverse (Old Jersey side) with cud break at rim, beginning above the left side of the E in JERSEY, extending clockwise to a point directly below the center of the rightmost skull-and-crossbones emblem.

**Silver:** A specimen, edge style not stated (but probably reeded), was in Woodward's sale of the Chadbourne Collection, 1878, Lot 3559. A specimen appeared as Lot 1380 in the Isaac F. Wood Collection sale, Édouard Frossard, 1884; edge style not given.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

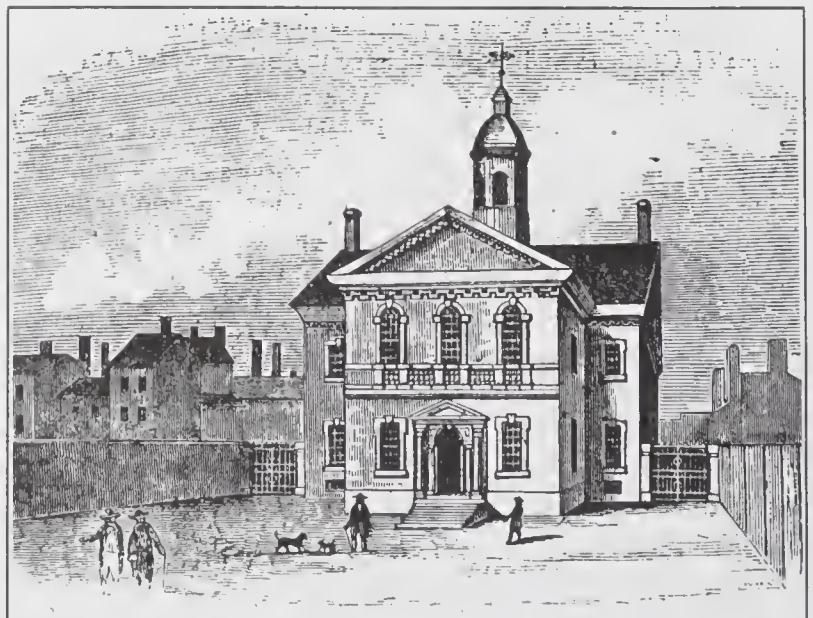
### No. 4.

### Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, Penn.

**History:** Built in 1770 by the Carpenters' Company, this structure soon became one of the most important gathering places in Philadelphia. For several years beginning in 1774 Carpenter's Hall served as a meeting place and office for activities of the Continental Congress, including the national convention to draft the Constitution in 1787. During the Revolution, munitions were stored in the basement. From 1791 to 1797 it housed the Bank of the United States. In 1857 it was dedicated as a historic monument.

Again, Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* was probably the inspiration for Sage to create a token. In Vol. I, pp. 57-58, Lossing told of his visit to this historical structure:

"On Monday morning I visited Carpenters' Hall, the building in which the first Continental Congress held its brief session. Having had no intimation concerning its appearance, condition, and present use, and informed that it was situated in 'Carpenters' Court,' imagination had invested its exterior with dignity, its interior with solemn



**Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, as it appeared in the early days. A similar icon was reproduced on Sage's tokens. (*Illuminated History of North America*, 1854, page 317)**

[1] George J. Fuld, letter, May 9, 1996, commented that in his belief all silver restrikes and mulings have reeded edges.

grandeur, and its location a spacious area, where nothing 'common or unclean' was permitted to dwell. How often the hoof of Pegasus touches the leafless tree-tops of sober prose when his rider supposes him to be at his highest altitude! How often the rainbow of imagination fades, and leaves to the eye nothing but the forbidding aspect of a cloud of plain reality! So at this time.

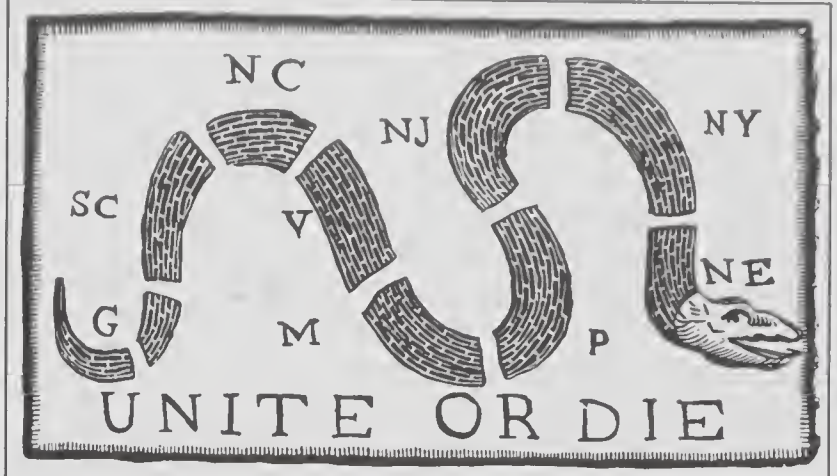
"The spacious *court* was but a short and narrow alley; and the *Hall,* consecrated by the holiest associations which cluster around the birth-time of our republic, was a small two-story building, of somber aspect, with a short steeple, and all of a dingy hue. I tried hard to conceive the apparition upon its front to be a classic frieze, with rich historic triglyphs; but it would not do. Vision was too 'lynx-eyed,' and I could make nothing more poetic of it than an array of impudent letters spelling the words

C.J. WOLBERT & CO., AUCTIONEERS
FOR THE SALE OF
REAL ESTATE AND STOCKS,
Fancy Goods,
*HORSES, VEHICLES, AND HARNESS.*

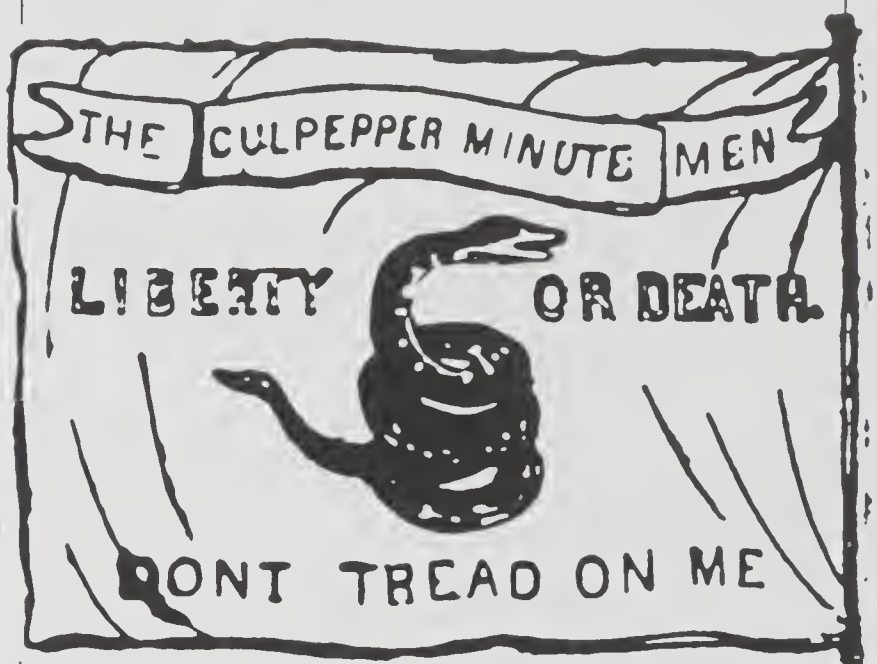
"What a desecration! Covering the façade of the very Temple of Freedom with the placards of groveling mammon! If sensibility is shocked with this outward pollution, it is overwhelmed with indignant shame on entering the hall where that august assembly of men—the godfathers of our republic—convened to stand as sponsors at the baptism of infant American Liberty, to find it filled with every species of merchandise, and the walls which once echoed the eloquent words of Henry, Lee, and the Adamses, reverberating with the clatter of the auctioneer's voice and hammer. Is there not patriotism strong enough and bold enough in Philadelphia to enter this temple and "cast out all them that buy and sell, and overthrow the table of the money-changers?"

"The hall in which Congress met is upon the lower floor, and comprehends the whole area of the building. It is about forty-five feet square, with a recess in the rear twenty-five feet wide and about twelve feet deep, at the entrance of which are two pillars, eighteen feet high. The second story contains smaller apartments which were used by Congress, and occupied by the society as committee rooms. In one of these, emptied of all merchandise except a wash-tub and a rush-bottomed chair, let us sit down and consider the events connected with that first great Continental Council...."

**Interior of Congress Hall, Philadelphia, as observed by Benson Lossing in the late 1840s. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 58)**




**Engraving of a snake cut in section, inscribed with letters representing the various colonies, and the inscription "UNITE OR DIE." (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 508)**




**Flag with coiled rattlesnake as used in Virginia in 1775. The rattlesnake, common in the colonies, but not known in Britain, was a popular symbol of American resistance and independence. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 299)**

The reverse of this Sage token bears the inscription UNITE OR DIE at the top. This motto evolved from JOIN, OR DIE, expressed by Benjamin Franklin in connection with the Albany Congress in 1754, with the sentiment referring to Americans uniting against the Indians (the connection with Americans vs. the British would come later). Pictured in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette,* May 9, 1754, was a segmented rattlesnake, tail to the left, head to the right, the parts of which inscribed (left to right): S.C., N.C., V., M., P. N.J., N.Y., and N.E. The rattlesnake,[1] native to America but completely unknown in Europe, was viewed as a unique symbol of the colonies. In 1751 Franklin made the humorous suggestion that rattlesnakes be sent to England in fair exchange for the British convicts that were being shipped to America. By the early 1770s, the segmented snake was published in versions with the motto UNITE OR DIE. One such cartoon has "G." (for Georgia) added to the other colonies.

**OBVERSE design:** Front view, at a slight angle, of Carpenters' Hall. Inscription CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADEL-

[1] Probably inspired by *crotalus horridus horridus,* a.k.a. the timber rattlesnake, the primary species of rattlesnake seen in the Northeast.

PHIA, PENN. surrounding. Below, three large stars flanked by three small stars on each side.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From a popular engraving of the 1850s reproduced in several publications including Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 57. Lossing added this note: "This building is constructed of small imported bricks, each alternate one glazed, and darker than the other, giving it a checkered appearance. Many of the old houses of Philadelphia were built of like materials. It was originally erected for the hall of meeting for the society of house-carpenters of Philadelphia. It stands at the end of an alley leading south from Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets." Also see John Frost, *An Illuminated History of North America,* 1854, p. 317.

**REVERSE design:** Inscription within border made of a segmented snake, tail at upper left and head at upper right, UNITE OR DIE above; snake enclosing the inscription THE / ASSEMBLING PLACE /. OF THE / FIRST / CONTINENTAL / CONGRESS. / SEP. 5. [period] 1774. At the bottom border: AUG B SAGES HISTORICAL TOKENS No 4.

At the top border, UNITE OR DIE is from an old with-serifs punch set; the base of D is missing; lower right of T broken. At the bottom border: AUG B SAGES HISTORICAL TOKENS No 4. There is no punctuation in AUG B SAGES.[1] The letters are from a old with-serifs punch set; irregular, lower right of A and lower right of T broken; the period below "o" of No is a tiny dot off center to the left.

On all examples seen from this die, a prominent raised die scratch is on the reverse, passing from upper left through EM in ASSEMBLING, F in OF, bottom of T in THE, ending above A in CONTINENTAL.

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen. Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare. With raised die scratch as preceding.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with rim broken away or removed from about the centerpoint of the beads to the rim. On the reverse the rim is broken away beginning above R in OR and extending clockwise a point three beads away from the 4 in No. 4.; a die crack (not a cud) is at the rim between the S in TOKENS and the N in No. 4, closer to the N.

Die State II: Obverse as preceding. The reverse the rim is broken away beginning above R in OR and extending clockwise to near S in TOKENS.

Die State III: Obverse as preceding. The reverse break extends all the way to above O in TOKENS.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 2040 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die with rim broken away from beading outward; reverse from perfect (unbroken) die.

Commentary: Oxidation or tinpest has been observed on two specimens, indicating that the metal may be nearly pure tin.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

Earliest specific appearance found: November 11-16, 1878, Chadbourne Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2886. Edge style not stated.

## MULINGS:

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 2/4:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett City Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 2) and Carpenter's Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 4) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227. Another piece, very thick planchet and with bronzed surfaces, is in the author's collection.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse and reverse dies with massive cud break from centerpoint (approximately) of beads to outer rim; perhaps this part was deliberately broken away.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 2044 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CITY HALL) with rim either a massive cud break all around (not likely), or else treated by Lovett to tool away area between the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads to the outside rim. Reverse with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom.

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 3/4:** Sage obverse No. 3 (Faneuil Hall) muled with Sage obverse No. 4 (Carpenters' Hall):

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud break at rim, beginning above the top right of the second O in BOSTON, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim.

Die State II: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud break at rim, beginning to the right of the second L in HALL, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud

[1] This may provide a window on Lovett's die-cutting methodology, suggesting that after he put letters on the die he intended to go back and in a separate operation add punctuation. The writer is preparing a manuscript centering upon Civil War tokens (circa 1861-1864) that will discuss die preparation and subsequent changes (relapping, the correcting of errors, etc.).

break at rim, beginning above the top right of the second O in BOSTON, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim (Irion Collection).

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare. Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) perfect (no rim breaks). Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** A specimen, edge style not stated (but probably reeded),[1] was in W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Seth Chadbourne Collection, 1878, Lot 3357.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (FANEUIL HALL) with massive cud break at rim, beginning to the right of the second L in HALL, continuing clockwise to opposite the bottom part of the ground line at the lower right. Reverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with all of the rim broken away from the center (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham).

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 4/5:** Sage obverse No. 4 (Carpenters' Hall) muled with Sage obverse No. 5 (Old Jersey):

**Copper. Plain edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above the final A in PHILADELPHIA, clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) from perfect die. Earlier die state than the following.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare. A specimen, edge style not specified, appeared as Lot 574 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to above the left side of the first H in PHILADELPHIA; another cud break extends from above the final A in PHILADELPHIA, clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) with massive cud break at rim from opposite left side of second E in JERSEY, clockwise to the point at which the lower right bone (in the skull and crossbones on the right side of the token) touches the border. (Baker Collection)

**Brass. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 2046 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) with massive cud break at rim from opposite left side of second E in JERSEY, clockwise to below center of skull and crossbones. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham)

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) with massive cud break at rim from opposite left side of second E in JERSEY, clockwise to below center of skull and crossbones.

**Silver:** A specimen, edge style not specified, appeared as Lot 573 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III).

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS
### No. 5.
### The Old Jersey.

**History:** The "Old Jersey" prison ship, anchored in New York Harbor near the Brooklyn Navy Yard, was a filthy old hull in which unfortunate American prisoners were kept under inhumane circumstances. The *Jersey* had been built in 1736 as a fourth-rate ship of the line, with 60 cannon,[2] carrying a crew of 400. She was used by the British in service in the English Channel, and later saw extensive employment on multiple voyages to the Mediterranean Sea, Spain, the West Indies, and the eastern reaches of Canada including Newfoundland. By 1747 the ship was in disrepair and was retired from service. Hostilities with France in 1756 necessitated the *Jersey* being refitted for further action, this time in the Mediterranean. The vessel returned to England and was again retired in 1763. In 1769 she underwent repairs and was sent to America, but was decommissioned in the same year. In 1776 the *Jersey*, with her armament removed, was sent to New York and used as a hospital-ship.[3] Later, she became a prison for captured American patriots.[4]

This account is from James Thacher, M.D., *Military Journal, During the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783*, 1854, p. 350:

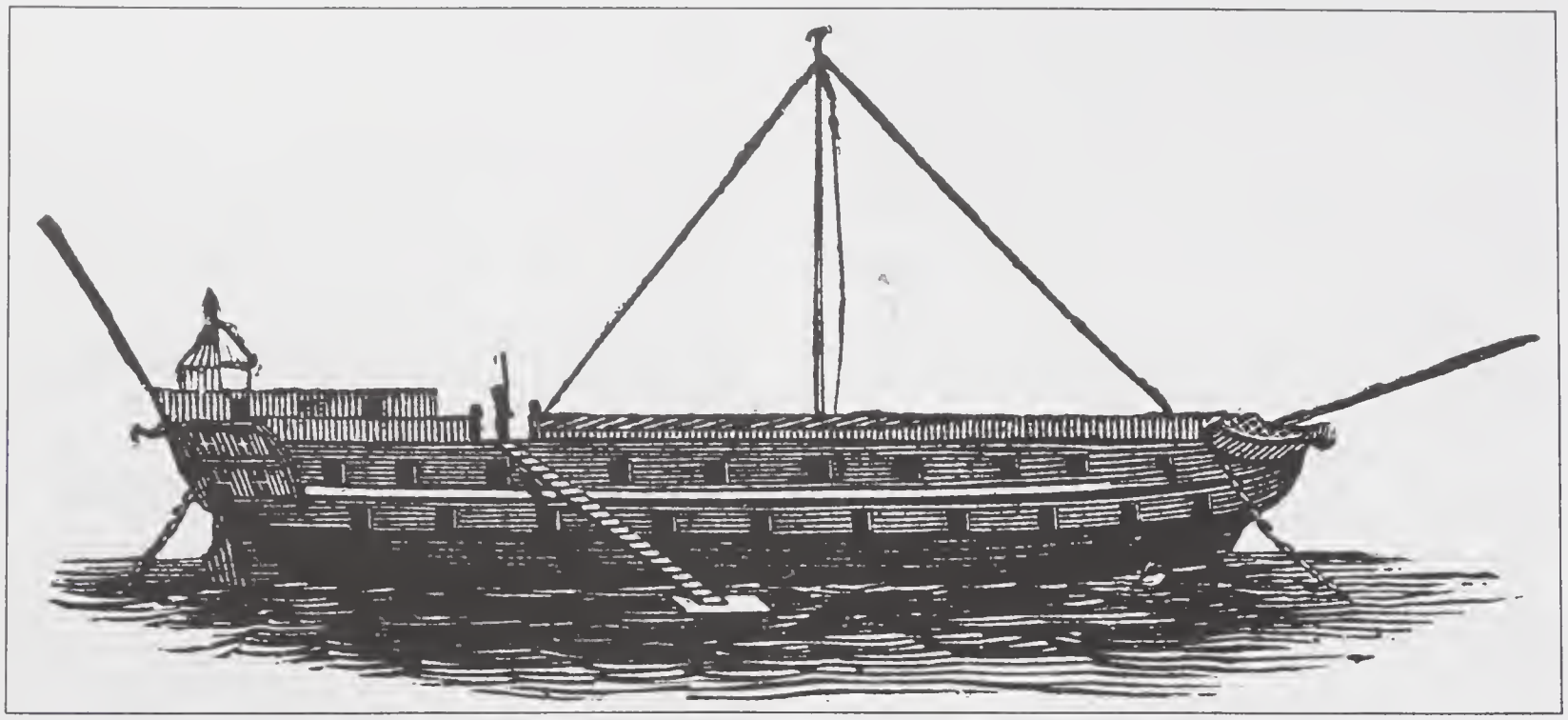
> "It has been estimated that the loss of lives in the various armies of the United States, during the war, is not less than seventy thousand. The numbers who died on board

[1] George J. Fuld, letter, May 9, 1996, commented that in his belief all silver restrikes and mulings have reeded edges.

[2] Another account, subsequently quoted, gives the number of cannon as 64.

[3] In nineteenth-century historical accounts, hospital-ship and prison-ship were nearly always hyphenated.

[4] For additional details see Albert G. Greene (editor), *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship: Taken, and Prepared for Publications, from the Original Manuscript of the Late Captain Thomas Dring, of Providence, R.I., One of the Prisoners*. New York City, NY: P.M. Davis, 1831. Revised and re-edited edition by Henry B. Dawson, Morrisania, NY, 1865. Names of prisoners aboard the *Jersey* and other vessels are in a publication, no author stated, published by the Society of Old Brooklynites, Brooklyn, 1888: *A Christmas Reminder: Being the Names of about Eight Thousand Persons, A Small Portion of the Number Confined on Board the British Prison Ships during the War of the Revolution*. Also see Henry R. Stiles, *Letters from the Prisons and Prison-Ships of the Revolution*, The Wallabout Prison-Ship Series No. 1, New York, privately printed, 1865 (W. Elliot Woodward was among those who sold this publication).



**The Jersey Prison-Ship was one of several semi-derelict vessels anchored by the British in the East River offshore at Brooklyn, opposite lower Manhattan, and used to confine captured American patriots. An estimated 11,000 souls perished aboard this single vessel, and others died on nearby ships. This image was used to create the obverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 5. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 660)**

of the horrid prison-ships of the enemy cannot be calculated. It is, however, confidently asserted that no less than eleven thousand of our brave soldiers died on board the one called the *Jersey prison-ship* only! This dreadful mortality is universally attributed to the cruel treatment which they received while crowded together in close confinement."

Similarly relevant is this account by historian Benson J. Lossing:[1]

> "The sufferings of American captives in British hulks were greater even than those in the prisons on land.... The prison-ships were intended for seamen taken on the ocean, yet some soldiers were confined in them. The first vessels used for the purpose were the transports in which cattle and other stores were brought by the British in 1776. These lay in Gravesend Bay, and there many of the prisoners taken in the battle near Brooklyn were confined until the British took possession of New York, when they were removed to prisons in the city, and the transports were anchored in the Hudson and East Rivers.
>
> "In 1778 the hulks of decaying ships were moored in the Wallabout or Wallebocht, a sheltered bay on the Long Island shore, where the present Navy Yard is. There, in succession, the *Whitby, Good Hope, Scorpion, Prince of Wales, Falmouth, Hunter, Stromboli,* and half a dozen of less note were moored, and contained hundreds of American seamen captured on the high seas. The sufferings of these captives were intense, and at the close of 1779 they set fire to two of them, hoping to secure either liberty or death. They felt it-
>
> *Better the greedy wave should swallow all,*
> *Better to meet the death-conducting ball,*
> *Better to sleep on ocean's oozy bed,*
> *At once destroyed and numbered with the dead,*
> *Than thus to perish in the face of day,*
> *Where twice ten thousand deaths one death delay.*
>
> -PHILIP FRENEAU
>
> "In 1780, the *Jersey,* originally a sixty-four gun ship (but, because unfit for service, was dismantled in 1776), was placed in the Wallabout, and used as a prison-ship till the close of the war, when she was left to decay on the spot where her victims had suffered. Her companions were the *Stromboli, Hunter,* and *Scorpion,* then used as hospitals. The latter was moored in the Hudson, toward Paulus's Hook. The large number confined in the *Jersey,* sometimes more than a thousand at a time, and the terrible sufferings which occurred there, have made her name pre-eminent, and her history a synonym for prison-ships during the war. Her crew consisted of a captain, two mates, cook, steward, and a dozen sailors. She had also a guard of twelve old invalid marines, and about thirty soldiers drafted from British and Hessian corps lying on Long Island.
>
> "They were the jailers of the American captives, and were the instruments of great cruelty. Unwholesome food, foul air, filth, and despondency soon produced diseases of the most malignant nature. Dysentery, small-pox, and prison fever were the most prevalent, and, for want of good nurses and medical attendants, they died by scores on the *Jersey* and the hospital ships. The voice of human sympathy seldom reached the ears of the captives, and despair was the hand-maid of contagion. No systematic efforts for their relief were made, and, because of the contagious character of the diseases, no persons ever visited the hulks to bestow a cheering smile or a word of consolation. All was funeral gloom, and hope never whispered its cheering promises there. When the crews of privateers were no longer considered prisoners of war by the British, the number of captives in confinement fearfully increased, and Congress had no adequate equivalents to exchange. Policy,

[1] *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1852 (updated in 1859), Vol. II, pp. 658-661, as part of an account of British prisons. Philip Freneau, known as "the Poet of the Revolution," penned a lengthy poem in 1780, "The British Prison-ships," from which an extract is given.

always heartless, forbade the exchange of healthy British prisoners for emaciated Americans, and month after month the hapless captives suffered, and then died.[1]

"The name and character of each prisoner were registered when he first came on board. He was then placed in the hold, frequently with a thousand others, a large portion of them covered with filthy rags, often swarming with vermin. In messes of six they received their daily food every morning, which generally consisted of moldy biscuit filled with worms, damaged peas, condemned beef and pork, sour flour and meal, rancid butter, sometimes a little filthy suet, but never any vegetables. Their meat was boiled in a large cooper kettle. Those who had a little money, and managed to avoid robbery by the British underlings, sometimes purchased bread, sugar, and other niceties, which an old woman used to bring alongside the hulk in a little boat.

"Every morning the prisoners brought up their bedding to be aired, and, after washing the decks, they were allowed to remain above till sunset, when they were ordered below with imprecations, and the savage cry, 'Down, rebels, down! *Rebels, turn out your dead!*' The dead were selected from the living, each sewed in his blanket, if he had one, and thus conveyed in a boat to the shore by his companions under a guard, and hastily buried.

*By feeble hands their shallow graves were made;*
*No stone-memorial o'er their corpses laid.*
*In barren sands, and far from home, they lie,*
*No friend to shed a tear when passing by.*

-FRENEAU.

"Several times successful attempts at escape were made, and these drew the cords of captivity closer, until the name of 'Hell' for the *Jersey* was a proper synonym. Various minute accounts of the sufferings of the prisoners have been published, the substance of which, with other interesting matter concerning the prisons and prison-ships at New York, may be found in Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents*, ii., 207-250 inclusive."

The following account is from Washington Irving, *Life of George Washington*, Vol. III, 1856, pp. 20 ff.:

"The captive Americans who had been in the naval service were said to be confined, officers and men, in prison-ships, which, from their loathsome condition, had acquired the appellation of *floating hells*. Those who had been in the land service were crowded into jails and dungeons like the vilest malefactors; and were represented as pining in cold, in filth, in hunger and nakedness.... According to popular account, the prisoners confined on shipboard, and on shore, were perishing by the hundreds. A statement made by a Captain Gamble, recently confined on board of a prison-ship, had especially roused the ire of Congress, and by their directions had produced a letter from Washington to Lord Howe. 'I am sorry,' writes he, 'that I am under the disagreeable necessity of troubling your lordship with a letter, almost wholly on the subject of the cruel treatment which our officers and men in the naval department, who are unhappy enough to fall into your hands, receive on board the prison-ships in the harbor of New York....' [Lord Howe] denied that prisoners were ill treated in his particular department (the naval). They had been allowed the general liberty of the prison-ship, until a successful attempt of some to escape had rendered it necessary to restrain the rest within the limits as left the commanding parts of the ship in possession of the guard. They had the same provisions in quality and quantity that were furnished to the seaman of his own ship. The want of cleanliness was the result of their own indolence and neglect. In regard to health, they had the constant attendance of an American surgeon, a fellow prisoner; who was furnished with medicines from the king's stores; and the visit of the physician of the fleet...."

The following account is from *Domestic History of the American Revolution*, by Mrs. E.F. Ellet, 1850, pages 116-121:

"The Prison ships were intended for sailors taken on the high seas, while the landsmen were generally confined in churches and jails. The transports that brought the soldiers of Britain to Staten Island in 1776 were the first prison-ships. On board these, as they lay in Gravesend Bay, the American prisoners taken at the battle of Long Island were kept for a few weeks, till the British were in possession of New York. They were then removed thither, and the vessels were anchored in the North and East Rivers. In a year or two the prison ships were mostly moored a few rods from the Long Island shore, in a retired nook called the Wallebocht. Here, sheltered from wind and wave, lay in succession a dozen old hulks, usually two or three at a time—such as the *Whitby, Good Hope, Falmouth*, &c. Two were burned by the prisoners themselves, either in the extremity of despair, or the vain hope of liberty. In 1780 the *Jersey* was stationed in the Wallebocht. The large numbers confined in her, the great mortality among them, and the length of time she was used as a prison ship, have given such notoriety to her inglorious name, that in popular story she seems to have been the only prison ship during the whole war; while the accumulated horrors and miseries of all the others have been laid on the ill-fated *Jersey* alone. The number that perished was doubtless fearfully great, and needed no exaggeration.

"It would be impossible to convey an idea of the sufferings of the prisoners, whether occasioned by sickness, neglect of cleanliness, or the want of wholesome food and comfortable clothing. Although hospital ships were provided to which the sick were removed, yet from the malignity of disease, despondency, or the want of good nursing and proper medical attendance, they perished by scores. It does not appear that there was any systematic plan of charity formed by the people of New York for their relief. No female ever visited those pestilential hulks to administer aid, or bestow encouragement or sympathy. All was solitary, sullen gloom, varied only by the taunts and imprecations of their unfeeling guards.

"During the whole war there was more or less difficulty in exchanging prisoners, each party fearing the other would get some advantage. The captives, meanwhile, suffered, languished and died. The long detention of prisoners must be in part attributed to Congress, who were unwilling to release healthy British soldiers for emaciated Americans, mostly, too, privateersmen, and not engaged

[1] This policy was by Gen. Washington, who did not want to trade healthy British and Hessian soldiers in American captivity to the British in exchange for his own sick men. The returned British and Hessian men would be put back into service by the British, he believed, while the Americans would have been no use to the Continental Army.

in the Continental service; for this would give the enemy permanent strength without an equivalent. Often, too, the balance was against the Americans; they had no prisoners to give in exchange; for although their privateers captured numbers of British vessels, yet their crews often enlisted in the American vessels, or were suffered to go at large.

"The *Jersey* was originally a sixty-gun ship; but becoming unfit for sea service, she was dismantled in 1776, and lay as a store ship at New York. In 1780, when the *Good Hope* was burned, she was removed to the Wallebocht and used as a prison ship till the close of the war. She was then suffered to go to decay; worms destroyed her bottom, and she sank. Her ribs lay exposed at low water for more than twenty years, and are now covered by the United States Navy Yard.

"The crew of this vessel consisted of a captain, two mates, a steward, cook, and a dozen sailors. There was also a guard of about twelve old invalid marines, and about thirty soldiers. Near her lay three hospital ships—the *Scorpion, Strombolo,* and *Hunter.* When a prisoner was first brought on deck, his name and rank were registered, and he was searched for money and weapons, but allowed to retain his clothes and bedding. He was then ordered down into the hold, where he found perhaps a thousand human beings, generally covered with rags and filth, their faces pale with disease and emaciated with hunger and anxiety. He joined a "mess" of six persons, who every morning, at the ringing of the steward's bell, received their allowance of biscuit, peas, and beef, or pork, which was cooked in a large copper boiler. Oatmeal, flour, butter, and suet were occasionally added, but no vegetables. The food was usually deficient in quantity and quality; the biscuit mouldy and crawling with worms; the peas damaged, the butter rancid, the meal and flour often sour, the pork and beef unsavory; yet the highest prices were charged to the King by the rapacious commissaries, who exchanged good for bad provisions, and by curtailing the rations, and other embezzlements, amassed large fortunes, at the expense of the health and life of the helpless captives.

"Those who contrived to conceal a little money were enabled to procure, at exorbitant prices, such small articles as bread, sugar, tobacco, thread, needles, combs, &c., sold by an old woman, who daily approached the ship in her little boat. Every morning the prisoners brought up their bedding to be aired, washed the floors, and spent the day on deck. At sunset the cry was 'Down, rebels, down!' the hatches were fastened, and the prisoners lay down in rows to sleep, if sleep they could, amid the mingled horror of sighs and groans, of putrid air and stifling heat.

"When a prisoner died, his companions sewed up the body in a blanket, (if he had one), lowered it into a boat, and were allowed to go on shore under a guard. There they made a slight excavation in the bank, or on the shore, in which the body was hastily buried. Many of these bodies were afterwards uncovered by the action of wind or wave, and the bones lay for years whitening in the sun. In 1808, nearly twenty hogsheads were collected and deposited in one common sepulchre.

"The prisoners were at first allowed the free use of the deck, till a successful attempt at escape, after which they were generally kept below, only a few being allowed to come up at a time for fresh air and exercise. They were under the watch of a guard who constantly paced the deck, yet escapes were not unfrequent. One evening, in 1777, a boat happened to be fastened to the vessel's side. Three or four prisoners quietly let themselves down into her, cast her off, and let her drift astern of the ship. They were lucky enough to get clear unperceived, and to reach the Jersey shore in safety. Their flight was soon discovered, but the darkness rendered pursuit unavailing.

"There were several other instances of the kind. In 1779, at midnight, nine sea captains and two privates escaped from the *Good Hope* in the North River. They confined the mate, disarmed the sentinels, and hoisted out the boat, which was on deck. They had scarcely got clear when the alarm was given, and they were fired on by three ships, but not hurt. In the cold winter of 1780 fifteen prisoners escaped on the ice in the East River. Others made the attempt, but being unable to endure the cold were retaken and carried back. One was frozen to death before he reached the shore. A prisoner on board the *Falmouth,* having as if by accident thrown his hat overboard, begged leave to go after it in a small boat which lay alongside. A sentinel with only his side-arms on got into the boat with four of the prisoners. Having reached the hat, they secured the sentinel, and made for the Jersey shore, which they gained, though pursued by several armed boats, and fired at from the shipping.

"The prisoners in the *Jersey,* it is said, had obtained a crowbar, which was kept concealed in the berth of a trusty officer, and used to break off port gratings in stormy nights. A number who were good swimmers thus escaped. The Rev. Thomas Andros, of Berkley, Mass., when a young man, enlisted on board an American privateer, but was soon after captured and incarcerated in the *Jersey.* Hence he made his escape by obtaining leave to go on shore for water, and straying away from his guard."

Many accounts could be related of specific prisoners including these two sketches:

Arthur Middleton (1742-1787), a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1776 and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was captured by the British in Charleston, SC, in 1780, and taken as a captive to St. Augustine, FL, then transferred to New York City and confined aboard the *Jersey,* until he was released in a prisoner exchange shortly thereafter. Middleton had seen enough of the British treatment of American prisoners that he later suggested that in any amnesty that might come about after the Revolution, Lord Cornwallis should not be included as he "had violated all the rules of modern warfare, and had been guilty of innumerable cases of wanton cruelty and oppression."[1]

Joseph Hiester (1752-1832) took part in the battles of Long Island and Germantown, was captured by the British, and incarcerated aboard the *Jersey,* "where he did much to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow prisoners." After the war he became active in Pennsylvania politics, serving as governor 1821-1823.[2]

Benson J. Lossing told of later times:[3]

"So shallow were the graves of the dead on the shores of the Wallabout, that while the ships were yet sending forth their victims, the action of the waves and drifting of the loose sand often exposed the bones of those previously

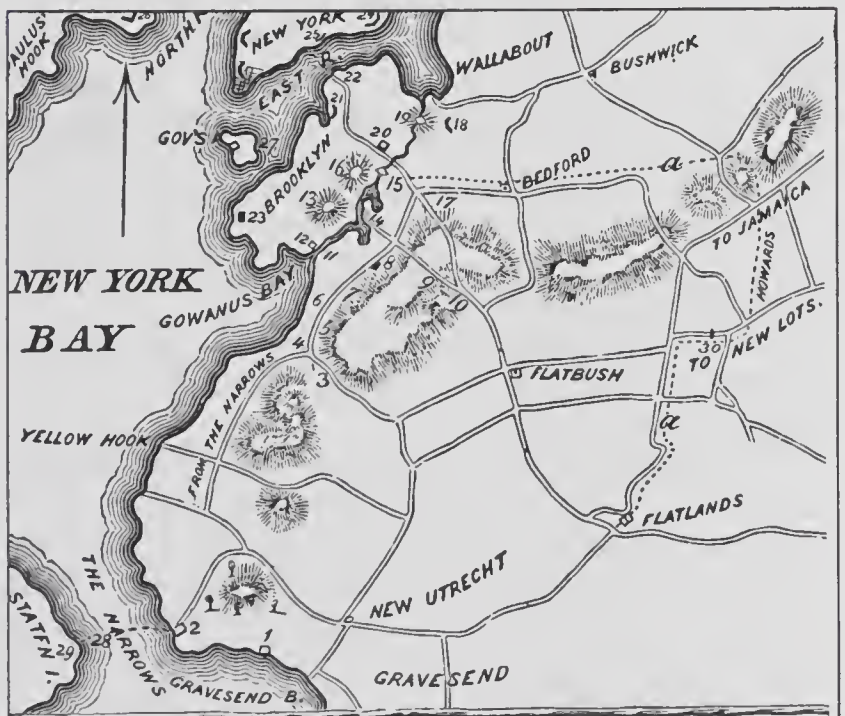
[1] *Appleton's Encyclopædia of American Biography,* Volume IV, p. 317.
[2] *Appleton's Encyclopædia of American Biography,* Volume III, p. 198.
[3] *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1852 (updated in 1859), Vol. II, pp. 658-661.

buried. Year after year this revolting exhibition might be seen, and yet no steps were taken to preserve the remains of the martyred patriots, until 1803, when Samuel L. Mitchell presented a memorial to Congress, On behalf of the Tammany Society of New York, soliciting a tomb for the *Martyrs*. This petition caused propositions for the erection of a great number of monuments, ordered by the Continental Congress to be reared in memory of various revolutionary worthies. The prayer of the petitioners was not granted, and no further legislative action was had. The Tammany Society resumed the consideration of the subject in the winter of 1807, appointed a committee, and on the thirteenth of April 1808, the cornerstone of a vault for the remains was laid, with imposing ceremonies upon land presented for the purpose by John Jackson, Esq., situated on the southwestern verge of the Navy Yard, near the termination of Front Street, at Hudson Avenue, Brooklyn. Joseph D. Fay, Esq., delivered an eloquent address on the occasion. On the twenty-sixth of May, 1808, a grand funeral procession, formed of societies and citizens of New York and Brooklyn, marched to the finished vault, and there, in the presence of at least fifteen thousand persons, thirteen coffins, filled with remains taken from the shore of the Wallabout, were placed in it. Doctor Benjamin Dewitt delivered a pathetic funeral oration to the vast crowd, "while tears of sympathy bedimmed their eyes." A small wooden building was erected over the vault, as an ante-chamber, intended to be temporary. In front of it was placed a wooden fence, with thirteen posts, and upon the bars were painted the names of the original thirteen states. The ante-chamber yet (1859) remains, and some of the posts are yet there, but the original design has never been accomplished. Forty-four years have elapsed, and yet no enduring monument has been raised to the memory of those martyrs for freedom. Efforts toward that end are now in progress. A committee has been appointed in Brooklyn, and it is to be hoped that a worthy memorial will be speedily reared upon the spot."

A related account of later days appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* August 1, 1857, as part of an article, "Second Visit to the U.S. Navy Yard, Brooklyn, Opposite New York City":

> "The vast area now included in the Brooklyn Navy Yard is almost entirely reclaimed from what was known as the old Wallabout Bay, so famous in American history as the location of the Jersey prison ships [*sic*], in which were confined the patriots taken by the British in the Revolutionary war. The land nearest the prison ships was a sandy bank, at the foot of which the deceased martyrs were laid, and the earth was shoveled on them from the higher ground above. In course of time the sand washed away, and the remains were allowed to whiten on the surface of the earth; the teen boys of Brooklyn, now old men, frequently gathered up the skulls, and indulged in the horrid and thoughtless work of finding amusement by playing with these venerated bones. In 1812 the government commenced filling the Wallabout, when Garrett Sickels and Benjamin Romaine, two patriotic citizens of New York, urged upon the Tammany Society the duty of gathering together these relics, for the purpose of erecting a monument on which to record the virtues of the deceased. This suggestion was finally acted upon, and the corner stone was laid in the presence of the largest concourse of citizens that, at that time had ever assembled in the vicinity."

Timbers from the *Jersey* and other prison ships were still visible on the mud flats in the 1830s.




**Map of New York Bay showing Brooklyn as it appeared during the Revolutionary era. The Old Jersey and other prison ships were in the general area marked Wallabout near the top of the chart. Inland from another spot on the map, Gowanus Bay, is the spot where Greenwood Cemetery would be established by the City of New York years later, and which in 1874 became the burial site of Augustus Sage. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 600)**

**OBVERSE design:** Sailing ship at anchor. THE OLD JERSEY above, anchor with rope attached flanked by two skull-and-crossbones symbols[1] below. On the obverse of this variety there is less flat space between the beads and the rim than on typical other issues in the Historical Tokens series.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 660, with the note: "This is from a sketch in *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-ship,* prepared from the manuscript of Thomas Dring, a prisoner, by Albert G. Greene, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island. The tent seen upon the quarter-deck near the stern was used by the guard for a covering during hot weather. A flag-staff for signals was in the center. On the quarter-deck was a barricade, 10 feet in height, with a door and loop-holes on each side. The officers' cabin and the steerage for the sailors were under the quarter deck."

**REVERSE design:** Central inscription: A / BRITISH / PRISON / DURING THE / (nine-petaled rosette flanked on each side by two rhomboidal ornaments) / REVOLUTION / No. 5 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS, the last line curved around the border on the bottom half of the token. Chain and manacles around top and sides of the border; 15 double links face the viewer. Below REVOLUTION, three large stars flanked on each side by two small stars. Period below "o" of No is a round dot. Apostrophe in SAGE'S is a round dot.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

[1] Each death's head is from the same prepared design punch; this punch was also used on the reverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 2.

**Original reverse die from which Sage's Historical Token No. 5 was struck. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** No record.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** No record.

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** No record.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

## MULINGS:

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 2/5:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett City Hall (Sage's Historical Token No. 2) and The Old Jersey (Sage's Historical Token No. 5) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. The OLD JERSEY die has a cud break at the rim from above the left top of the second E in JERSEY, clockwise to where the bottom right bone (of the right-side skull and crossbones) reaches the border.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. THE OLD JERSEY die is perfect.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. THE OLD JERSEY die is perfect. (ANS Collection; carelessly struck with a very high wire rim on the top part of the obverse).

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 3/5:** Sage obverse No. 3 (Faneuil Hall) muled with Sage obverse No. 5 (Old Jersey):

**Copper:** A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society (cf. Storer, p. 48). A specimen appeared in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, Lot 576 (see Appendix III).

**White metal. Reeded edge:** A specimen is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, edge not stated (cf. Storer, p. 48). A specimen appeared in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, Lot 575 (see Appendix III).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (Faneuil Hall side) from perfect die, without rim cud break. Reverse (Old Jersey side) with cud break at rim, beginning above the left side of the E in JERSEY, extending clockwise to a point directly below the center of the rightmost skull-and-crossbones emblem.

**Silver:** A specimen, edge style not stated (but probably reeded), was in Woodward's sale of the Chadbourne Collection, 1878, Lot 3559. A specimen appeared as Lot 1380 in the Isaac F. Wood Collection sale, Édouard Frossard, 1884; edge style not given.

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 4/5:** Sage obverse No. 4 (Carpenters' Hall) muled with Sage obverse No. 5 (Old Jersey):

**Copper. Plain edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above the final A in PHILADELPHIA, clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) from perfect die. Earlier die state than the following.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare. A specimen, edge style not specified, appeared as Lot 574 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to above the left side of the first H in PHILADELPHIA; another cud break extends from above the final A in PHILADELPHIA, clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) with massive cud break at rim from opposite left side of second E in JERSEY, clockwise to the point at which the lower right bone (in the skull and crossbones on the right side of the token) touches the border. (Baker Collection)

**Brass. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as Lot 2046 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) with massive cud break at rim from opposite left side of second E in JERSEY, clockwise to below center of skull and crossbones. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham)

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CARPENTERS' HALL) with massive cud break at rim from above left side of P in CARPENTERS', clockwise to opposite the third (rightmost) of the three larger stars at the bottom. Reverse (OLD JERSEY) with massive cud break at rim from opposite left side of second E in JERSEY, clockwise to below center of skull and crossbones.

**Silver:** A specimen, edge style not specified, appeared as Lot 573 in Edward D. Cogan's 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III).

Thursday, October 31. 1765 THE NUMB 1195

# PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

Adieu Adieu to the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

I am sorry to be obliged to acquaint my readers that as the Stamp Act is feared to be obligatory upon us after the *first of November* ensuing (The Fatal To-morrow), The publisher of this paper, unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to stop awhile, in order to deliberate, whether any methods can be found to elude the chains forged for us, and escape the insupportable slavery, which it is hoped, from the last representation now made against that act, may be effected. Mean while I must earnestly Request every individual of my Subscribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately discharge their respective Arrears, that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper whenever an opening for that purpose appears, which I hope will be soon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

**Protest against the Stamp Act as printed in Philadelphia in 1765. The death's head and crossbones are prominent icons. A similar motif was used by Lovett on certain tokens for Sage including on Historical Token No. 5. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 53)**

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

**No. 6 [6a.]**

**State House, Philadelphia**

("RENDESVOUS" error die)

**History:** Known as Independence Hall in later years, the State House is situated on today's Independence Square, on Chestnut Street between 5th Street and 6th Street. Built early in the eighteenth century, the structure was designed by Andrew Hamilton. From 1751 to 1799 it was used as the Pennsylvania State House. Within its halls the Continental Congress met to make many momentous decisions including the appointing of George Washington as commander of the U.S. Army (on June 15, 1775) and the adoption of the Declaration of Independence (dated July 4, 1776). In 1816 the building was purchased from the state by the city of Philadelphia. Afterward it housed Charles Willson Peale's famous museum of natural history and curiosities (during which time connecting wings were added to the structure). In the years since that time it has been used as a museum, including for display of the Liberty Bell (before it was moved to its own housing in a new building in front of the Hall).

Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, pp. 66-67, told of this building. Sage on his token picked up Lossing's "State House" nomenclature instead of the more familiar Independence Hall. Lossing described his visit:

> "From Carpenters' Hall I went up Chestnut Street to the venerable State House, situated upon its southern side, between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Hallowed by so many pa-

**The State House, Philadelphia, as it appeared in 1774. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 66)**

triotic associations, it has become a Caaba[1] to every American when first visiting the city of William Penn. It is cherished by the people of Pennsylvania because of the memories of colonial times, immediately antecedent to the Revolution, which embalm it; and it is cherished by the people of the whole Union as the most revered relic of the war for independence, because it contains the hall wherein the Declaration of that independence was discussed, and adopted in council, and signed, and sent forth to the world. Being used for public business, this edifice, unlike Carpenters' Hall, is free from the desecrations of mammon, and the Hall of Independence is kept closed, except when curious visitors seek entrance, or some special occasion opens its doors to the public. Nothing now remains of the old furniture of the hall except two antique mahogany chairs, covered with red leather, one of which was used by Hancock as president, and the other by Charles Thomson as secretary of Congress, when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. On the walls hang two fine paintings; one a full-length portrait, life size, of William Penn, by the late Henry Inman, and the other a portrait, same size, of LaFayette, taken from life by the late Thomas Sully. The former is a superb picture, and exhibits, in the background, a representation of the Treaty Tree. Upon the floor stands a statue of Washington, upon a high pedestal, wrought in wood by Mr. Rush, of Philadelphia. Near it is a piece of stone, said to be a part of the door-step of the balcony in the rear of the State House, upon which John Nixon stood and read the Declaration of Independence to the people for the first time, on the 8th of July, 1776. These compose the *souvenirs* of Independence Hall.

"I ascended to the steeple, where hangs, in silent grandeur, the 'Liberty Bell.' It is four feet in diameter at the lip, and three inches thick at the heaviest part. Its tone is destroyed by a crack, which extends from the lip to the crown, passing directly through the names of the persons who cast it. An attempt was made to restore the tone by sawing the crack wider, but without success; the melody of the 'glory-breathed tone' that thrilled the hearts of the people on the birth-day of the nation could not be reawakened. The history of this bell is interesting. In 1752, a bell for the State House was imported from England. On the first trial-ringing, after its arrival, it was cracked. It was recast by Pass and Stow, of Philadelphia, in 1753, under the direction of Isaac Norris, Esq., the then speaker of the Colonial Assembly. And that is the bell, 'the greatest in English America,' which now hangs in the old State House steeple and claims our reverence. Upon fillets around its crown, cast there twenty-three years before the Continental Congress met in the State House, are the words of Holy Writ, *'Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.'* How prophetic! Beneath that very bell the representatives of the thirteen colonies 'proclaimed liberty.' "

**OBVERSE design:** Front view of the center section of the State House as it appeared in the Revolutionary War era (lacking the later addition of wings consisting of side galleries and structures). Inscription: STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA around top border. At the bottom border is a liberty cap and short pole flanked by one star at each side.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From one or another popular engravings of the 1850s reproduced in several publications. Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 66, reproduces a corner-view image, including wings (which had been added at a later date), and was not directly copied.

**REVERSE design (error version):** Wreath of grain or fronds, open at top, enclosing inscription: THE / PATRIOTS / RENDESVOUS [*sic*] / IN / '76. Three stars are below '76. Below the wreath: No 6 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKEN [*sic*]. There is no punctuation in PATRIOTS. There is no period below "o" of No, a diecutting error. The 6 in No 6 is oversize. The apostrophe in Sage's is a round dot. The A's in AUG. and SAGE'S are nearly completely filled at their tops; the A in HISTORICAL is open.

This reverse die has RENDEZVOUS misspelled as RENDESVOUS and, unlike all other reverse dies, has TOKEN instead of the usual TOKENS. Sage's *Catalogue No. 1,* dated February 1859, but probably prepared in late 1858, noted that there were "two dies" for this issue. However, by the time that Sage prepared the Bogert Collection catalogue (in time for the first day of the Bogert sale, February 28, 1859), there was no mention of two dies. The author surmises that the error was discovered at an early date, and that some early sales disposed of the "RENDESVOUS" pieces along with some of the correct "REN-

**Original obverse die from which Sage's Historical Token No. 6 was struck. The rim outside of the beaded border is broken away above HOUSE PH and past the final A in PHILADELPHIA. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

[1] A Moslem shrine in Mecca; usually spelled Kaaba.

DEZVOUS" type, after which there were no longer two dies *available,* and the "two dies" listing was dropped.

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking. Scarcer than the later, corrected die version.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859. Both varieties of No. 6 were given on February 17, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

Probably struck in late autumn or early winter 1858. No restrikes have been reported; probably none were made, as the spelling error was corrected in the die at an early date.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS
### No. 6. (6b)
### State House, Philadelphia
### (Corrected RENDEZVOUS die)

**OBVERSE design:** Die as preceding; front view of the State House. Inscription: STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA surrounding. Liberty cap flanked by two stars below.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From a popular engraving of the 1850s reproduced in several publications.

**REVERSE design (corrected version):** The same die as preceding, now corrected. Wreath of grain or fronds, open at top, enclosing inscription: THE / PATRIOTS / RENDEZVOUS [with Z cut over previous erroneous S] / IN / '76. Below: No 6 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS [with S added to TOKEN]. All specimens were struck later than the "RENDESVOUS" issues, but still probably by the end of 1858.

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

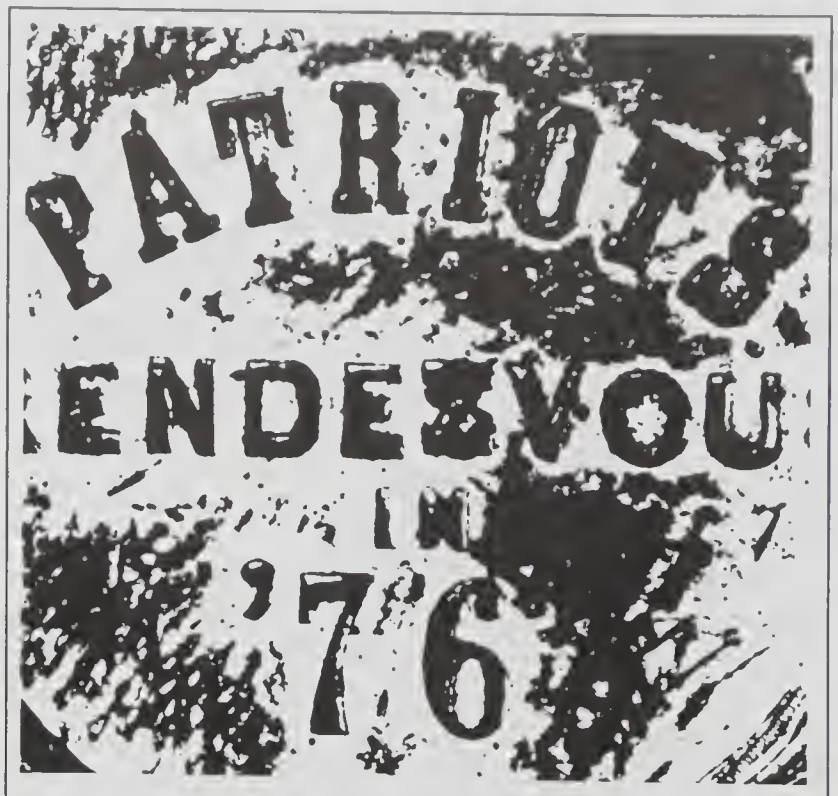
**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking, but later than the first use of the dies; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859. Both varieties of No. 6 were given on February 17, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

Commentary: An early listing in the Bangs, Merwin & Co. sale of the Levick Collection, April 1865, included this mention, *inter alia,* of the two reverse dies: "Lot 293½: Sage's Historicals, No. 6, in two varieties, cop., 2 pieces. [Size] 20."




**Enlargement of detail showing the Z in RENDEZVOUS cut over a previous erroneous S. This error was hardly embarrassing, but, instead, furnished the opportunity for Sage and Lovett to sell two tokens instead of one to illustrate the State House, Philadelphia, issue.**

### RESTRIKES:

Commentary: The order of restriking, earliest to latest, seems to be: white metal, plain edge; silver, reeded edge; copper, reeded edge; and brass, reeded edge.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 24 pieces! Apparently, most of these were later distributed widely.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse state not determinable on one example seen, which is off center; the lower part of the die has no breaks along the rim; the upper part is off the planchet. Reverse with massive cud break at rim beginning on left about opposite the P in PATRIOTS and continuing clockwise to about opposite the S in the same word.

Die State II: Obverse with die crack (not cud break) in the beading above HOUSE. Right-side beading not struck up; thus die state not determinable. Reverse with rim break larger and covering more rim area than on the preceding; not fully struck up in all areas, possibly the majority of the rim or all of it (two specimens examined were not well struck up in all areas; the Douglas Collection specimen shows a cud break around the approximately 75% of the rim that can be observed, with the remaining 25% not being suitable for study).

Die State III: Obverse die break has developed into a small cud break over H and left side of O. Reverse with rim break seemingly extending all around rim, although not sharply struck up at the extreme right. (ANS Collection)

Die State IV: Obverse die crack has developed into a cud break above HOUSE. Reverse with rim break covering all of the visible rim that can be inspected; not fully struck up in all areas. (Van Sant Collection, duplicate)

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of

Wood's collection, 1894, included 26 pieces! Apparently, most of these were later distributed.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse and reverse dies with many evidences of rust. Perfect obverse die (no rim breaks). The reverse has a massive cud break at rim beginning on left about opposite the P in PATRIOTS and continuing clockwise to about opposite the S in PATRIOTS.

Die State II: Obverse and reverse dies with many evidences of rust. Perfect obverse die (no rim breaks). The reverse has a massive cud break at rim beginning on left about opposite the P in PATRIOTS and continuing clockwise to below the C in HISTORICAL. This variety was struck after the copper and silver reeded edge, restrikes.

Die State III: On the obverse a massive cud break at rim begins above the left upright of H in HOUSE and continues clockwise to above the right side of first H in PHILADELPHIA (*e.g.*, ANS Collection and others). The reverse has a massive cud break at rim beginning on left about opposite the P in PATRIOTS and continuing clockwise to below the C in HISTORICAL.

Die State IV: A cud break starting at the same place as on the preceding, continues clockwise to above the right side of first H in PHILADELPHIA. Reverse with entire rim broken away from about the centerpoint of the beads to the rim. Dies highly polished, but with ample rust pits.

Die State V: A cud break starts at the same place as on the preceding and continues clockwise to above the right side of first H in PHILADELPHIA. Another cud break begins above the second A in PHILADELPHIA and continues clockwise to opposite the lower right corner of the ground below building. Reverse with entire rim broken away from about the centerpoint of the beads to the rim. Dies highly polished, but with ample rust pits (Douglas Collection).

**White metal. Plain edge:** Scarce. However, this is the one white metal, plain edge, Historical Token that is encountered with some frequency (in the context of Sage restrikes).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (without rim breaks). Obverse and reverse dies with many evidences of rust. The die state usually seen. Most specimens have large wire rims or "fins" in certain areas, where an excess of medal was squeezed against the collar.

Die State II: Perfect obverse. The reverse has a massive cud break at the rim from about opposite the P in PATRIOTS, clockwise to near the top left side of the wreath. One specimen weighs 166.3 grains and measures 31.2 mm. Struck later than the preceding and, apparently, a scarcer die state. Struck earlier than the brass, reeded edge, restrikes described above.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 37 pieces as part of Lot 149. Apparently, these were not widely distributed later.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, Lot 147, stated that only 10 were made of the silver, reeded edge, restrikes; of that number, eight were offered in the same 1894 sale. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die lightly struck from OUSE through PHILADELPH of legend, examination not possible; beading and rims perfect in other areas. Reverse has a massive cud break at the rim from about opposite the P in PATRIOTS, clockwise to near the top right side of the wreath, at about the 1:30 o'clock position. 122.4 grains, 31.1 mm. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham, 122.4 grains, 31.1 mm). ANS Collection example is from a similar die state.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

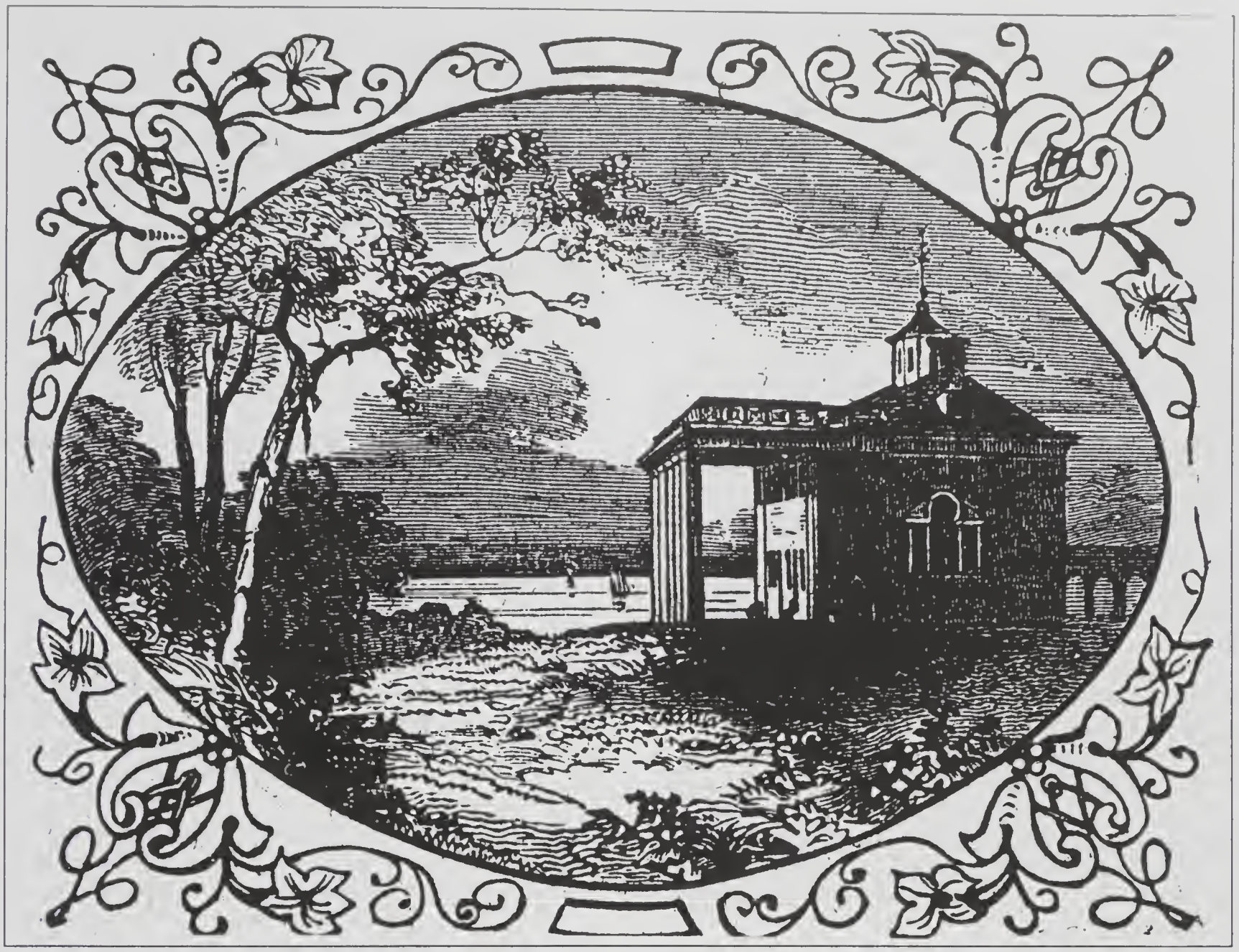
### No. 7.

### The Home of Washington - Mount Vernon

**History:** Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington from 1761 until his death in 1799, is an estate located on the banks of the Potomac River in Fairfax County, Virginia, nearly 15 miles south of Washington, DC. Originally the land and early buildings were known as the Little Hunting Creek Plantation. In 1676 the estate passed from John Washington to his son Lawrence, later to Lawrence's daughter Mildred, and in 1726 to Mildred's brother Augustine (the father of George Washington). In 1743 the property was transferred to George's half-brother Lawrence, who made numerous improvements including a small part of the mansion depicted on the Sage-Lovett token. Lawrence named the property Mount Vernon in honor of British Admiral Edward Vernon (1684-1757), whose most memorable accomplishment from a numismatic viewpoint was the taking of the Caribbean post of Porto Bello "with six ships only," this after the British navy had suffered defeats elsewhere. In recognition of this, many thousands of medals were made and sold in England.[1] Following the death of Anne Fairfax Lee, Lawrence's widow, Mount Vernon was acquired by George Washington. In 1784-1785 the mansion was enlarged considerably. After Washington's death in 1799, the property was dispersed, many of the furnishings were sold, and relatively little attention was paid to it. In the early 1850s a group of women organized under the leadership of Ann Pamela Cunningham, later to be known as the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union. Having begun its efforts in 1853, in 1858, for "about $200,000," payable in installments, the group acquired 200 acres of land and the mansion and began a program to restore it to its appearance as it was during George Washington's lifetime. Well-known orator Edward Everett traveled widely and gave dozens of speeches to aid the money-raising effort. The reverse inscription of the Sage-Lovett token refers to this preservation effort.

*Harper's Weekly*, January 14, 1860, mirrors the situation: "Mount Vernon: The ladies have done their work, and Mount Vernon now belongs to them. It only remains to raise about a hundred thousand more dollars to have a fund for the support and repairs of the estate.... And now that the work is done, we supposed Mount Vernon will be kept as a kind of sacred park, a national neutral ground, where we may all go and meditate and

[1] Many varieties are enumerated in C. Wyllys Betts, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, published posthumously in 1894.



**Side view of Mount Vernon, Washington's home, with the Potomac River in the background. A similar perspective was used on Sage's historical token No. 7. (*Illuminated History of North America,* 1854, page 442)**

moralize, and invigorate our mental constitutions by reflections upon the simple, austere heroism of the man we all reverence so deeply and truly that whoever speaks of him in words other than those of panegyric seems to be blaspheming...."[1]

**OBVERSE design:** End view of Mount Vernon with portico at left side of token, main structure to the right. THE HOME OF WASHINGTON above, MOUNT VERNON below. Signed G.H.L. This die was also called "The Home" by later historians (see notes on mulings below).

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving reproduced in the 1850s, including in John Frost, *An Illuminated History of North America,* 1854, p. 442. This end-view perspective is very unusual among prints of Washington's home. This image does *not* appear in Lossing's two-volume book on the Revolution.

**REVERSE design:** THE WOMEN OF AMERICA / NOBLE / PRESERVERS / OF / OUR FATHER'S / HOME. / No. 7 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. Beaded line below HOME. Period below "o" of No is a round dot. Around the border are 32 six-pointed stars (a similar border is found on the reverse of Sage's Numismatic Gallery No. 7). In HOME the letters ME are over earlier, smaller letters, now mostly effaced; a die break or defect is seen within the E at the lower part of the crossbar and extending downward (this might be an artifact from a previous, erroneous letter punch).

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Relatively plentiful.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 17, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier. This was part of a gift of Historical Tokens 1 through 7 on this date; nos. 8-10 had been donated earlier, on February 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks). Most seen are of this die state.

Die State II: Obverse with a massive cud break along the rim from a point about four beads below the second N in WASHINGTON, continuing clockwise to above the right side of E in THE. The collar and/or striking method of a specimen examined resulted in an irregular "railroad edge" of sorts, when viewed side-on.

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare. Thicker than the original issue.

Die state(s) observed:

[1] *Harper's Weekly,* August 7, 1858, pp. 498-499, included details of the purchase arrangement (for $200,000) and plans for the facility. As part of the extensive fund raising campaign, noted orator and political figure Edward Everett, he of "the golden mouth," gave dozens of lyceums and presentations on the life of George Washington and the history of his home.

Die State I: With obverse rim broken away from the inside edge of the beads to the outer rim. With reverse rim possibly partly broken away, weakly struck, but with beading and rim intact on the areas that are visible, from 9 o'clock clockwise to 3 o'clock. 262.4 grains, 31.4 mm.; edge reeding incompletely struck up. (Van Sant Collection) The ANS Collection piece is from a similar obverse die state; reverse indistinct except from 12 o'clock to 5 o'clock, in which area there are no rim breaks.

Die State II: With obverse and reverse rim broken away from the inside edge of the beads to the outer rim, yielding a flat rim on both sides (Orosz and Van Sant collections).

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2316, edge style not stated; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed). A specimen appeared as part of Lot 2040 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: With obverse rim completely broken away. Reverse weakly struck in areas, but from the 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock area, which is visible, there are no breaks (ANS and Xenos collections).

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2317.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with rim broken away from the inside edge of the beads to the outer rim, yielding a flat rim. Reverse apparently without a break, although on a specimen examined (Bowers Collection) about 40% of the rim is not visible, due to striking weakness.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2422, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen, described as "unique," edge not described, as Lot 1127; it is possible both offerings were of the same piece.

## MULINGS:

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 7/8:** Sage's Historical Token No. 7 (Mount Vernon) obverse die was muled with the obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 8 (Hasbrook House).

**Copper:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2321; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2322.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: MOUNT VERNON die indistinct, but seemingly broken all around. HASBROOK die indistinct, but also seemingly broken all around. 31.4 mm.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2323.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2421, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen, described as "unique," as Lot 1129; it is possible both offerings were of the same piece. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227. A specimen appeared as Lot 2049 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: All of the obverse rim and all of the reverse rim have been tooled or broken away from the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads to the rim. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham)

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 7/10:** Sage's Historical Token No. 7 (Mount Vernon) obverse die was muled with the obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 10 (Tappan).

**Copper. Reeded edge.:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2324; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: MOUNT VERNON die broken all around. TAPPAN die broken from above right side of S in WASHINGTON around to indeterminate point, possibly to about 6 or 7 o'clock; 31.4 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2325.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2326.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Very rare

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2423, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1128.

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 7/11:** Sage's Historical Token No. 7 (Mount Vernon) obverse die was muled with the obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 11 (Valley Forge).

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2318; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2319.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2320.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: MOUNT VERNON die broken all around. VALLEY FORGE die broken from below E in VALLEY clockwise around to fence at right. 31.6 mm. (Schuster Collection)

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2420, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1124.

**Muling: MOUNT VERNON (Historical Token No. 7) / GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON.**

Sage's Historical Token No. 7 (Mount Vernon) obverse die was muled with George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, horse facing right, 1776, obverse die to create a muling for numismatic sale. This was done by 1864, probably at the same time other irrelevant Washington portrait and equestrian mulings were made.

**Baker-114A&B:[1] Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2306; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed). A specimen appeared in Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s Magriel and Hatie Collections sale, December 3, 1988, Lot 392.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Die broken completely around rim. 31.6 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-114C: Brass. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2307.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Die broken completely around rim. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-114D: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2308.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Die broken completely around rim. 31.6 mm. Rim of token apparently struck with an exceedingly high wire rim, then cut away with a knife to give the token a more natural appearance. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-114: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2415, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1115.

**Muling: MOUNT VERNON (Historical Token No. 7) / GEO: WASHINGTON.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 7 was muled with Robert Lovett, Jr.'s GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776, horse facing left, obverse die. This was done by 1864, probably at the same time other irrelevant Washington portrait and equestrian mulings were made. The dies were in existence until the early 1880s, then destroyed. These mulings are particularly interesting as George H. Lovett's die is muled with a die by Robert Lovett, Jr. With regard to this particular obverse in combination with George H. Lovett's "The Home" reverse (Sage No. 7), Fuld-Rulau note: George Hampden Lovett produced Baker-114, 115, and 116 for sale to the public, muling many of his dies to create extra varieties."

**Baker-115A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.[2]

**Baker (unlisted): Brass:** Reported in the nineteenth century, but with few offerings. An example was in Collins, *Washingtonia,* 1990, item no. 115; described as 31.54 mm. and called "Baker-115B." Collins suggested that 5 to 10 exist.

**Baker-115: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2452, "tin Proof, extremely rare, perhaps unique"; also the Chadbourne Collection, Woodward, 1878, Lot 1939, no mention of rarity in the catalogue description. Woodward called this the "Washington Before Boston" obverse.

**Baker (unlisted): Silver:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 13-18, 1884, W. Elliot Woodward's sale of his own collection, Lot 438; the cataloguer noted that only two or three were struck.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect die; unbroken rim. On the equestrian die there is a thin crack from the W in WASHINGTON extending upward to the rim to the left. 31.5 mm. Struck later than the Valley Forge muling (Schuster Collection).

**Muling: MOUNT VERNON (Historical Token No. 7) / Washington Star Medal obverse.**

Sage's Historical Token No. 7 ("The Home") obverse die was muled with George H. Lovett's Washington Star Medal obverse die. W.S. Baker (1885) suggests that the Washington Star Medal obverse was used in various combinations in 1860; certainly, by 1864 the Sage mulings were created.

**Baker-116A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2282; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Baker-116C: Brass. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2283.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break from above right side of H in WASHINGTON, clockwise to fence at right. 31.6 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-116B: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2284.

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[1] Rulau-Fuld, 1985, listed copper as Baker-114A and bronze as Baker-114B. Neither was rated as to rarity.

[2] An example appeared in Collins, *Washingtonia,* 1990, item no. 114; 31.6 mm.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Die extensively broken, but not specifically determinable due to irregularity of striking. Made with an unnaturally high wire rims on obverse and reverse, which were crudely filed down (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-116: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2409, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1121.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 8.

### The Old Hasbrook House, Newburg, N.Y.

**History:** Constructed in Newburgh, New York, by Jonathan Hasbrouck in the middle of the eighteenth century, this residence was used by General Washington as his headquarters from spring 1782 to August 1783, after the end of the Revolutionary War. From this location Washington arranged the disbanding of the Continental Army and formulated various policies. The structure and grounds were purchased by the state of New York in 1849. Today the area is known as Washington Park.

Sage no doubt read the following in Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, page 666, in which Lossing, as part of his tour in the 1840s and 1850s of Revolutionary War localities, recalled:

> "I arrived at Newburgh on the morning of the 25th of October [1850]. The town is pleasantly situated upon the steep western bank of the Hudson, sixty miles from New York, and in the midst of some of the finest scenery in the world, enhanced in interest to the student of history by the associations which hallow it. In the southern suburbs of the village, on the brow of the hill, stands the gray old fabric called 'The Hasbrouck House,' memorable as the head-quarters of Washington at the close of the Revolution. From the rickety piazza or *stoop* on the river front may be seen the historic grounds of Fishkill, New Windsor, Plumb Point, Pollopel's Island, and the Beacon Hills, in altitude fifteen hundred feet, appear glimpses of distant West Point and the amphitheater of mountains which surround it. Let us take a peep within the venerable mansion; and as the morning sun is shining pleasantly upon the porch, we will there sit down, and glance over the pages of the old clasped volume, the *vade mecum* and mentor of our journey.
>
> "The front door opens into a large square room, which was used by Washington for his public audiences, and as a dining hall. It is remarkable for the fact that it has seven doors, and only one window. Of the two doors on the left in the picture, the nearest one to the spectator was the entrance to the chief's sitting-room; the other, to his bedroom. There is no plaster ceiling above; the heavy beams, nine inches wide and fourteen deep, completely exposed, give it a strong as well as antique appearance. Properly taken care of, this relic of the Revolution may remain another century. The timbers are sound, the walls massive, and the roof and weather-boards were well preserved.
>
> "Lady Washington was a resident of the 'Hasbrouck House' during the summer of 1783, and, in gratification of her taste for gardening, a large space in front of the house was cultivated by her. Mr. Eager, the historian of Orange county, informed me that within his remembrance the brick borders of her flower-beds remained. Washington, with his lady, left there about the middle of August, to attend upon Congress, then in session at Princeton, New Jersey, leaving the portion of the Continental Army then in service under the command of General Knox. The commander-in-chief did not return to Newburgh, but made his head-quarters, for a few days in November, at West Point, from whence he repaired to New York and took possession of that city on its evacuation by the British troops."

**Dining hall within the Hasbrouck (preferred spelling) House, which served as Washington's headquarters during the summer of 1783. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 668)**

In a footnote, Lossing further commented, including a description of one of his sketches (not the one used by Sage):

> "This view is from the northeast, comprising the north gable and east or river front. The house is substantially built of stone, and is now (1850) just one hundred years old. This remark applies only to the portion containing the large room with seven doors, and the two bed-rooms on the north of it. This portion was built in 1750. Afterward a kitchen was built on the south end, and in 1770 an addition was made to it, on the west side, of the same length and height of the old part. The dates of the first and last additions are cut in the stones of the building. The fireplace in the large room is very spacious, 'in which,' says Mr. Eager, 'a small bullock might have been turned upon a spit.' The house has been in the possession of the Hasbrouck family (one of the oldest of the Huguenot families in the county) from the time of its erection until recently, when it was purchased by the State of New York for the purpose of preserving it as a relic of the Revolution. It is placed in charge of the trustees of the village of Newburgh, who are required to expend a certain amount in repairs, ornamenting the grounds, &c. The family residing in the house is employed for the purpose of receiving and attending visitors. The house has been thoroughly repaired since the above sketch was made, under the direction of an advisory committee for its restoration and

the embellishment of the grounds. Some of the modern alterations within have been changed, and the whole appearance of the edifice is now as much like that of the era of the Revolutions as it is possible to make it. Interesting ceremonies were had upon the occasion of its dedication, on the 4th of July, 1850. There was a civic and military procession. The ceremonies on the green before the house were opened with prayer by Reverend Doctor Johnson, and an address by J.J. Monell, Esq., of Newburgh, while a choir was singing the following last stanza of a beautiful ode, written by Mrs. Monell,

With a prayer your faith expressing,
Raise our country's flag on high;
Here, where rests a nation's blessing,
Stars and stripes shall float for aye!
Mutely telling
*Stirring tales of days gone by.*

"Major-general Scott, who was present, hoisted the American flag upon a lofty staff erected near. The Declaration of Independence was read by Honorable F.J. Betts, after which Honorable J.W. Edmonds pronounced an oration, marked by evidences of much historic research. Henceforth this venerated relic belongs to the people of New York; and doubtless its cabinet of Revolutionary remains, already begun, will be augmented by frequent donations, until a museum of rare interest shall be collected there...."

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view, mostly from the side, of small house. Inscription, THE OLD HASBROOK HOUSE above, NEWBURG, N.Y. below. Signed G.H.L.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From a popular engraving of the 1850s reproduced in several publications including John Frost, *An Illuminated History of North America,* 1854, p. 438. In his *Field-Book,* Lossing used another perspective, probably his own unique sketch.

**REVERSE design:** Inscription within grain or fronds wreath, open at top, somewhat similar in style to that used on No. 6. On the present die there is a liberty cap and short pole at the wreath apex, with six stars to its left and seven to the right. Inscription: WASHINGTON'S / HEAD / QUARTERS / 1782-3. Below: No. 8 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. Period below "o" of No is a small dash off-center to the left.

**An outside view of Washington's headquarters at Newburgh, New York—one of several similar engravings. Sage and Lovett adopted a different version for use on Historical Token No. 8. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 667)**

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 10, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier; on this date, Nos. 8, 9, and 10 were donated, being the earliest gifts of any pieces in the Historical Tokens series.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks). The reverse die of this issue has an unusually wide border between the beads and the rim. On most pieces the rim is very slightly raised.

One example seen is boldly double struck, with traces of the off-register undertype very distinct.

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare. Thicker than the original issue. A specimen "with uneven edge reeding" appeared as part of Lot 2039 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse die has a massive cud break beginning below the U in NEWBURG, continuing clockwise to nearly completely around the border, ending below the Y of N.Y. Reverse seemingly from a perfect die, but not completely struck up for the small area from 3 o'clock to 5 o'clock. (ANS Collection)

Die State II: Obverse as preceding. Reverse with irregular cud break from beading to border, beginning at below left side of U in AUG., continuing clockwise to opposite leftmost star at top; the cud then changes shape and no longer touches the beading, but is between the beading and the rim; this continues and fades away about opposite the upper left of the liberty cap. Struck in a wide collar (31.4 mm), reeding incomplete, extra metal between die edge, as seen on the faces of the coin, and the outer rim. Very carelessly struck.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2328; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed). An example appeared as Lot 1508 in Presidential Coin and Antique Company's sale of August 11, 1986. A specimen appeared as Lot 2050 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992; this is now the Roelofs specimen)

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse has a massive cud break possibly beginning below the U in NEWBURG (indistinctly struck at that point), continuing clockwise to nearly completely around the border, ending below the Y of N.Y. Reverse with irregular cud break from beading to border, beginning at below left side of U in AUG., continuing clockwise to opposite leftmost star at top; the cud then changes shape and no longer touches the beading, but is between the beading and the rim; this continues and fades away about opposite the upper left of the liberty cap. At the bottom rim, the cud break now extends irregularly to the left, fading into the rim below SAGE'S. Edge reeding not sharp. 31.4 mm. (Roelofs Collection).

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2329. A specimen appeared as Lot 2051 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992; now the Roelofs specimen).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse has a massive cud break possibly beginning below the U in NEWBURG (indistinctly struck at that point), continuing clockwise to nearly completely around the border, ending below the Y of N.Y. Reverse with irregular cud break from beading to border, beginning at below left side of U in AUG., continuing clockwise to opposite leftmost star at top; the cud then changes shape and no longer touches the beading, but is between the beading and the rim; this continues and fades away about opposite the upper left of the liberty cap. At the bottom rim, the cud break now extends irregularly to the left, fading into the rim below SAGE'S. Edge reeding very sharp; 31.5 mm. collar.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2426, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1126. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984. The Presidential Coin & Antique Co. sale of the George Ganter Collection, Part II, 1994, included an example as Lot 437.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse die has a massive cud break beginning below the U in NEWBURG, continuing clockwise to nearly completely around the border, ending below the Y of N.Y. The reverse die seems to be perfect (without rim breaks), although the right side from 2 o'clock to 4 o'clock is lightly struck and cannot be studied. 207.9 grains, 31.4 mm. (Van Sant Collection, ex Ganter II)

**Commentary:** Hasbrouck was pronounced "Hasbrook," hence the popular spelling used by Lovett. The town was and is best spelled as NEWBURGH, although in the nineteenth century many spelled it as Newburg (including Washington Irving in his *Life of Washington* volumes in 1855-1856).

## MULINGS:

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 7/8:** Sage's Historical Token No. 7 (Mount Vernon) obverse die was muled with the obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 8 (Hasbrook House).

**Copper:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2321; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2322.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: MOUNT VERNON die indistinct, but seemingly broken all around. HASBROOK die indistinct, but also seemingly broken all around. 31.4 mm.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2323.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2421, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen, described as "unique," as Lot 1129; it is possible both offerings were of the same piece. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227. A specimen appeared as Lot 2049 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: All of the obverse rim and all of the reverse rim have been tooled or broken away from the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads to the rim. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham)

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 8/10:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett Hasbrook (Sage's Historical Token No. 8) and Tappan (Sage's Historical Token No. 10) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2330; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed). A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227.

**Brass:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2331.

**White metal:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2332.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2425, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1125. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227. A specimen appeared as Lot 2052 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse (HASBROOK) die has a massive cud break beginning below the U in NEWBURG, continuing clockwise to nearly completely around the border, ending below the Y of N.Y. The TAPPAN die has a massive cud break at the rim from above the juncture of "SH" of WASHINGTON, continuing clockwise to an undetermined spot, likely to the left of AT near the lower border. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham)

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 8/11:** The Sage-Lovett Hasbrook (Sage's Historical Token No. 8) and Valley Forge (Sage's Historical Token No. 11) dies were muled; such mulings do not have Sage's inscriptions and are productions by Lovett.

**Copper:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2333; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare; listed by Fuld-Rulau.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2334. A specimen in J.W. Haseltine's sale of the Staeblein Collection, January 26-27, 1882, Lot 236, was described as: "brass, very fine, rare mule."

**White metal:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2335.

**Silver:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2424, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1122.

**Muling: OLD HASBROOK HOUSE (Historical Token No. 8) / GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 8 was muled with George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776, horse facing right, obverse die.

**Baker-181A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2297; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break at rim on left beginning about four beads below the ground line, clockwise to three beads before the T in THE. No breaks to the right, which is perfect at least to the 3 o'clock position, after which the striking is indistinct. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

Die State II: Rim indistinctly struck at left. On right cud break begins above H in HOUSE, clockwise to below Y in N.Y. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-181B: Brass. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2298. An example appeared as Lot 135 in the Isaac F. Wood sale (Haseltine, 1882). A specimen appeared in Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s Magriel and Hatie Collections sale, December 3, 1988, Lot 409. Another, with reeded edge, was no. 156 in Jack Collins' *Washingtonia* catalogue, 1990.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break on rim from above H in HOUSE, clockwise to about three beads to the right of the rightmost period in N.Y. Left side of token indistinct from 8 o'clock to 12 o'clock, due to striking. 31.4 mm. (Schuster Collection).

Die State II: Cud break on left beginning about four beads below ground line, clockwise to three beads before T in THE; another cud begins near the top of the token, but not determinable due to striking, and continues clockwise to about three beads to the right of the rightmost period in N.Y. 31.5 mm. (duplicate in the Schuster Collection).

**Baker-181C: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2299.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break begins at the left about four beads below the ground line, clockwise to about three beads before T in THE; another cud begins above the right side of the first O in HASBROOK, clockwise to below Y in N.Y. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-181: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2416, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1113.

**Commentary:** The Sage No. 8 die in the B-181 muling apparently was cracked during the production run. An example of B-181 in the Stanley Scott Collection sale (Bowers and Ruddy, American Auction Association, 1975), Lot 498, was described in part: "With die failure on the left side of the reverse, perhaps giving a clue to the rarity of this medal."

**Muling: OLD HASBROOK HOUSE (Historical Token No. 8) / GEO: WASHINGTON.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 8 combined with Robert Lovett, Jr.'s GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776, horse facing left, obverse die.

**Baker-182: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

**Baker (unlisted): Silver:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 13-18, 1884, W. Elliot Woodward's sale of his own collection, Lot 439; the cataloguer noted that only two or three were struck.

**Muling: OLD HASBROOK HOUSE (Historical Token No. 8) / Washington Star Medal obverse.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 8 was muled with George H. Lovett's Washington Star Medal obverse die. W.S. Baker (1885) suggests that the Washington Star Medal obverse was used in various combinations in 1860; certainly, by 1864 the Sage mulings were created.

**Baker-183A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2294; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Baker-183B: Brass. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2295.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break begins about three beads below the lower left of the ground line on the left, clockwise a short distance to above O in OLD; another cud break from above D in OLD, clockwise to below Y in N.Y. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker (unlisted): White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2296.

**Baker-183: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): one to three known.[1]

[1] Revised estimate by George J. Fuld, letter, May 9, 1997; earlier estimate was five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2411, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1120. A specimen appeared as Lot 303 in Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s Landmark II Collection sale, June 23, 1990, there estimated as one to three known.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 9.

### Richmond Hill House, N.Y.

**History (general):** Although several accounts[1] state that the mansion known as Richmond Hill was built in 1767 at the corner of Varick and Charlton streets, lower New York City, the facts are somewhat different, as will be related below. This is a significant point, as Sage's token ascribes the correct 1760 date to its construction.

The house was erected in its original location, on Richmond Hill, a small rise overlooking the Hudson River, about 1760 by Abraham Mortier, paymaster general of the British crown forces. Although it was not far from the busy part of the city, the house was surrounded by trees, with nearby forests and meadows, and was considered to be somewhat isolated.

**Illustration of the Richmond Hill House as featured in *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 1, 1857. This was the view used by George H. Lovett to create Sage's Historical token No. 9. In the years 1857-1860 *Norton's Literary Letter* carried several numismatic features and was probably second only to *Historical Magazine* in terms of a magazine that was useful to collectors.**

It developed that the structure would play an important role in the Revolutionary War, one that has been largely forgotten today: Indeed, Richmond Hill was the scene of an event that, had conspiratorial plans materialized, would have changed the course of American history dramatically.[2]

General George Washington arrived in New York City on April 13, 1776, having recently departed from Boston. Martha Washington accompanied her husband to New York City, and also went with him to Philadelphia for 15 days in May to meet with the American Congress. During the Battle of Long Island in the summer of 1776, General Washington used the Richmond Hill House as his headquarters.

Upon arrival in the city in mid-April, General Washington soon settled himself and his attachés into the Richmond Hill mansion. Conditions were uncertain, British forces were drawing close to the city, and there were many rumors that loyalists (Tories) were hatching plots to sabotage the American patriots and kill or capture Washington. A center for conspiracy is said to have been the tavern of a Mr. Corbie, located to the southeast of and close to Richmond Hill. Washington's elite corps, known as "Washington's Life Guards," protected the general and his entourage at Richmond Hill, but in off hours were prone to visiting Corbie's dispensary and having a few rounds of drinks. During such a time, certain of the Life Guards were compromised by treacherous Tories.

Benson J. Lossing described what happened:

> "Washington, who was in command of quite a strong force on York Island, occupied the mansion known as Richmond Hill, afterwards the country seat of Col. Aaron Burr, situated near the intersection of the present Charlton and Varick streets.[3] At about the middle of June, the town and the camp were filled with rumors of a foul conspiracy. It was alleged that, on the arrival of the British fleet, the Tories were to rise, full-armed, to cooperate with the ministerial forces; that Kingsbridge, at the upper end of the island, was to be destroyed; that the magazines were to be fired, and Washington and his staff to be murdered, or seized and given up to the enemy....
>
> "Washington was very fond of green peas, and it was agreed that when a dish of them was ready for the general's table, Hickey [a bodyguard] was to put the poison in it. Meanwhile the housekeeper disclosed the plot to the general. The peas were poisoned, Washington made some excuse for sending the dish away, and Hickey was soon afterward arrested."

Hickey was tried before a court-martial, and although the evidence was inconclusive and there were differing accounts of what had happened, he was found guilty. After General Washington approved of his death sentence, Hickey was hanged on June 28, 1776, in a field close to Bowery Lane, while a vast crowd estimated at 20,000 watched the first execution in history of an American traitor.

[1] Including Richard D. Kenney, 1948-1949, in the *Coin Collector's Journal.*

[2] Sources include Benson J. Lossing, "Washington's Life Guards," *Historical Magazine,* May 1858, pp. 128-134; and Washington Irving, *Life of George Washington,* 1855, Vol. II, p. 243.

[3] An error by Lossing; at that time the Richmond Hill House was still in its original location some distance away.

Thus, the poisoned meal served at the Richmond Hill House was not eaten, and Washington lived. In time, Richmond Hill was largely forgotten, and even accounts of the conspiracy were apt to omit specific mention of the building in which the dastardly deed was to have taken place.

A recollection of the episode by a Revolutionary Wary soldier was published by numismatist Charles I. Bushnell in 1861,[1] "Journal of Solomon Nash, a Soldier of the Revolution, 1776-1777." Nash, a semi-literate soldier from Abington, MA, wrote this (original spelling, etc., preserved):

> "Saturday June ye 22—plesent—we set out for New York about 10 o'clock and at 6 o'clock P.M. we arrived at New York after a tiresome Jorney—we Landed our field pieces at the grand Battree so Ends this 24 hours Clear and plesent—Yesterday several Tories was taken up and confied that was contriveing a Plot to Kill generel Warshington."

To the extent that it may be interesting to present readers to review a sketch of the incident written by Bushnell in 1860 as a note to the aforementioned journal by Nash, and at the risk of repetition, the following is given.

> "This person was Thomas Hickie,[2] who was accused of being a party to a plot to assassinate Gen. Washington and his staff, and to blow up the magazines and secure the passes of the town. The chief evidence against him was William Green, the drummer, and Washington's housekeeper, who was the daughter of Sam. Francis, celebrated as the keeper of the tavern corner of Pearl and Broad Streets, New York. Hickie was a dark complexioned Irishman, and had been a deserter from the British army several years before. He had lived in Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he bore a good character, and was one of those selected for Washington's Life Guard, from Col. Knowlton's Conn. Rangers. He had the confidence of the Commander-in-Chief, and was a favorite at Richmond Hill, where Washington then had his headquarters. Having enlisted in the conspiracy, the chief leaders of which were Gov. Tryon, and David Mathews, Mayor of the city; he was instructed with the work of destroying Gen. Washington. He first corrupted Jas. Johnson, the fifer, and Wm. Green, the drummer of the corps, and having resolved to make way with the Commander-in-chief by poison, he next approached the housekeeper with whom he was on good terms. He made her his confidant, and she pretended to favor his plans. Washington was very fond of green peas, and it was agreed that when a dish of them was ready for the General's table, Hickie was to put the poison into it. In the meantime the housekeeper privately disclosed the plot to the General. The peas were accordingly poisoned and placed upon the table. Washington made some excuse for sending the dish away, and Hickie was soon after arrested. He was tried by a court-martial, and on the testimony of the housekeeper and one of the guard, whom the culprit had unsuccessfully attempted to corrupt, he was found guilty, and sentenced to be hung. On Friday morning, June 28, 1776, about 11 o'clock, the sentence was carried into effect, William Moroney, the Provost Marshal, officiating on the occasion. The event took place in a field between the camps of Col. McDougal and Huntington, near the Bowery Lane, a little east of the Bowery, not far from the intersection of the present Grand and Chrystie Streets. It is said that nearly 20,000 spectators were present, most of whom, however, belonged to the army."

**Flag or banner used by Washington's Life Guard. This elite corps, which proved to have a villain in its midst, served to protect General Washington during his stay at Richmond Hill House in 1776. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 688)**

Thus ends Bushnell's account.

At a later time the Richmond Hill House was used as the residence for the vice-president of the United States and was used by John Adams (1789-1790) and, beginning in 1797, by Aaron Burr. In the latter year the Trinity Church leased it for 69 years. At this early time, the city of Washington, DC, was still in its developmental stages, and New York City was the seat of the federal government, remaining thus until the year 1800.

An engraving by Cornelius Tiebout published in *New-York Magazine,* June 1790, titled "View of the present Seat of his Excel. The Vice-President of the United States," depicts the structure in its original setting amid many trees and with a lush garden or verdant area in the foreground. The two-story mansion was fronted with two columns rising to the side of a lower open porch and a second-floor balcony. A widow's walk with railing was on the roof. (This engraving is entirely different from the view used by Sage.)

In 1803 the Richmond Hill House was sold to John Jacob Astor and subsequently moved to the corner of Varick and Charlton streets. At that time, it seems that certain architectural features were altered. In its new and more central location it was used for a time as a theatre, beer garden, and place of public entertainment. In 1849 the structure was razed, and apartments were put up on the site. In time these were torn down. In the twentieth century the Butterick Building occupied the site.

**History (specific to Sage's Historical Token):** While the preceding gives a general history of the Richmond Hill House and its importance, the following text in *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 1, 1857, pages 6-7, is what Sage must have read when he contemplated designs for this Historical Tokens series:

**RICHMOND HILL HOUSE:**

> "Historical associations of the deepest interest are connected with the existence of this old mansion, which, on account of its commanding situation and fine architectural

[1] A transcript of Nash's journal also was included as part of a collection of essays published in 1864; Bushnell's explanatory notes to the work were written in 1860.

[2] Also spelled as Hickey by Bushnell elsewhere in the text.

appearance, was a favorite residence of the commanders of both the American and British armies during the Revolution. It originally stood on a high eminence, and commanded an extensive view of the surrounding country. In front, was a fine lawn which terminated at the bank of the Hudson; on the north, a thick wood gave a rural aspect to the scenery, which was bounded by quite an extensive stream, known as the Minnetta Water, which, after a sinuous course, emptied itself into the Hudson about at what is now known as the foot of Hammersley street. On the south, after the eye had passed over almost every variety of pastoral scene, it rested at length upon the spires, roofs, and chimneys of the city of New York.

"The house was erected about the year 1760, by Abraham Mortier, paymaster-general of the colonial forces in America, a wealthy gentleman; who evinced a fine taste in the interior finish of the house and decoration of the grounds. Mrs. Adams, in one of her letters, has given an exceedingly interesting and graphic description of its beauties.

"Washington arrived in New York early in May, 1776, from Philadelphia, and must have made this house his headquarters immediately thereafter, as Col. [Aaron] Burr arrived from Canada on the 20th of May, and waited on the Commander-in-Chief, at his quarters at Richmond Hill, and here he remained until the battle of Long Island, after which the army retreated to Harlem Heights.

"While residing here, Washington came very near being a victim to a conspiracy, concocted by some of the Tory inhabitants and British officers. Governor Tryon, and likewise the mayor, were both implicated. Tryon sought shelter on board one of the English vessels in the harbor, but the mayor was arrested and imprisoned. The design of the conspirators was to poison Washington and other American officers, and blow up a magazine, and [they] had seduced one of his body-guards, named Hickey, to aid them in their nefarious designs. The plot, however, was frustrated by the faithfulness of the house-keeper, a daughter of Sam Fraunces, who divulged the whole affair to Washington. Hickey was tried and executed, and is remarkable as being the first military execution of the Revolution; he was executed near the present corner of Grand and Chrystie streets. While the British held possession of the city, it was occupied by various general officers, the last of whom was General Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-Chief.

"Prince William Henry, afterwards William the Fourth,[1] who, at that time, was a midshipman on board of Admiral Digby's ship, frequently visited the house, and generally remained there a few days. Intelligence of one of these visits having been received by some adventurous Whigs, they determined to make an attempt to abduct his person; a party composed of some sailors and others who were acquainted with the localities, secreted themselves in the cellar of the house, with the intention of making the attempt at night; but one of the men moving around in the dark, accidentally stumbled over a wine-cask, and in his fall, the trigger of one of his pistols having caught in the edge of the cask, it exploded. The inmates were immediately alarmed, and two or three of the sailors were captured, the rest of the party having made their escape; plunder being the only object, it was supposed, they were in quest of. The prize was worthy of the attempt, and we can only surmise the probable effect if they had been successful.

"On the assembling of the first Congress under the Constitution, in New York, John Adams, the first vice-president, made this house his residence; it belonged at that time to a Mrs. Jepson.

"In the famous law-suit which has been going on for so long a time between Trinity Church and the heirs of Anneka Jans, who claim to be owners of this property, Aaron Burr was retained as counsel for the heirs, with hopes of success, but they were greatly surprised at discovering that he had renounced their side of the suit, and gone over to Trinity Church, and acquired from that body a lease of the whole Richmond Hill property. Here he resided until the fatal duel with Gen. Hamilton, surrounded with all the appliances of wealth, and every thing that could render life desirable. In this house his beloved daughter, Theodosia, was married to Gov. [Joseph] Alston, of South Carolina, whose uncertain and untimely fate cast a gloom over the future life of her father, and no doubt, aided materially in precipitating that unfortunate affair of honor which terminated so fatally.[2]

"The rapid growth of the city in that direction, and the laying out and cutting through of streets, it became necessary to dig away the hill on which the house stood, in consequence of which, the house was removed and placed in Charlton Street, near Varick Street. The cut at the head of this article [the illustration used by Sage and Lovett] represents the house after undergoing this change in its location, and thereafter its destinies were changed; it no longer was the abode of greatness, wealth, and taste, but became successively a public house, at which ward meetings and elections were held; a theatre for a time, and then a ball room, with a garden attached, and known as the Tivoli Saloon and Garden,[3] which, after a few years of partial success, was again re-opened as a theatre; the attempt, however, was a failure, and resulted in loss to the projectors. It remained closed and unoccupied for some time, and was eventually demolished; not a vestige now remains, and on the site have been erected a number of brick dwelling-houses.

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[1] William IV (1765-1837) served as king of England and Ireland from 1830 to 1837. Having no direct descendants, he was followed on the throne by his niece, Victoria. William loved the sea and spent much of his early life in the naval service, later becoming known as "the Sailor King."

[2] This account is perplexing as Theodosia died in 1812, and the duel was in 1804. Aaron Burr (February 6, 1756-September 14, 1836) served as vice-president under Thomas Jefferson, 1801-1805. On July 11, 1804, he engaged his long-time rival, the highly respected Alexander Hamilton, in a duel, mortally wounding him, and thus securing for himself a place as a villain in American history. Later, Burr was said to have been involved in a conspiracy to set up an independent nation in the Southwest and in Mexico. He was tried for treason, but was acquitted due to insufficient evidence. Joseph and Theodosia Alston had two children, Aaron Burr Alston (who died in June 1812) and Theodosia (who died at sea on a voyage out of Charleston a half year later).

[3] In lower New York City many eating and drinking establishments were known as "gardens," Niblo's Garden (burned in 1844, but later re-established to become more active than ever) and the Atlantic Garden (established in 1858, continued until the second decade of the twentieth century) being especially well known examples. Some gardens combined indoor (for winter use) and outdoor (for the summer) facilities in the style of a typical German *bier garten*. In ancient times, Tivoli, located east northeast of Rome, Italy, was a well-known spa. Later, the name was widely used for other places of amusement, most notably Tivoli Garden in Copenhagen, Denmark.

"It is pleasant to dwell on these reminiscences of the past; and while memory lingers on the scenes where, in our boyhood, we have frolicked and played, or in more mature years reverted to those happy days, we feel the subduing and genial influence on the retrospection. –W.J.D."

*Historical Magazine,* February 1858, p. 61, included this from correspondent "Miantunnomoh"[1] of Providence, Rhode Island, who had seen the previously-quoted account:

"Norton's Literary Letter, p. 6, in describing the prospect from the Richmond Hill House says, 'on the north, a thick wood gave a rural aspect to the scenery, which was bounded by quite an extensive stream, known as the *Minnetta* Water, which, after a sinuous course, emptied itself into the Hudson about at which is now known as the foot of Hammersley street.' This word *Minnetta,* is probably the same as *Menates,* the Indian name for the peninsula of New York. *Manitta* is a township of Fulton county, Illinois. Are *Menates, Minneta,* and *minitta,* derived from *manito?"*

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of Greek-Revival-style structure. Inscription RICHMOND HILL HOUSE, N.Y. above, ERECTED 1760 below.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: Adapted from an engraving in *Norton's Literary Letter,* No. 1, 1857, p. 6. George H. Lovett closely copied the illustration, except that on the tokens he changed the capitals on the four front columns to Corinthian, from the Doric shown on the engraving.

**REVERSE design:** Crudely designed pair of balance scales at top at wreath apex. Wreath enclosing inscription: WASHINGTON'S / HEAD / QUARTERS / MAY, 1776 / No. 9 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. Arc of 24 stars around top and side border. Apostrophe in SAGE'S is a round dot. Period below "o" of No is a small dash off-center to the right. It should be noted that the aforementioned *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 1 bore on its cover a design including a pair of balance scales, but the configuration is different from that used on Sage's token.

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 10, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier; on this date, Nos. 8, 9, and 10 were donated, being the earliest gifts of any pieces in the Historical Tokens series.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare. Thicker than the original issue. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 25 pieces!

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with cud break at rim beginning above upper right of M in RICHMOND and extending clockwise to opposite lower right side of ground (upon which the building is situated). Reverse die perfect, but with rust around the balance scales.

Die State II: Obverse with cud break at rim beginning above upper right of M in RICHMOND and extending clockwise to opposite lower right side of ground (upon which the building is situated). Reverse die perfect, but with rust around the balance scales. (ANS Collection)

Die State III: Obverse with cud break at rim beginning above upper right of M in RICHMOND and extending clockwise to opposite lower right side of ground (upon which the building is situated). On this state, another cud break is at the bottom rim below CTED 1760. Reverse die perfect, but with rust around the balance scales.

Die State IV: Obverse as preceding (with cud break at rim beginning above upper right of M in RICHMOND and extending clockwise to opposite lower right side of ground), but now with an additional cud break at rim, from opposite lower center of window row, clockwise to above right side of C in RICHMOND. Reverse die perfect, but with rust around the balance scales and with the "o" in No. (part of No. 9 inscription) incomplete, possibly from die lapping.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 25 pieces!

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse rim is broken at the border, beginning slightly below lower center of bottom row of windows, clockwise nearly completely around the rim to below the right side of R in ERECTED. Reverse die perfect, but with rust around the balance scales and with the "o" in No. (part of No. 9 inscription) incomplete, possibly from die lapping. Struck later than the copper, reeded edge, restrikes.

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** No record.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Very scarce. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, Lot 150, stated that only 10 were made of the silver, reeded edge, restrikes; of that number, eight were offered in the same 1894 sale. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984. A specimen on a "thick planchet" appeared as part of Lot 2047 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse and reverse dies with much evidence of rust. Perfect dies (no rim breaks). Struck prior to the reeded edge restrikes in copper and brass. This rust is seen on later styles of restrikes as well.

Unlike Washington's other headquarters buildings depicted on Sage's Historical Tokens, the Richmond Hill House seems to have been overlooked by Lovett's clients of the 1860s such as J. Osborn Emery. Perhaps the building did not capture the fancy of numismatists to the extent that other Washington-related structures did. Indeed, in most accounts of the Revolution, Washington's use of the Richmond Hill mansion is not mentioned at all or just in passing. It seems that it was considerably later, toward the end of the 1870s, that the dies were used for restriking, by which time Isaac F. Wood had entered the medal-selling business.

Of peripheral interest to the Richmond Hill House is this letter from John Hancock, describing the perilous situation in New York City at the time Gen. Washington was in residence (as quoted in *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 1):

[1] *Nom de plume;* Miantonomoh—spellings varied—was sachem of the Narragansett Indians in Rhode Island in the seventeenth century.

"Philadelphia, June 11th, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN:

"The Congress have this day received Advices and fully convinced, that it is the design of General Howe to make an attack upon the City of New York as soon as possible. The attack, they have reason to believe, will be made within 10 days. I am therefore most earnestly to request you, by order of Congress, to call forth your Militia as requested in my letter of the 4th inst., and to forward them with all dispatch to the City of New York; and that you direct them to march in Companies, or in any other way that will hasten their arrival there. The important day is at hand which will decide, not only the fate of the City of New York, but in all probability of the whole Province. On such an occasion there is no Necessity to use arguments with Americans. Their feelings, I well know, will prompt them to their duty, and the sacredness of the cause urge them to the field. The greatest Exertions of Vigour and Expedition are requisite to prevent our Enemies from getting Possession of that Town. I must therefore again most earnestly request you, in the Name and by the Authority of Congress to employ every mode in your Power to send forward the Militia agreeably to the Requisition of Congress, and that you will do it with all the dispatch which the infinite importance of the cause demands....

"John Hancock."

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 10.

### Washington's Headquarters at Tappan

**History:** General George Washington occupied the old Johannes de Wint homestead at Tappan, New York, as center of operations on four occasions: August 8 to 23, 1780; September 28 to October 7, 1780; May 5 to 8, 1783; and November 11 to 13, 1783. The structure had been built in 1700 by Daniel de Clark, who imported the brick from Holland.

Lossing, in his *Field-Book,* pp. 764-765 described and illustrated the structure observed on his 1850 visit:

> "Washington's head-quarters were in the old stone building now occupied by Samuel S. Verbryck, situated near the road from Sneeden's Landing, within a few rods of its junction with the main street of the village. It was then owned by John de Wint, a native of St. Thomas's, West Indies, and grandfather of Mrs. Verbryck, who now resides there.
>
> "This view is from the yard, near the well. The date of its erection (1700) is made by a peculiar arrangement of the bricks in the front wall. In the large room called 'Washington's quarters' the fireplace is surrounded by Dutch pictorial tiles illustrative of Scripture scenes. Indeed, the whole house remains in precisely the same condition, except what the elements have changed externally, as it was when the chief occupied it. When I visited it, Mrs. Verbryck's sister, an old lady of eighty, was there. She said she remembered sitting often upon Washington's knee. She was then 10 years old."

**Washington's headquarters at Tappan, view sketched from the yard near the well. Lossing visited it in the late 1840s. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 764)**

The liberty tree on the reverse was one of several Revolutionary War emblems used by American patriots. Many towns had a liberty tree or, more often, a liberty pole which furnished a focal point for gatherings during the Revolution (with the liberty pole tradition continuing well into the next century). Sometimes, Americans with British sympathies (Tories) would be taken to such a place and subjected to harassment ranging from a strong lecture to being tarred and feathered. Other times, patriotic rallies would be held there.

Lossing illustrates a deciduous Liberty Tree, which he designates as an elm, quite unlike the pine depicted on Sage's token, that stood at the corner of Washington and Essex streets, Boston, opposite the Boylston Market. It became called that after the Sons of Liberty held meetings beneath its branches in the summer of 1765.[1] In August 1775 the Liberty Tree was cut down by British sympathizers and yielded 14 cords of firewood. In Norwich, CT, the citizens' Liberty Tree "was brought from the forest and erected in the center of the open plain."[2] Under its limbs public meetings were held to oppose the hated British Stamp Act. At later times it

[1] Lossing, Vol. I, p. 466; also p. 583. Lossing gives the cutting date as 1776; in actuality, it was the last week of August, 1775. The cutting of the tree was done by a group led by Job Williams. Just before the felling, a celebrating adherent to the British cause had climbed into its branches and fell to his death on the pavement below. A pole was later erected at the site. By 1824 the tree had decayed. Just before the arrival of Lafayette in Boston that year, it was replaced. During his visit he stopped at the spot, received as a gift a bottle of old French wine, and commented, "The world should never forget where once stood the Liberty Tree, so famous in your annals." (Cf. *Some Interesting Boston Events,* published by the State Street Trust Co., Boston, 1916; research by Samuel Morison, well-known numismatist William Sumner Appleton, and others.)

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 599.

**Illustration of the Pine Tree Flag, surmounted by a liberty cap, being defended by a patriot who is accosted by a British soldier. The pine tree became its own symbol for liberty, and was reproduced on the reverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 10. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 570)**

was a rallying point for various patriotic celebrations. A Phrygian cap was placed at its top.[1] Eventually a pavilion was built under it. In the mid-nineteenth century the Liberty Tree Building at the corner of Washington and Essex streets, Boston, was a commercial office whose tenants included the bank-note engraving firm of Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Co.

Beginning in 1765 the citizens of Charleston, SC, designated their own Liberty Tree, a luxuriant live oak.[2]

Related is the pine tree motif used on certain colonial era flags.

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of structure, WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS / AT TAPPAN around border.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving of the 1850s. The engraving in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, p. 765, is similar in proportion but is from a different perspective.

**REVERSE design:** Stylized pine tree with inscription LIBERTY TREE above; below, No 10 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. The apostrophe in SAGE'S is a round dot. No period below "o" of No, a diecutting error.

ICONOGRAPHY of reverse design: Not specifically located, but somewhat similar to the image on the colonial Pine Tree flag. A Revolutionary War naval flag also bore a pine tree, with the legend LIBERTY TREE / APPEAL TO GOD.

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: February 10, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; had been advertised earlier; on this date, Nos. 8, 9, and 10 were donated, being the earliest gifts of any pieces in the Historical Tokens series.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks). On some specimens the outermost part of the rim on the reverse is slightly raised in areas as the collar was slightly larger than the die face, and metal squeezed into the aperture.

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare. Thicker than the original issue.

Die state(s) observed:

**One of many Liberty trees in the colonies during the Revolution, this being a well-known fixture in Boston, a leafy tree quite unlike the pine tree used on Sage's token. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 466)**

[1] The so-called Liberty Cap emblem which eventually was employed on various United States coins beginning with the copper cent and half cent of 1793 and continuing through the end of the Liberty Seated silver series in 1891; the device was adapted from the Libertas Americana medal of 1782, but had many antecedents in art, sculpture, and coinage dating back to ancient times. A famous coin of 43 B.C. depicts on the obverse Marcus Junius Brutus, involved in the assassination of Caesar, and on the reverse a liberty cap between two daggers, with the inscription EID MAR (Ides of March) below.

[2] Lossing, Vol. II, p. 542.

Die State I: Thick planchet (262.1 grains), large diameter (31.6 mm). Obverse with massive cud break on rim beginning above "SH" of WASHINGTON, continuing clockwise, perhaps to left of AT on bottom rim, but striking is indistinct at that point. Reverse with massive cud break on rim beginning at an unknown point, but after the 3 o'clock position (from which point the striking on the specimen is indistinct, counterclockwise to the 9 o'clock position), becoming visible at the 9 o'clock position and continuing clockwise to above the second E in TREE. (Roelofs Collection)

Die State II: Obverse with massive cud break at rim, details indeterminable due to striking. Reverse with massive rim break beginning at an unknown point, but to the left of the 6 o'clock position, after which the striking is indistinct to about the 11 o'clock position, from which point the massive cud break is distinct, well past TREE and ending at the 3 o'clock position; later die state than the preceding. (ANS and Moore specimens)

Note: One specimen studied is inconclusive due to light striking: Thick planchet (261.3 grains), large diameter (31.6 mm), very lightly struck with borders indistinct, but seemingly broken away outside of the beading (Van Sant Collection).

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2343; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die with indistinctly struck rim overall. Reverse with indistinctly struck rim except from 8 o'clock clockwise to 2:30 o'clock, where a massive rim break is seen. (ANS Collection)

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2344.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die with massive cud break on rim beginning above "SH" of WASHINGTON, continuing clockwise to left of AT on bottom rim. Reverse die completely broken away from centerpoint (approximately) of beading to outer rim. Struck later than the copper, reeded edge, restrike.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2427, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." W. Elliot Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the J. Osborn Emery Collection offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," edge style not stated, as Lot 1130. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

## MULINGS:

Muling of Historical Token Nos. 7/10: Sage's Historical Token No. 7 (Mount Vernon) obverse die was muled with the obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 10 (Tappan).

**Copper:** Very rare

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2324; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2325.

**White metal:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2326.

**Silver:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2423, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1128.

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 8/10:** The obverse dies of Sage-Lovett Hasbrook (Sage's Historical Token No. 8) and Tappan (Sage's Historical Token No. 10) were muled by George H. Lovett.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2330; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed). A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227.

**Brass:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2331.

**White metal:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2332.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2425, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1125. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227. A specimen appeared as Lot 2052 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse (HASBROOK) die has a massive cud break beginning below the U in NEWBURG, continuing clockwise to nearly completely around the border, ending below the Y of N.Y. The TAPPAN die has a massive cud break at the rim from above the juncture of "SH" of WASHINGTON, continuing clockwise to an undetermined spot, likely to the left of AT near the lower border. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham)

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 10/11:** The Sage-Lovett Tappan (Sage's Historical Token No. 10) and Valley Forge (Sage's Historical Token No. 11) dies were muled by Lovett to create yet another variety. This and other such mulings do not have Sage's inscriptions and are productions by Lovett.

**Copper:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2336; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2337.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2338. J.W. Haseltine's sale of the Staeblein Collection, January 26-27, 1882, Lot 237, "white metal Proof, very thick planchet, reeded edge; rare mule."

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: TAPPAN die is broken all around. VALLEY FORGE die with cud break at rim from E in VALLEY clockwise to below G in FORGE. 31.6 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2428, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1123. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 227. A specimen appeared as Lot 2053 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: On the obverse (TAPPAN) the die has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning above "SH" of WASHINGTON and continuing clockwise to about three beads to the left of A in AT. On the reverse (VALLEY FORGE) the die has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the E in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham)

**Muling: TAPPAN (Historical Token No. 10) / GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 10 was muled with George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776, horse facing right, obverse die.

**Baker-178A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2303; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed). An example appeared as Lot 136 in the Isaac F. Wood sale (Haseltine, 1882).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break at rim from upper left of T in QUARTERS, clockwise to below second P in TAPPAN. 31.4 mm.; another, 31.5 mm. (both from the Schuster Collection).

**Baker-178C:** "Gilt"; probably gilt copper. Reeded edge: Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

**Baker-178B: Brass. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2304. A specimen appeared in Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s Magriel and Hatie Collections sale, December 3, 1988, Lot 407.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break at rim from above S at end of WASHINGTON'S, clockwise to below the first P in TAPPAN. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

Die State II: With cud break at rim from above the right side of T in WASHINGTON'S, clockwise to below the first P in TAPPAN. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-178D: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2305.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break at rim from above SH of WASHINGTON'S, clockwise to left of first A in TAPPAN. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection). Struck later than the brass, reeded edge, restrikes.

**Baker-178: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2418, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1111.

**Muling: TAPPAN (Historical Token No. 10) / GEO: WASHINGTON.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 10 combined with Robert Lovett, Jr.'s GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776, horse facing left, obverse die.

**Baker-179A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

**Baker (unlisted): Brass. Reeded edge:** (no Baker number or rarity assigned; mentioned by Fuld-Rulau, p. 83).

**Baker-179: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known. Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 13-18, 1884, W. Elliot Woodward's sale of his own collection, 441; the cataloguer noted that only two or three were struck.

**Muling: TAPPAN (Historical Token No. 10) / Washington Star Medal obverse.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 10 was muled with George H. Lovett's Washington Star Medal obverse die. W.S. Baker (1885) suggests that the Washington Star Medal obverse was used in various combinations in 1860; certainly, by 1864 the Sage mulings were created.

**Baker-179A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2288; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Baker (unlisted): Brass. Reeded edge:** Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2289. Cud break from above SH in WASHINGTON'S.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break from above SH of WASHINGTON'S, clockwise to left of first A in TAPPAN. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker (unlisted): White metal. Reeded edge:** Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2290.

**Baker-179: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2410, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1118.

**Baker-276: Sage's LIBERTY TREE reverse was muled with George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, horse facing right, 1776, obverse die** to create the so-called Liberty Tree token.

In 1985, Russell Rulau and George J. Fuld described (p. 122) this muling in silver and white metal (tin) as B-276 and 276A. These have *plain* edges; this is in contrast with the reeded edge seen on certain other mulings of this genre. However, in a letter dated May 9, 1997, George J. Fuld expressed the thought that the mulings may actually be with reeded edges.

**Baker (unlisted):** Copper. Plain edge:

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2300; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Baker (unlisted):** Brass. Plain edge:

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2301.

**Baker-276A: White metal. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2302.

**Baker-276: Silver. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2419, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1117.

This is perhaps the most important of all later mulings in the Sage's Historical Tokens series, as it uses a reverse die specifically mentioning Sage. To all intents and purposes, a numismatist not familiar with the mulings might think that this Gen. George Washington piece was a regular issue in Sage's Historical Tokens series.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 11.

### Washington's Headquarters, at Valley Forge

**History:** This structure, built in 1758, was used by Gen. Washington during the winter encampment at Valley Forge during one

**Washington and a committee from Congress meet in Valley Forge during the winter of the Continental Army's encampment. (*Lossing's Complete History of the United States,* 1889)**

of the most trying periods of the Revolutionary War. In 1893 the site, encompassing structures and some 475 acres, was acquired by the state of Pennsylvania; today it is a park.

In his *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, p. 126, Benson J. Lossing described his visit to the site circa 1850:

> "Upon the mountainous flanks of this little valley, Washington established his winter quarters in 1777-'78. His own residence was at the house of Mr. Isaac Potts, a Quaker preacher. It is a substantial stone dwelling, situated near the mouth of the creek.
>
> "It was occupied, when I visited it, by James Jones, a member of the Society of Friends, who was then eighty-three years old. He was quite feeble; but his wife, a cheerful old lady of nearly the same age, was the reverse, and, with vigorous step, proceeded to show us the interior of the building. Washington's room was small indeed. In the deep east window, whence he could look out upon a large portion of his camp upon the neighboring slopes, are still preserved the cavity and little trapdoor, arranged by the commander-in-chief as a private depository for his papers. It answered the purpose admirably; for even now the visitor would not suspect that the old blue sill upon which he was leaning to gaze upon the hallowed hills, might be lifted and disclose a capacious chest. Mr. Jones and his wife were not residents of Valley Forge when the Americans were encamped there, and hence they had no interesting traditions of their own experience."

The reverse motif of a rattlesnake and the reverse inscription "Don't Tread on Me" were used on flags of the Revolutionary War period.

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of two-story structure with two attached windowless extensions, the front of the closest extension lacking clapboard siding (as seen elsewhere on the structure) or window treatments. Inscription: WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS, / AT VALLEY FORGE.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving reproduced in John Frost, *An Illustrated History of North America,* 1854, p. 361. This sketch shows the two extensions on the left side of the building *windowless,* and differs in this and some other regards from that in Lossing's *Field-Book,* Vol. II, p. 126, which is from the same perspective and better drawn.

**REVERSE design:** Coiled rattlesnake at the center with one large star flanked on each side by three small stars in a line below. Inscription surrounding: DONT [*sic*, no apostrophe] TREAD

**Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge as shown in the 1840s. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 126)**

ON ME, / I HAVE DANGEROUS FANGS / No 11 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. No period below "o" of No, a diecutting error; digits 11 are too low and are tilted to the left. Apostrophe in SAGE'S is an irregular period. Letter "o" in No. is double punched.

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 12, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date. By this time, all numbers in the Historical Token series had been donated except 11 and 14, both of which were given on this date. These tokens had been advertised for many months.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks). On some specimens the outer part of the reverse rim is slightly raised, as the collar was larger than the die face (cf. the 30.9 mm. Perry-Feldman specimen).

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare. Thicker than the original issue.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: On the obverse the die has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the first L in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right; however, the rim below VALLEY is not sharply struck up, and this observation is tentative. The reverse is not well struck up, and the beading is visible only from the 11 o'clock position, continuing clockwise to the 5:30 position; in this area there are no rim breaks. 262.8 grains, 31.6 mm. Edge reeding poorly struck due to large diameter of collar. (Koppenhaver Collection specimen described; Roelofs Collection piece is similar, but even more indistinctly struck on obverse and reverse rims; the same is true of the ANS specimen).

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2340; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed). A specimen appeared as part of Lot 2040 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: On the obverse the die has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the E in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right. Thus, this was struck after the copper, reeded edge, restrike. Reverse rim indistinctly struck in areas, but without rim breaks from 6 o'clock clockwise to 12 o'clock, after which point the state is not determinable (ANS Collection); another piece has the rim perfect (no breaks) from 3 o'clock to 8 o'clock (Moore Collection). Combining both observations, it seems that the rim is without breaks from 3 o'clock, clockwise to 12 o'clock, and *may* be without breaks in the unstudied 12 o'clock to 3 o'clock position.

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

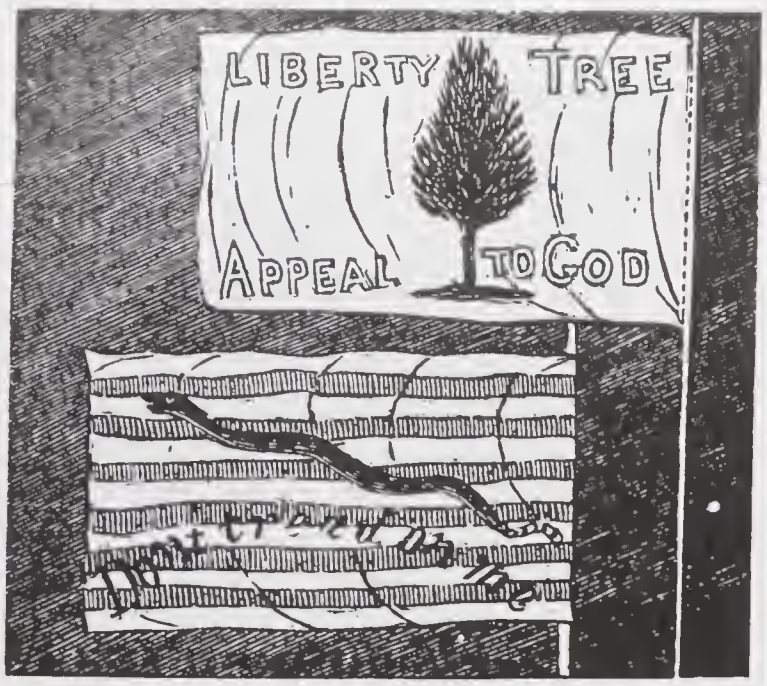
Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2341.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: The obverse has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the E in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right. Reverse from perfect die.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2429, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," edge not described, as Lot 1131. A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984 The Presidential Coin & Antique Co. sale of the




**Naval flags used by the colonists during the Revolutionary War era. Depicted are two popular symbols of independence, the liberty tree and the rattlesnake. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 638)**

George Ganter Collection, Part II, 1994, included an example as Lot 438.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: On the obverse the die has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the E in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right. Reverse die perfect. Rust on both sides, but partly polished away. On the reverse, the rust is particularly prominent within the center of the rattlesnake. 205.9 grains, 31.5 mm. (Van Sant Collection, ex Ganter II).

## MULINGS:

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 7/11:** Sage's Historical Token No. 7 (Mount Vernon) obverse die was muled with the obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 11 (Valley Forge).

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2318; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2319.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2320.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: MOUNT VERNON die broken all around. VALLEY FORGE die broken from below E in VALLEY clockwise around to fence at right. 31.6 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2420, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1124.

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 8/11:** The Sage-Lovett Hasbrook (Sage's Historical Token No. 8) and Valley Forge (Sage's Historical Token No. 11) dies were muled; such mulings do not have Sage's inscriptions and are productions by Lovett.

**Copper:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2333; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Listed by Fuld-Rulau. Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2334. J.W. Haseltine's sale of the Staeblein Collection, January 26-27, 1882, Lot 236, "brass, very fine, rare mule."

**White metal:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2335.

**Silver:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2424, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1122.

**Muling of Historical Token Nos. 10/11:** The Sage-Lovett Tappan (Sage's Historical Token No. 10) and Valley Forge (Sage's Historical Token No. 11) dies were muled by Lovett to create yet another variety. This and other such mulings do not have Sage's inscriptions and are productions by Lovett.

**Copper:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2336; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Brass:** Extremely rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2337.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2338. J.W. Haseltine's sale of the Staeblein Collection, January 26-27, 1882, Lot 237, "white metal Proof, very thick planchet, reeded edge; rare mule."

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: TAPPAN die is broken all around. VALLEY FORGE die with cud break at rim from E in VALLEY clockwise to below G in FORGE. 31.6 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2428, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1123. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections sale, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot

227. A specimen appeared as Lot 2053 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: On the obverse (TAPPAN) the die has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning above "SH" of WASHINGTON and continuing clockwise to about three beads to the left of A in AT. On the reverse (VALLEY FORGE) the die has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the E in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right. (Van Sant Collection, ex Witham).

**VALLEY FORGE (Historical Token No. 11) / GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON muling.** Baker-175:

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 11 was muled with George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776, horse facing right, obverse die. Fuld-Rulau note: Numbers 175 through 177 are the work of George Hampden Lovett of New York. The workmanship is not particularly distinguished; in fact, the die work seems hasty.

**Baker-175A&B:**[1] **Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 20 to 38 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2309; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Rim cud break from above the right side of H in WASHINGTON to just past S in QUARTERS. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-175D:** "Gilt"; probably gilt copper. Reeded edge: Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

**Baker-175C: Brass. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2310. An example appeared as Lot 134 in the Isaac F. Wood sale (Haseltine, 1882).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Die without cud breaks, but with two line cracks at rim, one above D in HEAD and the other above the left upright of U in QUARTERS. 31.5 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-175E: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2311. A reeded-edge specimen appeared in Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s Magriel and Hatie Collections sale, December 3, 1988, Lot 406.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect die (no cud breaks). 31.6 mm. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker-175: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2417, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1112.

**Muling: VALLEY FORGE (Historical Token No. 11) / GEO: WASHINGTON.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 11 combined with Robert Lovett, Jr.'s GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776, horse facing left, obverse die.

**Baker-176A: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985) as bronze: five to nine known.

**Baker (unlisted): Brass. Reeded edge:** Probably exists; not confirmed.[2]

**Baker-176B: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

**Baker-176: Silver. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2417, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique,* struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." A specimen was in W. Elliot Woodward's sale of his own collection, October 13-18, 1884, Lot 440; the same cataloguer noted that only two or three were struck. So much for consistency!

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect die; unbroken rim. On the equestrian die there is no crack from the W in WASHINGTON extending upward to the rim to the left. 31.5 mm. Struck before the Hasbrook House muling (Schuster Collection) with the equestrian die.

**Muling: VALLEY FORGE (Historical Token No. 11) / Washington Star Medal obverse.**

The obverse die of Sage's Historical Token No. 11 was muled with George H. Lovett's Washington Star Medal obverse die. W.S. Baker (1885) suggests that the Washington Star Medal obverse was used in various combinations in 1860; certainly, by 1864 the Sage mulings were created.

**Baker-177: Copper. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2291; part of a large set (Woodward stated that just two to five sets were made from dies owned by Emery, and that the dies were now destroyed); same comments apply to later Emery citations.

**Baker-177A: Brass. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2292.

**Baker-177B: White metal. Reeded edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): Rarity not rated.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2293.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Cud break on rim from below A in VALLEY, clockwise around rim to fence on right. 31.7 mm. Crudely struck with unnaturally high wire rim cut away shortly after striking. (Schuster Collection).

**Baker (unlisted): Silver:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J.

[1] In 1985, Rulau-Fuld listed Baker-175A as copper and Baker-175-B as bronze, with 10 to 19 known of *each:* Thus, relevant to the present listing it would seem that their estimate would be the total of both figures, or 20 to 38 pieces. However, in recent times George J. Fuld stated that he believes this estimate to be too high (cf. letter June 17, 1997).

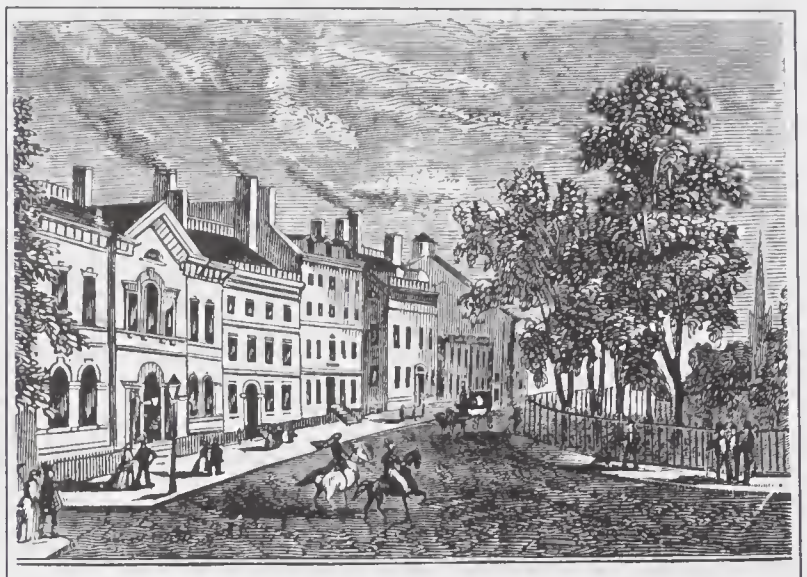
[2] George J. Fuld, letter, May 9, 1997, stated that this "probably exists."

Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 2412, as part of a set of silver mulings, said to be *unique*, struck to the order of Emery; "the dies are now destroyed." However, Woodward's 1880 sale of additional pieces from the Emery Collection also offered a specimen (the same one?), described as "unique," as Lot 1119.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 12.

### Sir Henry Clinton's House, No. 1 Broadway, N.Y.



**Houses at the foot of Broadway during the Revolutionary War era. The leftmost structure is the Clinton House. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 592)**

**History:** Prior to the American Revolution this large New York City mansion at No. 1 Broadway was occupied by Archibald Kennedy, collector of the Port of New York City and a member of the Governor's Council. The structure was built circa April 1765, about the time that Kennedy married the daughter of Capt. Peter Schuyler of New Jersey. In its time it was considered to be one of the finest residences in its district.

**Sir Henry Clinton, one of several important figures who lived at No. 1 Broadway, New York City, during the Revolutionary War era. Depicted by Lossing "from an English print." (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 556)**

During the early days of the American Revolution in January 1776, American General Charles Lee made his home there, followed soon thereafter by General Israel Putnam, this being prior to the British occupation of the city (which began in late summer 1776). While Lee stayed there his troops billeted in nearby fields (the area later known as City Hall Park). The edifice was next door to where Sir William Howe lived.

During much of the Revolution, Sir Henry Clinton was commander-in-chief of the British forces. During the British occupation of New York City he lived there for much of the time, punctuated by absences during various military activities. Clinton was described as being "short and fat, with a full face and prominent nose."[1]

Henry Clinton was a son of George Clinton (governor of New York state in 1743) and a grandson of the Earl of Lincoln. During the Seven Years' War he served with the British army on the European continent. In the spring of 1775 he came as a major general to America with General Sir William Howe. He fought with distinction in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and in 1777 he served in New York and along the Hudson. On May 11, 1778, he succeeded Howe as the commander of the British forces in America. Clinton was somewhat reserved in his manners and was not as popular with other Britishers as Howe had been. During most of his charge he lived in New York City, remaining there until 1782, when he left the country. In 1795 he was appointed as the governor of Gibraltar, but served only for a short time, dying on December 22 of the same year.

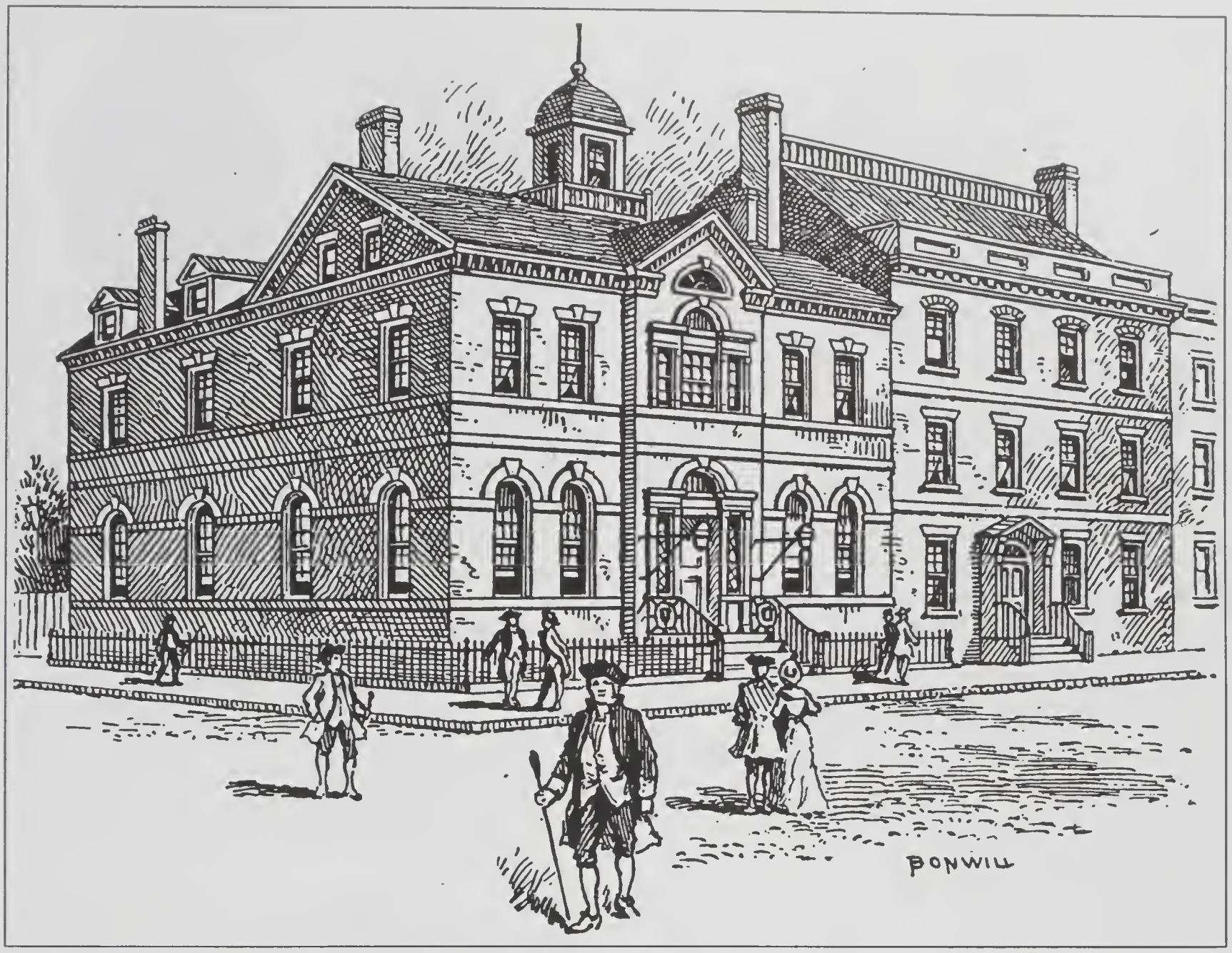
Near the end of the Revolution, after Clinton had left the country, Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) lived there. Years later the structure was demolished and the Washington Building erected on the site. In 1863 the Washington Restaurant, No. 1 Broadway, issued Civil War tokens.[2]

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of mansion. SIR HENRY CLINTON'S HOUSE. above, No. 1 BROADWAY, N.Y. below.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From one or another of the popular engravings of the 1850s reproduced in several publications including Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution.*

[1] Notes adapted from Lossing, Vol. II, pp. 103, 556.

[2] Fuld No. NY-630-CD-1a (in copper) and NY-630-CD-1e (white metal), the latter being rare.




**Number 1 Broadway, on the corner, at the beginning of one of the world's most famous streets. This elegant residence was home to several important military figures during the Revolutionary War era. Sage's Historical Token No. 12 depicted the building. (*Leslie's History of the Greater New York*)**

**REVERSE design:** THE / HEAD-QUARTERS / OF / GENL. PUTNAM / AND / SIR H. CLINTON. No. 12 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. Star flanked by beads below SIR. H. CLINTON. Arc of 26 stars around top and side border. Period below "o" of No is a round dot. Apostrophe in SAGE'S is a period.

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: March 23, 1859. Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date. By this time, all numbers 1 to 10, but not No. 11, had been given.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks). The *1860* Sage store card, Adams-Miller-NY-756 (see Chapter 17 of the present work) is from a perfect obverse die state.

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Restrike, 1860 or later, from advanced state of obverse die. Struck later than the *1860* Sage store card, Adams-Miller-NY-756.

Later state with massive cud break around rim from opposite corner of ground at lower left, clockwise to above right side of H in HENRY; at lower right, die crack from rim, diagonally into beading about five beads above lower right corner of ground, continuing through beads, exiting to rim opposite lower right of second A in BROADWAY. Reverse die perfect. This and the following die state were struck *later* than the Penn's Treaty muling described below.

Still later state, now with cud break at lower right, taking away the rim of the die from below the Y in N.Y., clockwise to the rim opposite lower right of second A in BROADWAY. Reverse die perfect.

Commentary: Apparently, the striking of the foregoing pieces was interrupted by the use of the obverse die to create the Penn's Treaty muling.

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. Thicker than the original issue. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 24 pieces! If these were distributed, they are mostly in hiding today.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with rim broken from below the R in BROADWAY, continuing clockwise to an indeterminable point (due to indistinct striking), the rim resuming its clarity below the second A of BROADWAY, and without a break from that point to the starting point at the R. Reverse die with massive rim break from below U in AUG., clockwise past stars, to near the eighth star (ANS Collection).

Die State II: Obverse rim broken away or removed from centerpoint (approximately) of beads to rim. Reverse die perfect.

Die State III: Obverse rim broken away or removed from centerpoint (approximately) of beads to rim. Reverse die with cud break at rim from below U of AUG., clockwise to opposite eighth star (counting the stars beginning at left); striking of a particular specimen (Irion Collection) did not permit examination of the rim from the 3 o'clock to the 7 o'clock position.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 26 pieces! One of the more available restrikes today, although it is quite rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse rim broken away or removed from centerpoint (approximately) of beads to rim. Reverse die with cud break at rim from below U of AUG., clockwise to opposite 10th star (counting the stars beginning at left); another rim break from opposite 21st and 22nd stars clockwise to below left side of K in TOKENS. Struck after the copper, reeded edge, restrike.

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** No record.

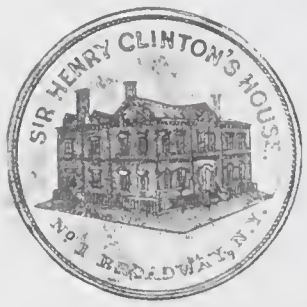
**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, Lot 153, stated that only 10 were made of the silver, reeded edge, restrikes; of that number, nine were offered in the same 1894 sale. Wood must have experienced slow sales! A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984. A specimen was offered as Lot 439 of Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s George Ganter Collection Sale, Part II, 1994.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse with massive cud break at rim, beginning to the right of No. at the bottom, continuing clockwise to above the left side of the first N in CLINTON. Another cud break is at the rim opposite Y, N.Y. Two die cracks at lower rim, one to the left of B and the other below the left side of R in BROADWAY. Reverse from perfect die (no breaks). Both dies repolished, but with many rust pits (172.5 grains, 31.1 mm.; Van Sant Collection). The ANS specimen is from a similar die state.

**Nineteenth-century sketch showing the treaty of William Penn with the Indians. This motif was utilized by Robert Lovett, Jr., Philadelphia, for his Penn's Treaty medal, the scenic die for which was later muled with certain of Augustus Sage's historical tokens. (*History of the American Revolution*, no date; similar images were widely reproduced elsewhere)**

## MULINGS:



**Muling: The obverse die (Historical Token No. 12) was muled with a reverse with a die depicting William Penn's Treaty with the Indians** to create a variety outside of the Sage series. The "Penn's Treaty 1682" scene was intended to be a part of Lovett's Series No. 1, by Robert Lovett, Jr., of Philadelphia, older brother of engraver George H. Lovett. The scene, which has no accompanying lettering or inscription, shows four Indians and four white men, three of each standing (with Penn being most prominent), one Indian seated, and one white man kneeling, a scroll or treaty in the left foreground, a tree branch overhead at the top border of the medalet. The scene of Penn's treaty with the Indians, as depicted by Lovett on this die, is adapted from an earlier illustration showing about three dozen people, a mixture of native Americans and white settlers, with buildings in the background and in the distance to the right a harbor with ships. In the original, in the left foreground is a native American mother, a young girl, and a papoose. The central theme of the early illustration shows a kneeling settler holding what seems to be a large cloth scroll (the folds resemble those in cloth, not parchment or paper).

**Copper:** Very rare.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 1358: Obv. "Penn's Treaty;" rev. "Sir Henry Clinton's House;" copper proof, extremely rare. Similarly, the sale at Bangs, Merwin & Co. of the Levick Collection, April 1865, included this: Lot 295: Sage's Historicals, No. 12, rev. Penn's Treaty with the red men, cop[per]. [Size] 20."

**White metal. Reeded edge:** Presidential Coin and Antique Company's Great Eastern Collection sale of June 24, 1989: 1198. Bowers and Merena sale of the Witham Collection, 1992; 2060.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (CLINTON'S HOUSE) with four radial cracks to the left (opposite lower level of windows, opposite upper level of windows, above R in SIR, above top right of H in HENRY, and above Y in HENRY), but no cud rim breaks, at the left; otherwise perfect dies.

**Muling: The obverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 12, Clinton's House, was muled with a new reverse die to create an advertising token** (described in Chapter 17; Adams-Miller NY-753 through 756).

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

### No. 13.

### The Old Swamp Church

**History:** This house of worship was built in 1767 at the corner of Frankfort and William streets in lower New York City. During the British occupation of New York City during the Revolutionary War, Hessian mercenary soldiers were hospitalized there, and religious services may have been conducted at the same time.

Lossing commented:[1] "The quaint old church edifice which stood on the corner of William and Frankfort streets until 1851 (when it was demolished, and a large hotel was placed upon its site), was a hospital for the Hessians, and all around the borders of the swamp close by, many of the poor Germans were buried." The church, not otherwise noticed by Lossing (although in the index, p. 703, it is designated "Swamp Church"), was illustrated by an engraving titled "Hessian Hospital," which Sage employed for the obverse design of his token. Apparently the inscription, "attended by the Hessians," on the token did not refer to the German mercenary soldiers gathering there for worship.

Of the various Revolutionary War icons selected by Sage for depiction on his tokens, this is one of the most obscure.

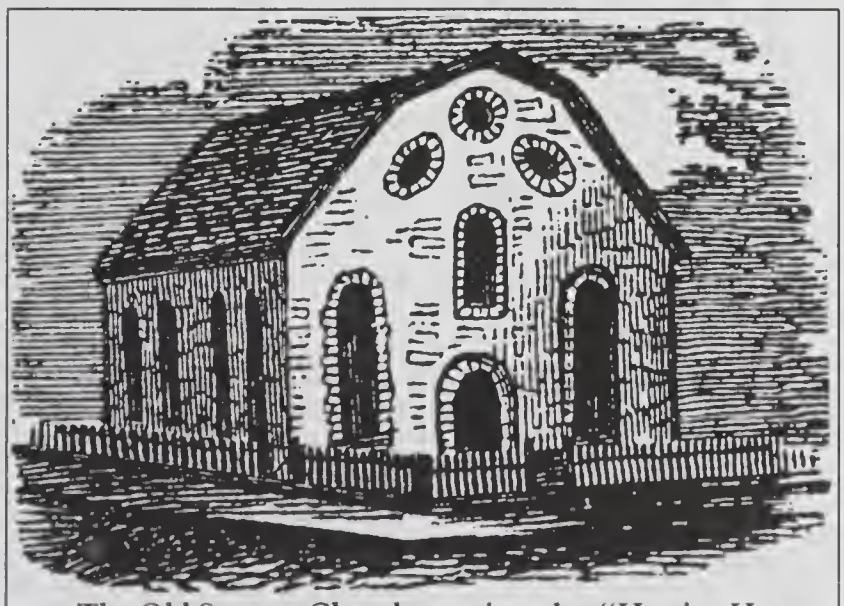
In 1831 an African-American congregation of the Presbyterian faith purchased the building and used it for a time. In 1848 it saw use as an auction gallery and, later, a livery stable. Still later, the Globe Hotel was erected on the site.

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of the church. Inscription THE OLD SWAMP CHURCH above in with-serif letters (unusual), ERECTED 1767 below. Row of three stars near bottom border.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving of the 1850s reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 629, there captioned "Hessian Hospital."

**REVERSE design:** Inscription: ATTENDED BY / THE / HESSIANS / DURING THE / REVOLUTION / No. 13 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. At top border, ornament of a large star flanked on each side by a small star and three rhomboids. Below REVOLUTION, a similar stars-and-rhomboids ornament. Period below "o" of No is a small dash, too low and slightly off-center to the right. Apostrophe in SAGE'S is a period. There is a period after TOKENS.; the only die in the series to have a period in that location.



**The Old Swamp Church, captioned as "Hessian Hospital," as depicted by Lossing. This identical engraving was employed by George H. Lovett to create No. 13 in Sage's Historical series. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 629)**

**Original obverse die from which Sage's Historical Token No. 13 was struck. The rim outside of the beaded border is completely broken away. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: March 31: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date. By this time all other Historical Tokens had been donated except nos. 11 and 14 (which would not be given until October 10, 1859).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

## RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Reeded edge:** Rare. Thicker than the original issue; rare (tentative). Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 32 pieces! Rare today, but one of the more available restrikes in this format.

Die states observed:

Die State I: Obverse with cud breaks developing at the rim including most of the rim *except* for the area above SWAM of SWAMP; much of the lower part of the rim is not completely struck up (see following listing), thus die state examination in that area is not possible, but includes some unbroken areas (Van Sant Collection). Other examples have the rim incompletely struck up in all areas. Reverse with rim broken beginning below the I in HISTORICAL and continuing clockwise to opposite the second rhomboid-shaped ornamental pellet to the left. Struck before the brass, reeded edge, restrikes.

Die State II: Obverse as preceding, but, seemingly, with massive rim break beginning past the seventh bead below the ground line on the right, continuing clockwise around the rim, ending about opposite the middle of the large window on the lower level of the building. Reverse as preceding (ANS Collection).

Die State III: A later die state shows a nearly or completely broken obverse rim, as preceding; reverse with break now beginning below "OR" of HISTORICAL and continuing clockwise to an undetermined spot (light striking does not permit detailed observation). Struck before the brass, reeded edge, restrikes.

**Brass. Reeded edge:** Rare, but one of the more available restrikes in this format. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, included 32 pieces!

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: On the obverse there is a massive cud break beginning at a point directly below the rightmost window in the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 629.

building, extending clockwise to cover nearly all of the rim, to a point to the right of and opposite the rightmost window. On the reverse, the rim is broken beginning below the I in HISTORICAL and continuing clockwise to opposite the second rhomboid-shaped ornament from the left. (Van Sant Collection; ANS Collection; each with some areas of indistinct striking).

Die State II: On the obverse the rim now is completely broken away from the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads to the outer rim; apparently, the die was re-machined by Lovett. On the reverse the rim is broken beginning below the right side of O in HISTORICAL and continuing clockwise to opposite the second rhomboid-shaped ornament from the left. (Van Sant Collection, duplicate)

Die State III: The reverse the rim is broken beginning at L in HISTORICAL and extending clockwise to an undetermined spot (not observable due to lightness of striking). to the left, but, apparently, to about opposite the rightmost star in the top trio of stars. Some specimens seem to have had their rims beveled (by Lovett) to obscure most or all of the broken-rim area; such pieces only show a small amount of the border beading.

**White metal. Plain edge:** No record.

**White metal. Reeded edge:** No record.

**Silver. Reeded edge:** Extremely rare. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood. The Chapman brothers in the sale of Wood's collection, 1894, Lot 144, stated that only 10 were made of the silver, reeded edge, restrikes; of that number, seven were offered in the same 1894 sale. Conspicuously absent from Lot 1301 of the Bowers and Merena sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984, which offered 13 silver strikings of as many different numbered issues in the Historical Tokens Series, No. 13 being the only exception (a brass striking was included).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

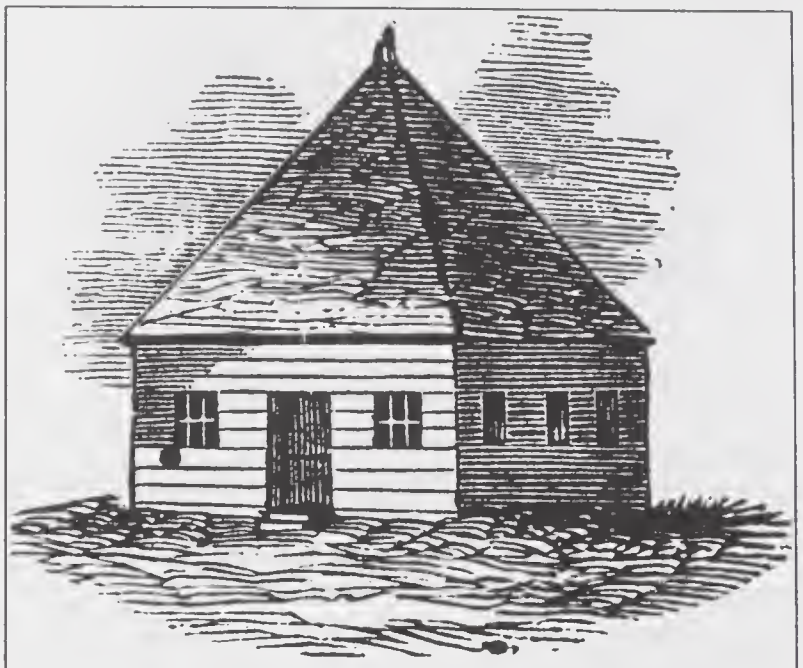
### No. 14.

### First Meeting House Erected in Hartford

**History:** The meeting house is said to have been erected in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1635, used for a time, and then given by the town to Rev. Hooker, who used it for worship services. Meanwhile, the town of Hartford built a more commodious facility for its own use.

The Charter Oak, the state of Connecticut's most familiar icon, was the hiding place of the Royal Charter when Sir Edmund Andros attempted to revoke it on behalf of King James II in October 1687 as part of a decree that each of the colonies should surrender their original patents; this document is now in the collection of the Connecticut Historical Library (the British copy of the same document is owned by the Connecticut State Library).

Benson J. Lossing visited the tree and wrote of the experience. The sketch mentioned was reproduced in his *Pictorial Field-Book* and was the image selected by Sage for use on this token:[1]



**First Meeting-House, Hartford, Connecticut. This illustration was used as the motif by Sage in creating Historical Token No. 14. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 433)**

> "This venerable relic is still vigorous, and is a 'gnarled oak' indeed. It stands upon the northern slope of the Wyllys Hill, a beautiful elevation on the south side of Charter Street, a few rods east of Main Street. This engraving is from a sketch which I made of the tree from Charter Street, on the 3d of October, 1848. I omitted the picket fence in front, in order to show the appearance of the whole oak.
>
> "The opening of the cavity wherein the charter was concealed is seen near the roots. The heavy wind that had been blowing for thirty hours had stripped the tree of a large portion of its autumnal leaves, and strewn on the ground with acorns. The trunk, near the roots, is twenty-five feet in circumference.
>
> "A daughter of Secretary Wyllys, writing to Dr. Holmes about the year 1800, says of this oak, 'The first inhabitant of that name [Wyllys] found it standing in the height of its glory. Age seems to have curtailed its branches, yet it is not exceeded in the height of its coloring or richness of its foliage.... The cavity, which was the asylum of our charter, was near the roots, and large enough to admit a child. Within the space of eight years the cavity has closed, as if it had fulfilled the divine purpose for which it had been reared.' The cavity within remains as large as anciently, but the orifice will hardly admit a hand."

On August 21, 1856, the Charter Oak was toppled by high winds. The tree was subsequently cut up, and many souvenirs were made from its wood. The site of the tree, on the northern slope of Wyllys Hill, was later graded to form a terrace known as Charter Oak Place.

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of small structure with peaked roof, flanked by small trees. Inscription FIRST MEETING-HOUSE ERECTED IN HARTFORD surrounds. At the bottom border a large star is flanked on each side by two small stars.

ICONOGRAPHY of obverse design: From an engraving of the 1850s reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, p. 433.

[1] Lossing, Vol. I, pp. 234-235.

**The Charter Oak, Hartford, CT, as illustrated by Lossing. This was the source for one of Sage's tokens. The tree stood for many years, until it was blown down in a windstorm in 1856. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* 1850, page 434)**

**REVERSE design:** Depiction of the Charter Oak with spreading branches, THE CHARTER OAK above, No. 14 / AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS, below. Period below "o" of No is a small dash. The apostrophe in SAGE'S is a period. The K in OAK is patched from a punch which had the upper right part missing.

ICONOGRAPHY of reverse design: From an engraving reproduced in Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Vol. I, p. 434, this being taken from a sketch made by Lossing on the site. Lovett made several changes, and on the die the all-important Charter-enclosing hole is more prominent.

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 12, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date. By this time, all numbers in the Historical Token series had been donated except 11 and 14, both of which were given on this date. These tokens had been advertised for many months.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

### RESTRIKES:

**Silver. Reeded edge:** A specimen appeared as part of Lot 1301 of Bowers and Merena's sale of the Virgil M. Brand Collection, 1984.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS: APOCRYPHA

An examination of the 14 numbered tokens known by numismatists today as being part of Sage's Historical Token series reveals several discrepancies. In particular, the Walnut Street Prison, Philadelphia, once advertised as having been issued as No. 14, never was issued (No. 14 was another subject, The First Meeting House Erected in Hartford). No. 15, once advertised as being the Old Gothic Hall, N.Y., was never issued as part of the Historical Token series.

Information concerning each of these two apocryphal Historical Token subjects is given below:

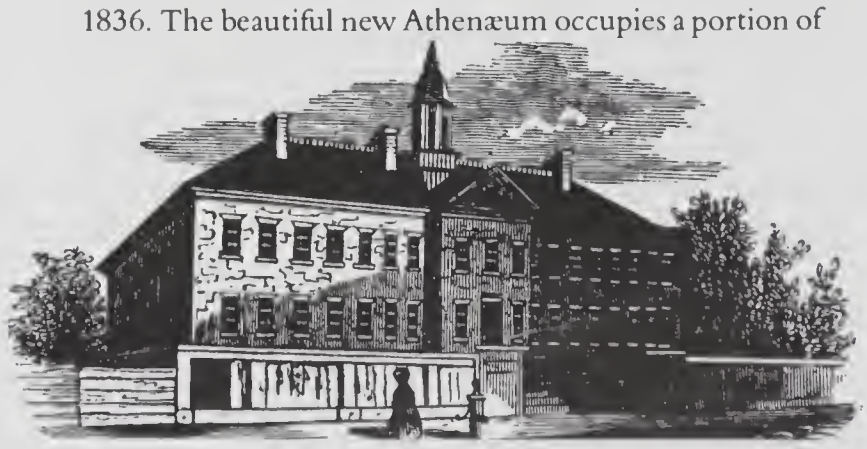
**14. Walnut-street Prison, Philadelphia.** Modern commentary: This motif was never issued, or at least it is not known to modern-day numismatists. The No. 14 we know as having been issued was a subject not advertised by Sage in 1859, the First Meeting House Erected in Hartford. The advertising of the apparently unissued Walnut-street Prison token by Sage is reflective of what seems to have been a sharp interest by Sage in prisons associated with early American history.

No doubt, Sage's interest in the Walnut Street prison arose from reading this specific commentary in his own copy of Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* pp. 101-103:

> "On Walnut Street, near Sixth, was the prison used as the *British Provost* in 1778.[1] It was under the charge of that infamously cruel scoundrel, Captain Cunningham, a burly, ill-natured Irishman of sixty years, whose conduct as provost marshal here and in New York has connected his name with all that is detestable. There were confined the American prisoners taken at Brandywine and Germantown, many of whom died of starvation after feeling the lash of Cunningham's whip, or the force of his heavy boot, and were buried in the Potter's Field near by, now the beautiful *Washington Square.* It makes the blood curdle to read of the sufferings of those who fell under the sway of that monster, so devilish in all his ways. The miseries of others seemed to give him great delight; and often, in the sight of the starving prisoners, would he kick over a pail of soup, or scatter a basket of fruit or cold victuals which some benevolent hand had placed upon the door-stone with the hope that it might nourish the famished soldiers! We shall meet him hereafter as provost marshal in New York. Tradition says he was hung at Newgate, in England; but the records of that prison, examined by Mr. Bancroft, exhibit no such name."

Further from Lossing:

> "This edifice was erected in 1774, and taken down in 1836. The beautiful new Athenæum occupies a portion of



**The Sage's Historical token motif that was not to be: the Walnut Street Prison, Philadelphia, was intended to be represented on a token from dies by George H. Lovett, distributed by Augustus Sage, and was advertised as such. However, the token never materialized. It is quite likely that had such been produced, the image shown here would have been used. (*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* Volume II, 1850, page 101)**

[1] The Walnut-street [as it was capitalized in accounts] Prison was first used after an account of December 16, 1775, stated that it was "now in order for the reception of prisoners," such to be "removed from the gaol and workhouse." It was a regular city jail in the time before it was used as a Revolutionary War prison by the British.

the ground on Sixth Street, and the remainder is covered by elegant dwellings. It is a singular fact that the architect who constructed it was the first person incarcerated in it. He was a Whig, and, having incurred the displeasure of the British, he was locked up in that prison. The *Public Ledger* of June 26th, 1837, gives an account of an armorial drawing, representing, in bold relief, a cuirass, casque, gorget, and Roman battle-ax, with radiating spears, which was made upon an arch of one of the second story cells, by Marshall, an English engraver, who was confined there for many years for counterfeiting the notes of the United States Bank [Bank of the United States]. He was the son of the notorious 'Bag and Hatchet Woman,' of St. Giles's, London, who followed the British army in its Continental campaigns, and gathered spoils from the slain and wounded on the field of battle. Those who were dead were readily plundered, and the wounded as readily dispatched. This woman and son were master-spirits in the purlieus of St. Giles's, among robbers and counterfeiters. The gang were at length betrayed, and the parent and child fled to this country, bringing with them considerable wealth in money and jewels. They lived in splendid style in Philadelphia, riding in a gorgeous cream-colored phæton, drawn by richly-caparisoned horses, driven tandem. Their means were soon exhausted, when the son married, and commenced business as an engraver. He counterfeited notes of the United States Bank, was detected, and in 1803 was sentenced to eighteen years' confinement and hard labor in the Walnut Street Prison, then the State Penitentiary. While he was in prison, his mother, who had wandered away from Philadelphia in poverty and destitution, was executed in another state for a foul murder and arson."

*The Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time,* by John F. Watson, 1857, may have been consulted by Sage as well. The following, excerpted from a lengthy account, is found under the title "Jacob Ritter's Facts of the Prisoners at the Walnut-street Prison," pp. 300-302:[1]

> "'*The British Provost,*' so called, in Philadelphia, was the same building since called the Walnut-street Prison. It was then newly constructed and unfinished. At that place there were about nine hundred Americans held as prisoners, under the charge of the infamously cruel commissioner, Captain Cunningham, then a wicked and passionate Irishman of about sixty years of age—a florid, full bodied man.
>
> "These prisoners were those captured at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Numbers of them died there of *hunger and cold,* and were daily carried out and interred in the Potter's field, now the Washington square, close by....
>
> "[Jacob Ritter] had been in the battle of Brandywine, and was found, while sick in a farm-house, by the Hessians, who beat and kicked him as a 'rebeller,' and bore him off to the city. At this place he and the others were *three days and nights* without any food. He saw one soldier who had eaten nothing *till his fifth day,* when he saw him get a piece of rye bread....
>
> "Mr. Ritter says he was often wantonly beaten and bruised severely by the butt-end of Cunningham's whip; and at other times he was affectedly flattered and caressed, and offered many jingling guineas[2] to join his majesty's service....[3]
>
> "As the winter advanced, the prisoners became excessively cold. They had no extra coverings for sleeping, and the window panes being much broken (shivered to pieces by the blowing up of the *Augusta* man-of-war at Red Bank), the *snow* and cold entered therein freely. They huddled together for warmth, but with that they also became common companions of their lice and vermin.... He had seen soup brought by [Philadelphia citizens who wanted to help the prisoners] and set down at the prison door in vessels, which, when seen by Cunningham on his visit, have been kicked over, with a curse on the rebel dogs. On such an occasion he has seen the poor, starved prisoners, when near enough to profit by it, fall upon their knees and hands, and eagerly lap up the wasted liquid!... Ritter had seen several pick and eat grass roots, scraps of leather, chips, pieces of the rotten pump, &c., to assuage and abate their hunger.... It was a common measure with Cunningham, when visiting them, to carry his large key, and to knock anyone on the head with it who chanced to offend him. On one such occasion the struck person fell and bled and, perhaps, died.
>
> "Those who died, eight to twelve in twenty-four hours, were to be seen dragged by the legs along the floor to the dead carts. It was common to see several watching for the chance of rats from the rat-holes, which, when captured, were eaten, both for staying hunger, and also to make reprisals upon an enemy that often disturbed their sleep, and otherwise annoyed them...."

Ritter went on to say that the unfortunate souls incarcerated in the Walnut-street Prison received not a single consoling visit from any member of the Society of Friends (Quakers), with a single exception, or, for that matter, any other of the citizens of Philadelphia, nor did any officers of the American Army ever come to see them. Concerning Cunningham, it was related that years later in England he was "convicted of forgery [and] came to an ignominious end."[4]

**15. Old Gothic Hall, N.Y.** Modern commentary: This was never issued under this name as part of the Historical Tokens series, or at least it is not known to modern-day numismatists, nor is there any other No. 15 variety Historical Token series known today.

However, the mystery is quickly solved when it is realized that "Old Gothic Hall" was a nickname for the Old Masonic Hall in New York City, so-called from its Gothic architecture, especially the window treatments. This subject was shifted by Sage from his Historical Tokens series to become "Old Masonic Hall," No. 1 in Sage's Masonic Medalets series. See Chapter 12.

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[1] This being the account of Ritter, who in May 1833, at the age of 76, related the information to author Watson. Ritter had been an inmate of the prison during the Revolution.

[2] A guinea was equal to 21 British shillings; worth about $5 in Spanish-American dollars.

[3] Watson's footnote: "Cunningham was made a captain by General Clinton to save him from merited severity in case of his capture [as officers of rank were supposed to be treated better than mere soldiers]. He had been only a man of the ranks, and was deemed a kind of bully among the men when at New York before the war, where he got into a fight, in March 1775, at the liberty pole—he there offending the people, they made him and his companion Hill to go down upon their knees and curse the king. They exclaimed 'God bless him,' and they were beaten. This rankled in his breast ever after."

[4] Beginning on October 16, 1859, long after Augustus B. Sage abandoned the idea of depicting the Walnut-street Prison on a token, a series of articles about the jail appeared in the Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch.*

# CHAPTER 11

# *Sage's Numismatic Gallery*

## *(Early 1859)*

### NINE COLLECTORS MEMORIALIZED

Perhaps the most memorable of Sage's tokens were the 10 pieces in his Numismatic Gallery series. Nine prominent figures in the hobby were intended to be honored. Most were struck in copper, but a few were made in tin.

Sage's Catalogue No. 1, dated February 1859, was probably prepared in the waning days of 1858. An advertisement on the first right inside page featured Sage's Historical Tokens and Sage's Odds & Ends, but made no mention of any other lengthy series. However, on the inside back cover of the Bogert Collection catalogue, prepared within a month or so of *Catalogue No. 1,* a new venture was advertised as follows:

> **Aug. B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery.** This series will consist of about 30 Medalets, having for their obverses the busts of the prominent Numismatists of our country. They will also be uniform to the above. A splendid variety of Wreaths and Lettering will be introduced in this series.

No specific subjects were named, indicating that these pieces probably had not been issued by the early weeks of 1859. It is obvious that Sage went to extra effort and expense to create medals that would be varied in their appearance including "a splendid variety of wreaths and lettering." It would have been simpler and cheaper to have had each obverse different, with the subject's name and the number in the series, and to have a common reverse simply referring to the Numismatic Gallery.

Sage's June 1859 fixed price catalogue bore this notice on the inside back cover:

> **Numismatic Gallery.**
>
> No. 1. Charles I. Bushnell. 2. Henry Bogert. 3. Jeremiah Colburn. 4. Jas. R. Chilton, M.D. 5. Winslow Lewis, M.D.
>
> Have thus far been issued., 25 Cts. each.
>
> The above series will be continued from time to time. Struck in good copper, and sold at the low price of 25 Cents each.

This indicates that Sage sold tokens singly, rather than in sets, and by the spring of 1859 five subjects had been issued. It also suggests that the No. 4 token depicting James R. Chilton was a reality by that time. Later, this token would become a numismatic mystery. No mention is made of tin (white metal) strikings, and it can be assumed that all produced to this point were struck in copper. However, No. 4 may not have been a reality at all. It will be recalled that for the Historical Tokens series Sage once advertised that No. 14 (Walnut Street Prison) and No. 15 (Old Gothic Hall) had been issued when, in fact, they had not been. In later years when Sage's Numismatic Gallery tokens were studied by various numismatists, beginning with Richard D. Kenney in 1948-1949, no specimen of the No. 4 token depicting James R. Chilton could be located, nor does the American Numismatic Society have either a specimen or the dies among its extensive Sage holdings.

Sage's Numismatic Gallery, which became well known among token collectors of later years, apparently fell short of expectations in its time. Only eight (or, possibly, nine) different "prominent numismatists" were eventually enshrined. Many significant numismatists of the time are *not* a part of the series. Such names as J.J. Mickley, Montroville W. Dickeson, John K. Curtis, and William Leggett Bramhall come to mind, among others. Perhaps Sage intended that they be featured on later numbers that were never issued.

Apparently, early strikings of the Numismatic Gallery tokens were made in copper or bronze, perhaps on more than one occasion in the year 1859, as some pieces seem to be light yellow-orange and almost brassy in appearance, while others are rich red or brown. In addition, white metal strikings are known of several of the later numbered varieties, nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9, but in smaller numbers than the copper issues. The white metal strikings seem to have been at a slightly later time in 1859, as Sage did not feature them in his advertising. However, certain pieces in white metal were donated by Sage to the American Numismatic Soci-

# NUMISMATIC GALLERY.

No. 1. Charles I. Bushnell.
2. Henry Bogert.
3. Jeremiah Colburn.
4. Jas. R. Chilton, M. D.
5. Winslow Lewis, M. D.

*Have thus far been issued,* 25 *Cts. each.*

# ODDS AND ENDS.

No. 1. Crystal Palace.
2. Old Sugar House.
3. Paul Morphy.

25 *Cents each.*

The above series will be continued from time to time. Struck in good copper, and sold at the low price of 25 Cents each.

**Advertisement for Sage's Numismatic Gallery and Odds and Ends tokens on the inside back cover of his June 1859 catalogue. By that time five subjects in the Numismatic Gallery were said to have been issued, although later historians were never able to trace down an actual example of No. 4, that featuring well-known New York City medical doctor and pharmacist James R. Chilton.**

ety on October 20, 1859, verifying that impressions in that metal had been struck by then. Hence, they can be considered originals, not restrikes.

Each token in copper with plain edge, as measured by the author, is about 30.8 mm. diameter.[1] The border of each is beaded.

White metal, plain edge examples have averaged about 31.2 mm. This would suggest that the white metal strikings were done in a separate press run by George H. Lovett, employing a wider collar. The author has located multiple listings of nos. 7, 8, and 9 in white metal. No. 6 (Jaudon) is rarer. Earlier numbers 1 through 5 have not been found in this metal and may not have been struck.

All known specimens are believed to have been made in 1859 and are classified as originals. No restrikes, impressions in metals other than copper or white metal, or reeded edge pieces have been reported.

A chronology of Sage's Numismatic Gallery tokens is believed to be as follows:

### COPPER:

**No. 1, Charles I. Bushnell:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on March 23, 1859.

**No. 2, Henry Bogert:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on March 23, 1859.

**No. 3, Jeremiah Colburn:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 12, 1859; however, said to have been issued by June 1859 (per 1859 fixed-price catalogue).

**No. 4, James R. Chilton:** Said to have been issued by June 1859 (per 1859 fixed-price catalogue). Either these were not issued at all, or they were suppressed, or there is another explanation. None have been traced.

**No. 5 [5a], Winslow Lewis, M.D.:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 12, 1859; however, said to have been issued by June 1859 (per 1859 fixed-price catalogue).

**No. 5 [5b], Frank Jaudon:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 12, 1859; however, said to have been issued by June 1859 (per 1859 fixed-price catalogue).

**No. 6 [6a], William H. Chesley:** Not mentioned in June 1859 catalogue. Issued with the same reverse as No. 6 Frank Jaudon, but struck *before* the No. 6 Jaudon token. Only a few were struck.

**No. 6 [6b], Frank Jaudon:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 12, 1859; however, said to have been issued by June 1859 (per 1859 fixed-price catalogue). Issued with the same reverse as No. 6 William H. Chesley, but struck after the Chesley token. Also struck after the No. 5 Jaudon token.

**No. 7, William H. Chesley:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 20, 1859. Not mentioned in the June 1859 catalogue and, apparently, not conceived or issued until later. Apparently struck after Chesley No. 6.

**No. 8, Horatio N. Rust:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 20, 1859. Not mentioned in the June 1859 catalogue and, apparently, not conceived or issued until later.

**No. 9, Robert J. Dodge:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 20, 1859. Not mentioned in the June 1859 catalogue and, apparently, not conceived or issued until after the catalogue was prepared.

### WHITE METAL:

**No. 6, Frank Jaudon:** Struck circa October 1859, apparently in smaller numbers than the three following. No advertisements located. None donated to the American Numismatic Society.

**No. 7, William H. Chesley:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 20, 1859. Not mentioned in the June 1859 catalogue and, apparently, not conceived or issued until later.

**No. 8, Horatio N. Rust:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 20, 1859. Not mentioned in the June 1859 catalogue and, apparently, not conceived or issued until later.

**No. 9, Robert J. Dodge:** Specimen donated to the American Numismatic Society on October 20, 1859. Not mentioned in the June 1859 catalogue and, apparently, not conceived or issued until later.

Depicted on Sage's Numismatic Gallery tokens are the following subjects. Modern biographies of each are included:

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 1.
### Charles I. Bushnell

Biographical notes: Charles Ira Bushnell was active in the 1850s, to a lesser extent in the 1860s and 1870s. He wrote under the *nom de plume* "Numismatist" in an exchange of views with "Gus" (Augustus B. Sage) in the *New-York Dispatch*, early 1857; biography given above in Chapter 5.

The selection of Bushnell as the subject for the No. 1 token in Sage's Numismatic Gallery series was no doubt reflective of the esteem Sage had for Bushnell, arising from his "Gus"-"Numismatist" exchanges in the *New-York Dispatch* in 1857.

**OBVERSE design:** Head and neck of Bushnell facing left, seemingly a youthful portrait. CHARLES I. to left, BUSHNELL. to the right. Lettering from a with-serifs font, but with letters narrower than the font used on No. 2 (Bogert). Tiny raised thorn-like die flaw extends downward from left top of neck truncation.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Within an open wreath the inscription: A.B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 1. Normal-style apostrophe in SAGE'S. In the G in GALLERY the left side of the bottom serif is missing; no period after GALLERY. Line

[1] See Appendix IV for precise measurements. Variously cited as 31 mm. or 32 mm. in numismatic literature.

under "o" in No; line is left of center. Traces of an earlier B letter to the upper right of B in A.B. SAGE'S.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: March 23, 1859. Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 1 and 2 in the Numismatic Gallery series and also No. 12 (Clinton's House) in the Historical Tokens series.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks).

Commentary: Of all the tokens in Sage's Numismatic Gallery, the No. 1 Bushnell piece has been in the greatest demand by collectors, due to the fame of Bushnell himself.

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 2.

### Henry Bogert

Biographical notes: Bogert was a New York City numismatist in the 1850s, although virtually nothing about his numismatic activities has been located in print. His collection was catalogued by Sage and auctioned by Bangs, Merwin & Co., February 28 through March 5, 1859; this event forms the subject of Chapter 14.

Bogert, a printer by trade, was Sage's business-associate at 24 Division Street in 1859. His depiction on Sage's Numismatic Gallery No. 2 token was probably due more to his business connection with Sage than to any prominence he may have had as a numismatist.

Another numismatist, Cornelius R. Bogert, also collected in the nineteenth century and may have been related. In 1841 he was a lawyer at 1 John Street, New York City. At the same time he was a partner in Bogert & Penfold, grocers at 216 Front Street. In 1857-1858 he was a merchant at 49 William Street, and he lived at 35 East 22nd Street.[1]

**OBVERSE design:** Head and shoulders portrait of Bogert facing right. HENRY to the left, BOGERT to the right. Lettering from a with-serifs font, but with letters slightly wider than the font used on No. 1 (Bushnell).

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Arc of 11 stars (three large flanked by four small) above and below, inscription within: A.B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY. / No. 2. Normal-style apostrophe in SAGE'S. In the G in GALLERY the left side of the bottom serif is missing (but is from a different font than on the reverse of No. 1, which has the same characteristic) period after GALLERY. Line under "o" in No; line is oriented very slightly to the right of center.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Original striking; style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: March 23, 1859. Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 1 and 2 in the Numismatic Gallery series and also No. 12 (Clinton's House) in the Historical Tokens series.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no rim breaks). The reverse rim area between the beads and the outer rim is wider than the comparable area on the obverse.

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 3.

### Jeremiah Colburn

Biographical notes: Born in Boston on January 12, 1815,[2] at a young age Jeremiah Colburn became a clerk in the hat store of Seth J. Thomas, and in 1840 took over his business at 60 Washington Street. On April 30, 1846, he married Eliza Ann Blackman of Dorchester, MA. The couple had one child who died in infancy. On March 8, 1852, he was appointed by President Franklin Pierce to be the U.S. appraiser in the Custom House for the Port of Boston, a position which he filled until June 1860, after which he spent most of his time in antiquarian and literary endeavors. Occasionally, to avoid the use of his name in print, he was referred to as the "Custom House collector" or some other term relating to his employment. On November 4, 1857, Colburn became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and was very active in the Society for years thereafter, to 1889.

From the 1850s through the 1880s, Colburn was an *éminence grise,* lending, usually without credit, assistance to dealers, collectors, and authors. Without a doubt, he should be honored as one of the most knowledgeable individuals in the history of American numismatics. From time to time he advertised as a coin dealer at 17 Bromfield Street, Boston, in 1870, and as a dealer in coin publications at 18 Somerset Street in the same city, in 1877 and other later years.

Emmanuel J. Attinelli remembered the numismatist:[3]

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[1] At the same address in 1857-1858 was also Henry K. Bogert (who lived at 14 East 25th Street), a different person from numismatist Henry Bogert (who was listed as an accountant and who lived at 96 West 26th Street).

[2] His father was Calvin Colburn, a native of Leominster, MA; his mother was the former Caroline Sibyl Lakin, born in Groton, MA, May 30, 1785.

[3] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 31-32.

"Jeremiah Colburn is a native of Massachusetts, where he was born on the 12th of January 1815, the only year since the establishment of the U.S. Mint in which no "cents" were coined. Mr. Colburn began the collection of coins at the age of fifteen and is still not only a collector, but a numismatic student. Many of the articles on American coins and coinage under the head of 'Notes and Queries' in the N.Y. *Historical Magazine,* during the year 1857 and since, were the contributions of Colburn.

"In 1860 he was one of the founders of the Boston Numismatic Society, of which body he became vice-president and subsequently the president. In 1871, he assumed with some other numismatic friends, the publication of the *American Journal of Numismatics,* which was thus transferred from New York to Boston. Besides the honors, which have so deservedly been conferred by numismatists, Mr. Colburn was also in 1869 made the recipient of the degree of A.M. from Williams College. May many years be yet spared to him, in which to throw light upon the uncertain origins of some of the early coins and tokens of our native country."

Part of his collection was purchased *en bloc* and auctioned by W. Elliot Woodward, April 28 to May 1, 1863. A larger sale of Colburn material was held by the same auctioneer, October 20-24, 1863. Colburn's name also appeared on Woodward's catalogue of December 19, 1865.

Years later on January 21-22, 1889, Woodward described Lot 1120 as follows: "Coin cabinet of Jeremiah Colburn. Elegantly made; built by Hancock of Boston, celebrated as the best cabinet maker in the state. Mahogany, with massive silver-plated handles. Contains 30 drawers lined with black velvet, one of which is missing; each 11 x 9 x 3/8 in. deep. The inside of the drop door is covered with black morocco, gilt. Size 23½ x 23½ x 15." (Realized $30)

Colburn died on December 20, 1891.

**OBVERSE design:** Head and shoulders portrait of Colburn facing left. JEREMIAH left, COLBURN right.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Arc of nine stars three large flanked by three small) above and below. Inscription: AUG. B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 3. Flat top to 3. Box-style apostrophe in SAGE'S. No period after GALLERY. Line under "o" in No; line is fairly well centered.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Only metal variety known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 12, 1859. Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 3 (Colburn), 5 (Lewis), 5 (Jaudon), and 6 (Jaudon) in the Numismatic Gallery series. Nos. 1 and 2 had been given on March 23, 1859; there is no record of No. 4 (Chilton) having been donated. A specimen of Colburn No. 3 appeared as part of Lot 436 in Sage's sale of the Whitmore Collection, November 2-3, 1859, said catalogue possibly having been prepared around the time of the ANS donation.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks). Typically with some lightness of strike on the highest-relief part of Colburn's hair and on the corresponding part of the reverse (the arc of stars, especially the three large stars), this being due to the requirement that metal flow into deep die recesses opposite each other.

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY
### No. 4.
### James R. Chilton

Biographical notes: Although James R. Chilton was a medical doctor, he was best known as a chemist (pharmacist)[1] who worked with New York City doctors, hospitals, and private businesses. In an 1837 directory of New York City goods and services he is listed as a "chemist and philosophical [scientific] instrument maker" at 263 Broadway, one of five chemists delineated (another was token-issuer Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger).

In 1860 his business address was 93 Prince Street, and he resided at 125 Fifth Avenue, the latter a very desirable location at the time.

Among his professional activities, Chilton lent or sold his name in testimonials for various products. At the time, financial emoluments for such endorsements tended to be non-existent or very modest, usually less than $100 and often less than $10. It was a *quid pro quo* situation, and the endorser basked in the glow of having his name spread across columns of newspapers and magazines. Examples:

In 1858, the patent medicine firm of Barnes & Park,[2] 13 and 15 Park Row, New York City, enlisted Chilton and one of his associates to analyze Lyon's Magnetic Powders, which Lyon claimed "will destroy garden insects, cockroaches, bedbugs, fleas, ants, moths, and all pests of the vermin kind." An advertisement subsequently included this notice:[3]

"It Is Free From Poison

"New York,. October 1st, 1858.
"Mr. E. Lyon—

"Dear Sir:

"We have analyzed and tested your Magnetic Powders, and find them perfectly harmless to mankind and domestic animals, but certain death when inhaled by bugs, ants, and insects.

"James R. Chilton, M.D., Chemist.
"Laurance Reid, Prof. Chemistry, N.Y. Hospital."

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[1] At the time the terms *chemist* and *pharmacist* were often used interchangeably, although a chemist was sometimes considered to be a compounder or formulator of drugs, while a pharmacist was a seller of same.

[2] Later, in 1860, the principals of this firm would compound Drake's Plantation Bitters, a nostrum numismatically remembered for its prolific advertisements on encased postage stamps in 1862 and, to a lesser extent, private paper currency and tokens. Among the competitors of Lyon's Magnetic Powders in 1859 was the bug-zapping product, Costar's Electric Powders.

[3] Printed in various magazines and newspapers; *e.g., Harper's Weekly,* February 19, 1859, p. 128. The secret of the Magnetic Powder was said by Lyon to have been "brought from the interior of Asia, and is unknown to any other persons." Among those customers finding the marvelous Powder to be efficacious were Gen. Winfield Scott, Cyrus W. Field (of Atlantic cable renown), Judge Meigs (president of the American Institute), and the management of the Astor, St. Nicholas, and Metropolitan hotels in New York City.

In 1859 a New York City firm printed this testimonial by Chilton:[1]

"The 'Diaphragm Filter,' manufactured by Messrs. McKenzie & O'Hara, is the kind of porous filter to which I alluded in my recent report to the Croton Board.[2] I consider the artificial sandstone, which constitutes the filtering medium, to be an excellent article for the purpose. The instrument is quite durable, and only requires to be reversed occasionally to insure its proper action.

"James R. Chilton, M.D., Chemist.
"New York, Aug. 30, 1859."

In 1860 this testimonial appeared:[3]

"The Unprecedented Success which has for the last twenty years attended the use of DR. S.P. TOWNSEND'S SARASPARILLA induces us to call the special attention of those who are afflicted with any diseases arising from impurities of the blood, to the great superiority of THIS SARSAPARILLA over any other preparation of the same nature. It has been tested by thousands suffering from scrofula, salt rheum, effects of mercury, rheumatism, colds, coughs and many other complaints, with the most beneficial effects. As it is now compounded under the direct supervision of

"DR. JAMES R. CHILTON, CHEMIST,

"it is the only preparation that can be safely relied on to affect a permanent and speedy cure.... Wholesale and retail depot removed to No. 41 Fulton Street, New York, and for sale by every druggist throughout the country."

In 1864, J.J. Jacob & Co., who maintained a manufactory and depot at 91 Liberty Street, New York City, advertised:[4]

"L. LYONS'S PURE OHIO CATAWBA BRANDY and Sparkling Catawba Wines. Equal in quality and cheaper in price than the brandies and wines of the Old World. For summer complaint, cholera infantum, bowel complaint, cramp, colic, and diarrhoea, a sure cure is guaranteed, or the money will be refunded.

"In support of the above statements are presented the certificates of Dr. James R. Chilton, Chemist, New York [and others]."

From the preceding and similar notices, Chilton must have sold his endorsement easily and without much if anything in the way of verifying the claims (the Townsend's Sarsaparilla cures, for example, are misleading patent medicine hype).

Unlike his public persona, Chilton's numismatic presence was not reflected to any extent in historical or numismatic publications of the 1850s. His importance to Augustus B. Sage is not known today. Perhaps Sage recognized that Chilton was a public figure and also a numismatist, and thus he may have concluded that his inclusion in the Numismatic Gallery series would help popularize the tokens. Or, there may have been another reason.

Attinelli in 1876 noted that Chilton "was the well-known chemist, whose fame as such is too far spread to make it possible to be added to at this period,. As an antiquarian, his collections of books, coins, casts, etc., bespeak his industry, thought, and care." Today, Chilton's fame has faded, and little appears about him in numismatic literature. One wishes that Attinelli had been redundant and explained for a later generation of readers what at that time was obvious to him.

In June 1867, Ebenezer Locke Mason, Jr., writing in *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* p. 21, commented upon recollections by Augustus B. Sage and Edward D. Cogan which he had recently read in the *American Journal of Numismatics*. Eager that some collectors, in his words, not be "left out in the cold," he suggested that such dealers and suppliers as Faaet, Levick, Kline, Mason,[5] Davids, Kolloch, Carpenter, Wallace, Hodges [correct spelling: Hodge], Cauffman, Gronberry [Gronberg], Zehnder, Humphries, Harvey, Breichman [Brechemin], Wildeburn, Warner, Nevil, Few Smith [Fewsmith], and Hill were responsible for tracking down the "valuable and finest specimens" for such collectors as Mickley, Bushnell, Hall, Coffin, Stickney, Chilton, Allen [Allan], Davis, and Taylor.[6]

For five days beginning on March 13, 1865, Chilton's collection was auctioned in the New York City sale room of Bangs, Merwin & Co., 3,139 lots, total value of $4,150.06. The catalogue, an impressive 202 pages in size, bore the title of *Executrix's Sale. Catalogue of the Choice and Extensive Cabinet of Coins and Medals Collected with Great Taste and Experience During a Period of Forty Years, by the Late Dr. James R. Chilton. The Splendid Collection Comprises a General Assortment of Coins and Medals of All Nations, Ancient and Modern, in Gold, Silver and Copper, Together with a Small Cabinet for Medals (formerly belonging to Governor DeWitt Clinton).* Addendum No. 1, 18 pages in length, offered a further 519 lots which fetched $219.65, and Addendum No. 2 (two pages, dated March 17, 1865) listed 51 lots, arranged from A to Z, then a to z, with "I" and "i" not used, but "S" used twice (the second time with an asterisk, a popular method of the time, indicating a duplicate use of a letter or number); these realized $89.90.[7] The listing reveals that Chilton was primarily interested in English and other world coins. United States federal issues seem to have been peripheral at best.

The introduction to the catalogue, dated February 1, 1865, noted in part:

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[1] Published in *Harper's Weekly,* September 24, 1859, p. 623.

[2] The Croton Reservoir supplied drinking water to New York City via a vast underground tunnel system. On October 14, 1842, a grand civic celebration was held to observe its completion.

[3] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* July 14, 1860, p. 127.

[4] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* November 19, 1864, p. 142.

[5] This reference is probably to George B. Mason or his brother, J. Allan Mason, rare coin dealers in the 1860s in New York City; not to E.L., Mason, Jr. Alternatively, W.G. Mason, who was active in numismatics in the 1840s, is a possibility.

[6] Interestingly, Mason, who himself seemed to be a C- student when it came to spelling names, was quick to point out spelling and typographical errors in the catalogues of his competitors.

[7] The author examined the priced copy in the John W. Adams library, earlier from the library of Charles Chaplin, the prominent nineteenth-century Boston numismatist. For additional information see Charles Davis' description of Lots 1054, 1055 and 2071 (Bushnell's copy). Attinelli (p. 40) attributed the March 17, 1865, list of addenda as being the property of Dr. Francis S(mith) Edwards. Edwards is best remembered today for the so-called "Edwards" 1796 half cent copies possibly made in England by a counterfeiter named Singleton and distributed by Edwards (cf. Leonard Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists,* Vol. V, p. 533-535, especially p. 535). Edwards was involved in many numismatic activities, most of which were unrecorded, including the production of medals (as for the 1864 Nantucket Sanitary Fair).

"To those who were personally acquainted with Dr. Chilton, the knowledge of his refined taste and keen perceptive qualities will be the best guarantee of the character of the collection now offered to the public. Numismatics must have been one of his favorite studies, as he commenced collecting American specimens when little more than twelve years of age, and until within a few weeks of his last illness attended all the prominent sales, purchasing with his usual good taste and an unabated ardor...."

Seemingly, if Dr. Chilton had possessed an example of Sage's Numismatic Gallery No. 4 bearing his portrait, it would have been included in his catalogue. However, a perusal of the catalogue reveals no such item.

Sage-related items in the Chilton sale:

Lot 1548: "Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Obv. bust of Mr. Bushnell. Copper." (Realized 8¢).

Lot 1608: "[Medal with] Bust of Washington facing right, by Lovett. 'Washington Temperance Society.' Rev. "House of Temperance.' Copper bronzed. Very fine and rare. Size 24." (Realized $1.00) Similar medals were retailed by Sage in 1858.

Lot 365 [in Addenda I; probably not the property of Chilton]: "The Charter Oak. Sage's Historical Tokens, No. 14. Copper. Very fine."

Lot 3025: "1859 [Catalogue of the collection of] Henry Bogert, Esq., by Messrs. B., M. & Co., February 28th, 1859." (Realized 7¢) This sale was conducted by Sage.

Lot 3026: "1859 [catalogue of] Messrs. B., M. & Co., June 7th, 1859." (Realized 7¢) This was the Foskett sale conducted by Sage.

Lot 3027: "1859 [duplicate of preceding]." (Realized 7¢)

Lot 3028: "1859 [Catalogue of the collection of] Henry Whitmore, Esq., by Messrs. B., M. & Co., November 3d, 1859." (Realized 7¢) This sale was conducted by Sage.

It seems evident that Sage's tokens were not important in Chilton's collecting plans, for he had only one example. The preceding also indicates that Chilton owned copies of the three auction sales conducted by Sage. However, he does not appear among listed buyers in those sales (see Appendix I).

Other items (of possible interest to present-day readers) in the Chilton sale:

Lot 1283: "1795 Dollar. Flowing hair. (Lady Washington type) presented by M. Alexandre Vattemare. Very fine and scarce."[1] (Realized $2.00)

Lot 1321: "1792 Martha Washington.[2] 'Half Disme—Lib. Par. Of Science and Industry.' Rev. a small eagle flying. United States of America. Extremely rare and fine." (Realized $10.50)

Lot 1505: "1787 Franklin [Fugio] Cent. United States. Found upon taking down the Bank of America in Wall Street. Presented by Mr. Thomas E. Garson. Very Good." (Realized 40¢)

Lot 1574: "[Token of] Wm. J. Mullen, gold dial manufacturer, New York. Obv. bust. Fine reverse. Ponthon (die-sinker). Engraved at the mint in Lancaster. Copper. Very fine and very rare. Size 20."[3] (Realized 15¢)

Lot 2962: "Satin wood inlaid cabinet for medals, formerly belonging to Governor DeWitt Clinton; the drawers lined with dark velvet." (Realized $50.00)

Lot 2963: "Ornamental iron fire proof safe, with white marble slab. Made by Messrs. Valentine & Butler especially for this collection, under the immediate direction of Dr. Chilton. The cabinet work is very superior. It contains two closets for securing valuable papers and jewelry, and sixty-six drawers, sixteen inches wide by fourteen and three-eighths inches long, running on grooves, and resting directly upon one another, thus economizing space. Sixty of the drawers are one inch deep, and six prepared for large medals two inches in depth. The doors work easily on their hinges, and are lined with maroon velvet with gilt bordering. Outside dimensions: Height, 5 feet 7½ inches; width, 3 feet 10½ inches; depth, 23 inches." (Illustrated with an engraving on p. 189 of the catalogue; realized $350.00) This is one of the most ornate coin cabinets described in any nineteenth-century American auction catalogue.

Lot 2012: "Catalogue in manuscript of the Numismatic Collection of Cornelius R. Bogert, Esq."[4] (Realized 25¢)

Lot 3065: "500 trays for coins, two inches square, with green banks; in separate packages of 100 each." (Realized 30¢) One of several such lots; probably in the form of small cardboard pill boxes (not trays as we know such today), without tops, shallow, suitable for placing in the trays of a coin cabinet.

**OBVERSE design:** Presumably, a portrait of Chilton with an inscription of JAMES CHILTON or some variation thereof. A specimen has not been examined by the author, nor has a photograph of one been located. Not even the American Numismatic Society, heir to certain of Sage's token dies, has one.

**REVERSE design:** Presumably, AUG. B. SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY No. 4, or a variation thereof; spacing unknown.

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** No specimen located.

Earliest specific appearance found: None found.

Market and availability notes: In connection with his 1948-1949 article on Sage in *The Coin Collector's Journal,* Richard D. Kenney was not able to obtain an example of this token for photography, the only one of the nine subjects not found. There was no example of the Chilton token in the fairly extensive offering of Sage pieces in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections, March 1980. Catalogue listings of com-

[1] This entry represents an unusual description of the portrait of Miss Liberty as the "Lady Washington type," although there seems to be not the slightest visual similarity. The description also indicates that Monsieur Alexandre Vattemare must have visited Chilton (see commentary concerning Vattemare as part of the discussion of Daniel Groux in Chapter 2).

[2] In this entry an entirely different portrait of Miss Liberty is ascribed to Mrs. Washington.

[3] This is one of the most ornate medals from the 1830s. In 1858, Charles I. Bushnell attributed the dies to "Lander"; this was picked up by Sage in his November 1859 Whitmore Collection catalogue, Lot 120. The 1865 auction attribution is to Noel Alexandre Ponthon, who is otherwise especially remembered for cutting the 1794 obverse die showing the River God, muling with the COPPER COMPANY OF UPPER CANADA reverse die.

[4] Interesting, as the surname Bogert, as in Henry Bogert, is connected to Sage.

plete sets infer that the Emery (1864) and Bushnell (1882) collections included specimens in copper; however, such catalogues often included errors. Dr. George J. Fuld believes that this issue is not known in any present-day collection.[1] In summary, no verifiable catalogue listings of the No. 4 Chilton token have been found.

However, W. Elliot Woodward's sale of October 20-24, 1863, held by Messrs. Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York City, included this offering: "Lot 1815: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, nine pieces, one very rare, copper, all fine, [size] 20." What was the "one very rare" token? Could it have depicted Chilton? Unfortunately, Woodward said nothing more.

It seems likely that Chilton furnished his image to Sage or to George H. Lovett for purposes of having the obverse die made. Perhaps after the fact, Chilton did not like his portrait or had a falling out with Sage, with the result that the tokens were suppressed. As noted, Chilton is not known to have been a buyer in any of Sage's auctions in 1859, the year the token would have been issued. Alternatively, perhaps the obverse die broke early in the striking sequence, and as the Numismatic Gallery series attracted few buyers, no new die was made. Or, there may be another answer.

### MULING(?):

An unknown muling?: A specimen that was part of Lot 224 in the 1990 Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections was described as: "No. 4. Winslow Lewis, M.D. Copper. Prooflike Uncirculated." Pending inspection of this piece, it is not known if this represents a typographical error or an otherwise unrecorded muling with the Lewis obverse (normally seen as No. 5) with the No. 4 reverse (otherwise advertised by Sage as being combined with the Chilton obverse).

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 5 [5a.]
### Winslow Lewis

Biographical notes: Born in Boston, July 8, 1799, Winslow Lewis graduated from Harvard College, 1819. Thereafter he studied medicine under John C. Warren, M.D., and took his degree in 1822. Furthering his studies he sailed to Europe and attended lectures on medicine in London and Paris. Returning to Boston, he established a practice there, where in time he became a consultant to the Massachusetts General Hospital. Lewis was very active as a Mason, and was a friend and patron of the arts.

In 1856 he was gulled into endorsing Daniel E. Groux's lottery scheme for the disposal of a coin collection. Groux, a star-crossed numismatist if there ever was one, went from one grand idea to another, always hoping, seldom realizing. Trusting to a fault, Dr. Lewis bought counterfeits from Groux, Thomas Wyatt, and other demimonde figures in the hobby.

For several years Lewis was prominent in the affairs of the Boston Numismatic Society and its highest ranking officer, resigning the presidency on January 5, 1865. His farewell address on that date told of his love for coins and, especially, the history surrounding them.[2] Lewis died on August 2, 1875.

On May 2-4, 1883, W. Elliot Woodward offered many of his coins via the *Catalogue of a Selection from the Cabinets of Dr. Winslow Lewis, Late of Boston, Together With His Numismatic Library, and Gold Coins from the Original Collection of Joseph J. Mickley of Philadelphia.*

Woodward, in his sale of August 20-24, 1888, offered this as Lot 1925: "Lewis, Dr. Winslow. Papal medals and other numismatic matters in manuscript" (Realized 65¢). Woodward had more Lewis items on hand, for in his sale of January 21-22, 1889, he listed this under Lot 1118: "Dr. Winslow Lewis's coin cabinet of black walnut. Contains 20 drawers, each lined with black velvet and half an inch deep. Covered with an Italian marble slab beveled and polished. Size 41 x 31 x 24. A fine cabinet for collectors or dealers." (Realized $15)

**OBVERSE design:** Head and shoulders portrait of Lewis facing left. WINSLOW to the left, LEWIS, M.D. to the right. Letters "I" defective (same punch, differently oriented, was used to create the obverse of the William H. Chesley No. 7 die). N in WINSLOW seemingly over a different (letter O?) erroneous letter.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Arc of three stars above and below, enclosing inscription: AUG. B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 5. The largest star at the top and the bottom has a single point directed toward the nearby border. In NUMISMATIC the letters have no serifs. The B in AUG. B. SAGE'S seems to be added as an afterthought and is crammed between the G and the S, too close to the G. The word GALLERY is in a straight line; G is larger than the other letters in the word. A small line (instead of a dot) is under the "o" in No. The digit 5 is over a previous erroneous numeral, either a 3 (but unlike the 3 on the reverse of the No. 3 token in this series) or an 8. The 5 is upright. (This is a different reverse die from that used on Jaudon No. 5.)

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Only metal variety known.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 12, 1859. Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 3 (Colburn), 5 (Lewis), 5 (Jaudon), and 6 (Jaudon) in the Numismatic Gallery series. Nos. 1 and 2 had been given on March 23, 1859; there is no record of No. 4 (Chilton) having been donated. A specimen of Lewis No. 5 appeared as part of Lot 436 in Sage's sale of the Whitmore Collection, November 2-3, 1859, said catalogue possibly having been prepared around the time of the ANS donation.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

### MULING (tentative listing):

A specimen that was part of Lot 224 in the 1990 Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections was described as: "No. 4. Winslow Lewis, M.D. Copper. Prooflike Uncirculated." Pending inspection of this piece, it is not known if this represents a typographical error or an otherwise unrecorded muling with the Lewis obverse (normally seen as No. 5) with the No. 4 Chilton reverse.

[1] Letter, April 28, 1997.

[2] Reprinted in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, July 1866, pp. 21-22.

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 5 [5b.]
### Frank Jaudon

Biographical notes: On January 20, 1859, Jaudon, a well-to-do securities broker of Wall Street, New York City, joined the American Numismatic Society, apparently soon after commencing his interest in coins. His hobby proved short-lived, and in 1867 Sage recalled that by that time the collection had been "disposed of."[1] Why Sage chose Jaudon as an honoree on his Numismatic Gallery tokens is not known, for his overall contributions to the hobby seem to have been slight, or else were unrecorded.

Sage's advertising suggested that the Frank Jaudon token was No. 6; however, it seems that more Jaudon tokens were made with the No. 5 reverse than with the No. 6 reverse. A minute examination of obverse die characteristics suggests that the Jaudon token with the No. 5 reverse was struck prior to that with the No. 6 reverse.

**OBVERSE design:** Portrait, head and top of jacket, of Jaudon facing left, FRANK / JAUDON.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society; same die as used for Jaudon No. 6.*

**REVERSE design:** Arc of five stars above and below, enclosing inscription: A.B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 5. The largest star at the top and the bottom has two points directed toward the nearby border. *The is the only reverse with Sage's name spelled as A.B. SAGE (instead of AUG. B. SAGE).* In NUMISMATIC the letters have serifs. The word GALLERY is in an arc line; the G is the same size as the other letters in the word. A small dot (instead of a line) is under the "o" in No. The 5 is italic or slanting. (A different reverse die from that used on Lewis No. 5.)

John W. Haseltine's sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, Part I, July 5-7, 1882, included this: "Lot 645: Same series as the preceding. Frank Jaudon, with No. 5 reverse. Bronze Rare. [Size 20].

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** The Jaudon copper tokens with No. 5 and No. 6 reverse seem to have about the same degree of availability.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 12, 1859. Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 3 (Colburn), 5 (Lewis), 5 (Jaudon), and 6 (Jaudon) in the Numismatic Gallery series. Nos. 1 and 2 had been given on March 23, 1859; there is no record of No. 4 (Chilton) having been donated.

Die state(s) observed:
Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 6. [6a; first use.]
### William H. Chesley

Biographical notes: Chesley, like Jaudon, is somewhat of a shadowy figure from the standpoint of numismatic documentation.

The minutes of the meeting of the American Numismatic Society, November 19, 1858, noted:

> "On proposal by Mr. Sage, Mr. Chesley of Brooklyn...was unanimously elected a corresponding member."

In 1867, Sage recalled another collector, Mr. Martense, and mentioned Chesley in passing:[2]

> "J.W.D. Martense is now numbered among the dead.... Martense died very suddenly, I believe, in 1862. He was possessed of a fine collection, and was altogether the best natured coin collector I ever met. Many and many an afternoon in that little back room [in my coin office] in Division Street, has he related his early experience. Mr. Martense was frequently accompanied by Mr. W.H. Chesley, a gentleman resident of Brooklyn, who was the fortunate owner of an 'Immunis' of a rare type.[3] Mr. Chesley has now, I understand, a choice collection of American pieces, and, *en passant,* he is one of Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Mr. J. Van Name, of Staten Island, I also met frequently with Mr. Chesley and Mr. Martense."

**OBVERSE design:** Head and shoulders portrait of Chesley facing right. WILLIAM to the left, H. CHESLEY to the right. The "I" punch is defective at the upper left (this punch, inverted, was also used to the Winslow Lewis, M.D. obverse for No. 5).

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (from listing supplied; not checked for die variety with regard to two varieties described by Sage as being known for Chesley).*

**REVERSE design:** Reverse with design made of one large star flanked by two small stars, near top and bottom borders. AUG. B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 6. "NUMISMATIC" and "GALLERY" are emblazoned on curved ribbon sections unlike any other reverse in the series. Normal style apostrophe in SAGE'S. No period after GALLERY. Dot under "o" in No. is oriented slightly to the left of center. Letter I in NUMISMATIC is from a defective punch used on earlier obverses.

---

[1] Letter from Sage in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1867, penned March 26, 1867. Kenney (1949) stated that Jaudon's collection had been formed in 1860 and had been kept by its owner until 1866.

[2] Letter from Sage published in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1867, penned February 23, 1867.

[3] Probably an IMMUNIS COLUMBIA copper (or silver) striking, circa 1786.

Die not broken or cracked at lower left. *Later,* this die was used to strike the Frank Jaudon No. 6 tokens described below.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Exceedingly rare. The only auction appearance traced is that in the Presidential Coin and Antique Co. Sale No. 11, April 1972, Lot 18, called a "Mule, reverse of No. 6."[1] Only a few others have been encountered.

Earliest specific appearance found: April 27-29, 1865, J.N.T. Levick Collection sale by Bangs, Merwin & Co., included Lot 298, with two varieties of Numismatic Gallery No. 6.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 6. [6b.]
### Frank Jaudon

**OBVERSE design:** As on Jaudon No. 5, but now from a very slightly later die state.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society; same die as used for Jaudon No. 5.*

**REVERSE design:** Reverse die as preceding, but a later use of it. Design made of one large star flanked by two small stars, near top and bottom borders. AUG. B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 6. "NUMISMATIC" and "GALLERY" are emblazoned on curved ribbon sections unlike any other reverse in the series. Normal style apostrophe in SAGE'S. No period after GALLERY. Dot under "o" in No. is oriented slightly to the left of center. Letter I in NUMISMATIC is from a defective punch used on earlier obverses.

All examples seen with the Frank Jaudon obverse combination are from one or the other of the reverse die states described below:

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** The Jaudon copper tokens with No. 5 and No. 6 reverse are about of equal availability.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 12, 1859. Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 3 (Colburn), 5 (Lewis), 5 (Jaudon), and 6 (Jaudon) in the Numismatic Gallery series. Nos. 1 and 2 had been given on March 23, 1859; there is no record of No. 4 (Chilton) having been donated.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Early states with perfect obverse die; reverse with one (ANS Collection) to three tiny radial cracks at rim at lower left, thin crack also running through the centers of the beads, from just left of the leftmost small star at the bottom, clockwise to about opposite the N in NUMISMATIC. On this state, there is no cud or break between the beads and the outer rim.

Die State II: Obverse die perfect. Reverse state, most often seen, with massive cud break on rim extending on the rim from slightly to the left of the leftmost star at the bottom, clockwise to opposite the center of the A in AUG. Light cracks are seen through the beads to the left and right of the cud break. The break within the beads, or what is left of this break, expands and extends farther to the right along the bottom border, now to below the second star from the right. Struck *after* the white metal impressions were made.

Die State III: Obverse die perfect. The latest reverse state seen is similar to the above, but with the addition of a tiny radial crack at the rim below the second star from the left at the bottom of the token.

**White metal. Plain edge:** Apparently, much scarcer than later white metal strikings in the series (nos. 7, 8, and 9). One appeared as part of Lot 570 in Edward D. Cogan's May 1873 sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection (see Appendix III). A specimen appeared as Lot 2030 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992).

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die perfect. Reverse with massive cud break on rim extending on the rim from slightly to the left of the leftmost star at the bottom, clockwise to about opposite the N in No. 6; other cud breaks, irregular, from about opposite the U in NUMISMATIC, clockwise to opposite the lower part of the A in AUG. Struck after Die State I of the copper issue, but before Die State II of the copper issue.

**Commentary:** The sale of the J.N.T. Levick Collection at Bangs, Merwin & Co., April 1865, included this: "Lot 298: Sage's Gallery of Numismatologists, &c., &c., No. 6, 2 varieties.[2] [Size] 20.

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 7.
### William H. Chesley

Biographical notes: See information under Chesley No. 6 earlier.

**OBVERSE design:** Same die as used for the obverse of Chesley No. 6. Head and shoulders portrait of Chesley facing right. WILLIAM to the left, H. CHESLEY to the right. The "I"

[1] However, it should be noted that many past auction listings were not specific and simply mentioned Chesley without stating the number on the reverse.

[2] The meaning of this description is not known today; did both tokens have the No. 6 reverse, but different obverses; or was this a pair of Jaudon tokens, one with No. 5 reverse and the other with No. 6?

**Original obverse die depicting William Chesley and used to strike certain varieties of Sage's Numismatic Gallery No. 6 and No. 7. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society; rust shows on the die face)**

punch is defective at the upper left (this punch, inverted, was also used to the Winslow Lewis, M.D. obverse for No. 5).

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Complete circle of 32 six-pointed stars around border enclosing inscription: AUG. B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 7. The stars are somewhat irregularly spaced (a similar border is found on the reverse of Sage's Historical Token No. 7). Lower left serif of E in GALLERY is missing; tiny projection is seen below the upright of R in the same word. Box-style apostrophe in SAGE'S. No period after GALLERY. Dot under "o" in No. Some arc-shaped raised die finish lines above stars at lower left and bottom.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (from listing supplied; not checked for die variety with regard to two varieties described by Sage as being known for Chesley).*

## ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 20, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 7 (Chesley), 8 (Rust), and 9 (Dodge); examples of nos. 7, 8, and 9 in tin (white metal) were given the same day.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

**White metal. Plain edge:** Scarcer than the preceding. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 224. A specimen appeared as Lot 2033 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992). Other pieces have appeared from time to time.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 20, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 7 (Chesley), 8 (Rust), and 9 (Dodge); examples of nos. 7, 8, and 9 in copper were given the same day.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

**Commentary:** Sage advertised that there were "2 varieties" of the No. 7 Chesley token. Apparently, nearly all were of the No. 7 reverse; only a few were struck of the No. 6 style.

# SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

## No. 8.

## Horatio N. Rust

Biographical notes: Horatio N. Rust, born in 1828, was a coin collector by the 1850s and must have been among Sage's acquaintances. When Major Rust and his activities come to mind, in the forefront is his involvement with the so-called "New Haven restrike" 1787 Fugio coppers, believed to have been struck from *new dies* made in the 1850s by Scovill Manufacturing Co. in Waterbury, CT. The entire affair became a caper, a tale was circulated that the 14-year-old C. Wyllys Betts had found old Fugio dies in New Haven in 1858, etc. The story grew in the telling, and over a period of time Rust gave several different versions of the "die find" in connection with his advertising and sale of the "restrikes." Each story centered upon a trip he made to New Haven, CT, to investigate the circumstances of the Fugio coppers originally struck there circa 1787.

In 1859, when his portrait was employed by Augustus B. Sage for Numismatic Gallery token No. 8, Rust lived in New York City, apparently moving to Connecticut in the early 1860s. He was among the buyers in Edward D. Cogan's December 1859 sale of the J.N.T. Levick Collection (and other consignments), and was a customer of other dealers as well, presumably including Sage, although his name does not appear among known buyers in Sage's 1859 auctions.

On October 28-29, 1868, we encounter Rust as an absentee bidder in the sale of items owned by Philadelphia dealer J. Colvin Randall, sold at auction in Philadelphia by Thomas Birch & Son. Ebenezer L. Mason, Jr., of Philadelphia, was on hand at the Randall event and reported: "Of those [absentee bidders] represented by Messrs. [Edward D.] Cogan, Mason, and [J.W.] Kline we caught the names Harris, Sanford, Elliott, Ufford, Bailey, Bohea, Stablein [actually Staeblein], Duncan, Clark, Phillips, Rust, Abbott, Emerson, Payfer, Wilder, Mott, Hennessy, Gschwend, Cook, Barnhard, Marshall, Bates, Oram, Keeney, Dawley, Porter, Converse, Steel, Bollar, Sellers, Winsor, Birch, and some half dozen others."[1]

By 1875 Rust was living in Chicago, during which year he was one of 140 subscriber-patrons of S.S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America*. In the 1880s Rust was in sunny California. He died in 1906.

**OBVERSE design:** Head and shoulders portrait of Rust facing right, HORATIO to the left, N. RUST to the right.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Eight arcs composed of beads are around the border, with a six-pointed star at each intersection; the arcs

[1] *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine*, December 1868, p. 87.

enclosing the inscription: AUG. B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 8. Box-style apostrophe in SAGE'S. Letter B in AUG. B. SAGE'S crammed into position, too close to preceding and following letters. No period after GALLERY. Dot under "o" in No. is oriented slightly to the left of center. The beaded circle on the reverse has a smaller diameter than on the obverse, creating an especially wide flat area between the beads and the rim.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Style usually seen.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 20, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 7 (Chesley), 8 (Rust), and 9 (Dodge); examples of nos. 7, 8, and 9 in tin (white metal) were given the same day.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

**White metal. Plain edge:** Scarcer than the preceding.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 20, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 7 (Chesley), 8 (Rust), and 9 (Dodge); examples of nos. 7, 8, and 9 in copper were given the same day.

A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 224. A specimen appeared as Lot 2035 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992). Other pieces have appeared from time to time.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies. The state usually seen.

Die State II: Perfect obverse die. Reverse with advanced cud break at rim opposite beaded arc at about the 10 o'clock position.

### Special Note:

Presidential Coin and Antique Company's Sale No. 15, November 1973, Lot 1289, was described as having a Horatio Rust obverse muled with "reverse of No. 6." This listing has not been verified by the present writer.[1] If such a muling exists, this would be a variety not otherwise known.

## SAGE'S NUMISMATIC GALLERY

### No. 9.

### Robert J. Dodge

Biographical notes: Residing at 137 East 13th Street, New York City, Robert J. Dodge joined the American Numismatic Society on May 11, 1858, and on November 3 of the same year was elected as the group's president. His tenure continued through the early years of the Civil War when the Society was moribund, and for a time in 1864, and possibly later, he was active in the club under its new name, the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. Apparently, his interest in numismatics waned, as in the 1870s and 1880s, when he was working as a surveyor and engineer for the City of New York, he was not a member of the Society, but he did belong to several literary and scientific organizations.

**OBVERSE design:** Head and shoulders portrait of Dodge facing right, ROBERT to the left, J. DODGE to the right.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** At top and bottom near the border are designs composed of one large star with one small star to each side, flanked by elongated spear-head-type or rhomboidal ornaments. Inscription: AUG. B. SAGE'S / NUMISMATIC / GALLERY / No. 9. Normal style apostrophe in SAGE'S. Letter B tightly fit into small space between G and S. No period after GALLERY. Dot under "o" in No. is fairly well centered.

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Style usually seen, but quite scarce overall.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 20, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 7 (Chesley), 8 (Rust), and 9 (Dodge); examples of nos. 7, 8, and 9 in tin (white metal) were given the same day.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

**White metal. Plain edge:** Scarcer than the preceding. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 224. A specimen appeared as Lot 2037 in the Witham Collection (Bowers and Merena, 1992). Other pieces have appeared from time to time.

Earliest specific appearance found: October 20, 1859: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society on this date; this was part of a gift of nos. 7 (Chesley), 8 (Rust), and 9 (Dodge); examples of nos. 7, 8, and 9 in copper were given the same day.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks).

[1] In a letter, June 18, 1997, H. Joseph Levine of P.C.A.C. stated that the listing could have been a typographical error or outright mistake, but on the other hand could have been accurate; the back-up records of the sale no longer exist.

# CHAPTER 12

# *Sage's Masonic Medalets*

*(Spring 1859)*

## MASONIC MEDALETS ADVERTISED

The following circular, dated April 11, 1859, was mailed by Sage beginning on April 21:[1]

> 24 Division Street
> New York, April 11th, 1859.
>
> Dear Sir:
>
> We respectfully call your attention to the series of MASONIC MEDALETS we are about publishing. Each Medalet will have for its obverse the bust of some distinguished Mason, or a representation of some Masonic Building. OLD GOTHIC HALL, Broadway, will commence the series. Others, having for obverses the busts of WARREN, WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, KANE, &c., will speedily follow. They will be of the size of the half dollar, struck in good copper, and sold at the low price of twenty-five cents each. No. 1 will be issued about the 20th of this month. Upon the receipt of 31 cents, we will send No. 1, postpaid, to any part of the Union.
>
> Respectfully, AUG. B. SAGE & CO.

Thus, we learn of a series that was envisioned to include a building on the first issue, anticipated to be offered

**Undoubtedly this scene would have been familiar to Augustus Sage. Shown is the junction of Canal Street and Division Street, the latter street being the location of Sage's office beginning in 1859. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, 1861)**

[1] A copy of circular and postally canceled mailing envelope was furnished to the author by Peter Gaspar.

24 Division Street,
New York, April 11th, 1859.

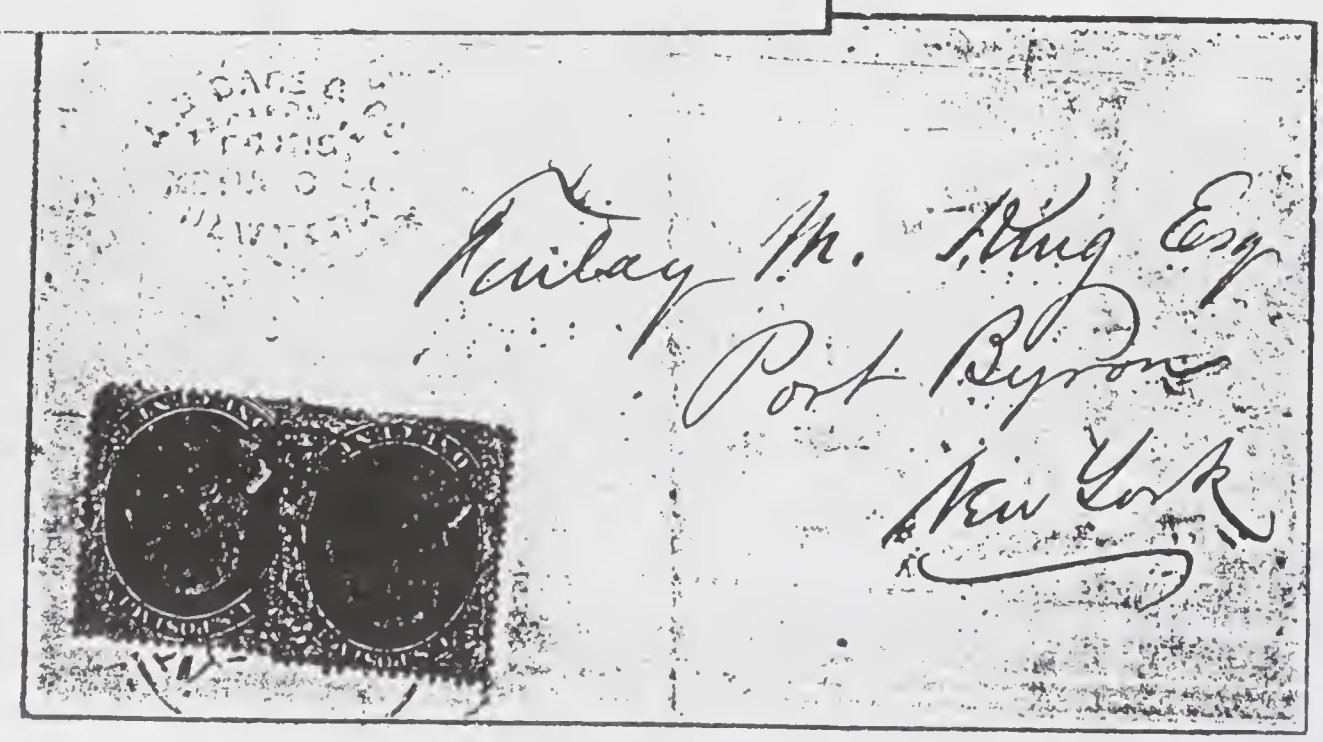
Dear Sir:

We respectfully call your attention to the series of MASONIC MEDALETS we are about publishing. Each Medalet will have for its obverse the bust of some distinguished Mason, or a representation of some Masonic Building. OLD GOTHIC HALL, Broadway, will commence the series. Others, having for obverses the busts of WARREN, WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, KANE, &c., will speedily follow. They will be of the size of the half dollar, struck in good copper, and sold at the low price of twenty-five cents each. No. 1 will be issued about the 20th of this month. Upon the receipt of 31 cents, we will send No. 1, postpaid, to any part of the Union.

Respectfully,

AUG. B. SAGE & CO.

**Solicitation by Augustus B. Sage, April 11, 1859, and accompanying mailing envelope, offering the Masonic Medalets series. As it turned out, only one medalet was ever produced.**



on April 20, followed "speedily" by companion pieces depicting famous Masons of the past including patriot Joseph Warren (1741-1775), who was killed by a musket ball during the Battle of Bunker Hill (actually on Breed's Hill) on June 17, 1775; George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Dr. Elisha Kent Kane.[1]

## SAGE'S MASONIC MEDALETS

The inside front and inside back covers of Sage's June 7, 1859, catalogue of coins, etc., belonging to "A Gentleman of This City" (James D. Foskett) were blank. Only the back cover advertised tokens, now including emphasis on his Masonic Medalets series.

The copy is reproduced at right.

Apparently, an extensive Masonic Medalets series was planned by Sage, possibly anticipating excellent sales from among the 33,000 Masons and 430 lodges in New York State (including 93 lodges in New York City) that year, as well as members and lodges elsewhere.[2] Reality seems to have been somewhat different, at least as evidenced by examples known to numismatists today. Just one variety attributable to the series has been identified.

Sage's June 1859 fixed price catalogue, probably written in May and issued slightly after the June auction catalogue of the Foskett Collection, bore this notice at the bottom of the inside front cover:

> MASONIC MEDALETS. No. 1. OLD GOTHIC HALL. Price 25 cents.

A. B. SAGE & CO.,

24 Division Street, N. Y.

DEALERS IN

COINS, MEDALS, AUTOGRAPHS,

Paintings, New & Old Books, Stationery, &c.

The attention of Numismatists is respectfully requested to the series of HISTORICAL TOKENS we are issuing. Fourteen have thus far been issued.

ALSO, TO OUR SERIES OF

MASONIC MEDALETS,

Giving busts of distinguished Masons, and accurate views of noted Masonic Buildings.

ALSO, TO OUR

NUMISMATIC GALLERY,

Giving Portraits of the distinguished Numismatists of the day.

CABINETS CAREFULLY ARRANGED

and Catalogued. Coins, &c., bought, sold and exchanged on reasonable terms.

**JUST ISSUED,**

Our Priced Catalogue—Price 25 Cents.

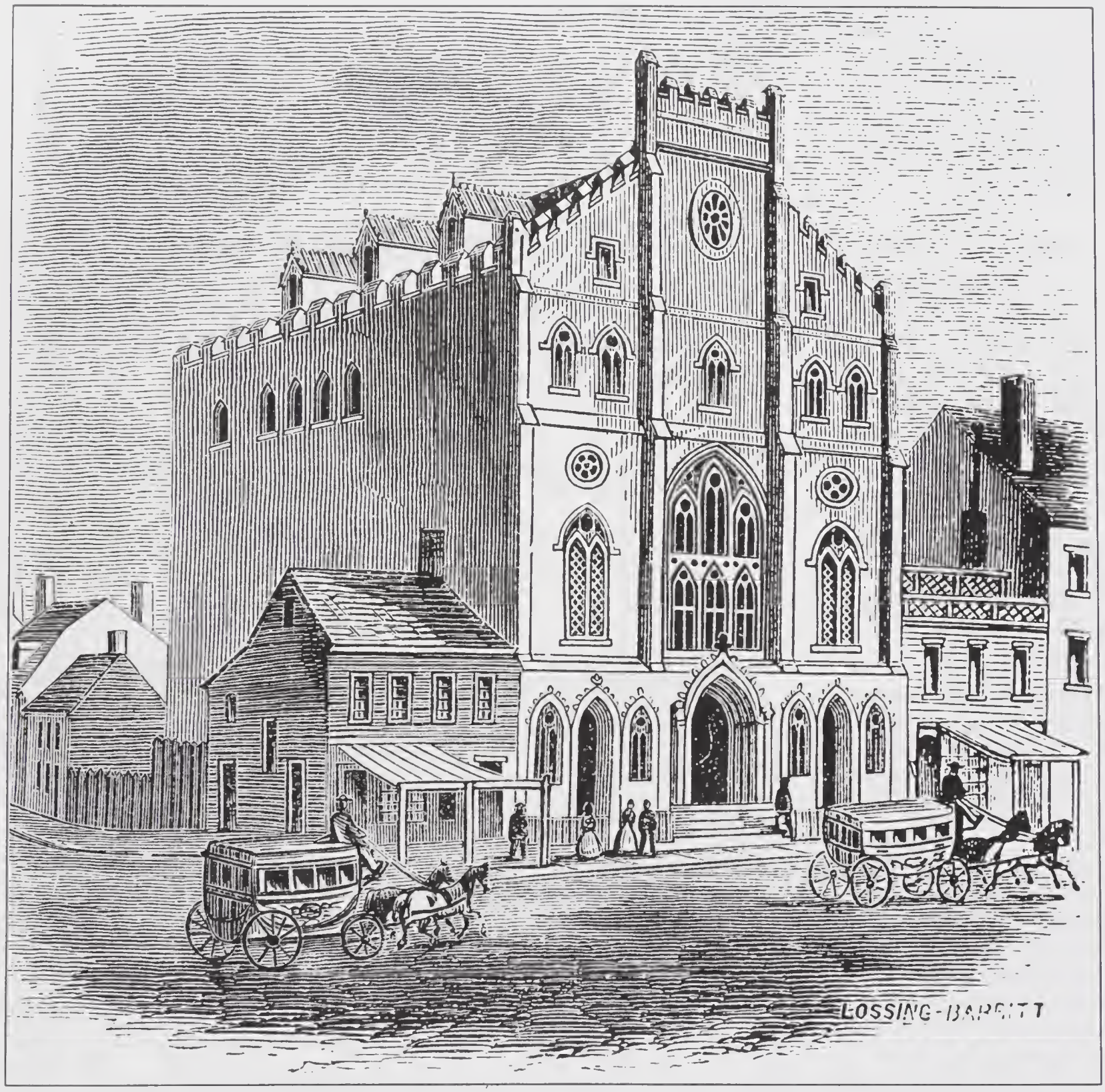
A. B. SAGE & CO.

**In June 1859 on the back cover of the catalogue of "A Gentleman of this City" (the Foskett Collection) Sage advertised various medals including Masonic medalets. This series was ambitious, but in actuality only one medal is believed to have been issued.**

Earlier, "Old Gothic Hall" had been advertised as a forthcoming issue, No. 15 in Sage's Historical Tokens series.

[1] It will be recalled that Sage offered a large diameter (51 mm.) medal of Kane in the summer of 1858.

[2] J.H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, 1860, p. 147.




View of the Masonic Hall on Broadway as it appeared in 1830 from an engraving by Lossing & Barritt. (*Manual of the Common Council of New York,* 1865)

Old Gothic Hall and Old Masonic Hall were one and the same building, located on Broadway in lower New York City. However, when Masonic Medalet No. 1 was actually issued, the inscription referred only to Old Masonic Hall, a revision of Sage's original idea of issuing this as part of his Historical Tokens series. This Masonic Medalets No. 1 variety was produced on at least two separate occasions, early (with 30.8 mm. diameter) and later (31.2 mm.).

This Masonic Medalet No. 1 occupies a niche all by itself in the repertoire of Sage productions. No other varieties were ever made for Sage as part of his Masonic Medalet series. However, at a significantly later date, 1875 or later, the obverse die with the Old Masonic Hall was brought out of storage by Lovett at the request of Isaac F. Wood and muled with later productions (as described below; the Chapman brothers' sale of the Wood Collection, 1894, describes certain of these pieces; see Appendix III of the present work).

## SAGE'S MASONIC MEDALETS

### No. 1.

### Old Masonic Hall, Broadway, N.Y.

In the October 1876 installment of his serial article, "Masonic Medals," in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* William T.R. Marvin listed this as his No. XXXVI:[1]

> "XXXVI: Obverse, a view of the front of the old Masonic Hall, in the city of New York. Legend, OLD MASONIC HALL, BROADWAY, N.Y. In exergue, ERECTED 1827 DEMOLId 1856 in two lines. Reverse, on a mosaic pavement, three steps leading to an altar on which the Bible, square and compasses, from which issue rays. Legend, YOUTH, MANHOOD & OLD AGE. Below the pavement, MASONIC MEDALETS No. 1 and in small letters, the line curving to conform to the lower edge, PUB. BY A.B. SAGE & CO. N.Y. Copper, and perhaps other metals. Size 20."

This seems to indicate that Marvin had heard of other metals, but had never seen any strikings other than copper.

**OBVERSE design:** Facing view of an old stone structure, with Gothic window treatments, with the inscription, OLD MASONIC HALL, BROADWAY, N.Y. at the border, ERECTED 1827 / DEMOLId 1856 below.

The Masonic Hall on Broadway, according to an old sketch, was three stories high, with the second story apparently containing a room of immense height (for meetings, etc.). The roof was dormered and offered additional facilities. Windows were all in the Gothic style.

**Original obverse die depicting the OLD MASONIC HALL. This workhorse die was used by George H. Lovett for Sage's account in 1859, but after Sage's death was muled in the 1870s with other dies. (Die preserved by the American Numismatic Society)**

*This die is preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.*

**REVERSE design:** Depicts an altar, YOUTH, MANHOOD & OLD AGE at the border, MASONIC MEDALETS / No. 1 / PUB. BY A.B. SAGE & CO. N.Y.

### ORIGINAL ISSUE:

**Copper. Plain edge:** This is the style sold by Sage in 1859.

Earliest specific appearance found: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society, October 12, 1859. A specimen appeared as Lot 440 in Sage's catalogue of the Henry Whitmore Collection, November 2-3, 1859, said catalogue having been completed by early October 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks). Diameter 30.8 mm.

Commentary: Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s Sale 41, Part II, January 16, 1987, offered lots 952, 953, and 954, Old Masonic Hall medalets described respectively as brass, bronze, and copper. The author has not seen these pieces and does not know if the "brass" piece represents another variety or whether it is light-colored copper.

### RESTRIKES:

**Copper. Plain edge:** Larger collar used. Scarcer today than the original striking. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood; the Chapman brothers' sale of the Wood Collection, 1894, included 41 specimens!

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (no breaks). Diameter 31.3 to 31.4 mm. Lightly struck on outer rims.

Die State II: Die rust on both dies, mainly polished away on the obverse die, quite visible on the reverse die. Obverse with a very delicate hairline break through the tops of the letters NY in N.Y., extending for a short distance to the left and right. Reverse displays a massive cud break on the rim beginning below the right side of P in PUB, continuing clockwise to above M in MANHOOD. Diameter 31.2 to 31.4 mm.; struck in a wider collar than the preceding, and also struck at a later time. Planchets often show striations and seem to have been carelessly prepared. Among copper restrikes this is the die state most often seen.

[1] Marvin's listing was published in book form in 1880; *The Medals of the Masonic Fraternity Described and Illustrated.* The same XXXVI designation was retained for Masonic Medalet No. 1.

**Brass. Plain edge:** Scarce today. Restruck circa the 1870s to the order of Isaac F. Wood; the Chapman brothers' sale of the Wood Collection, 1894, included 41 specimens!

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse border perhaps intact, although the specimen examined was weakly struck at the left from about the 8 o'clock position continuing clockwise to 12 o'clock, thus the bead details could not be seen in this area. The remaining 70% or so of the rim was intact (without breaks). Reverse with large cud break on rim over YOUTH. Two die cracks from beads to rim to right of the break, one several beads to the right of H and the other over M in MAN. Obverse and reverse dies seemingly repolished, but still with many tiny rust pits. Struck earlier than the copper, plain edge, restrike.

Die State II: Obverse border perhaps intact, although the specimen examined was weakly struck at the left from about the 8 o'clock position continuing clockwise to 11 o'clock, thus the bead details could not be seen in this area. The remaining 75% or so of the rim was intact (without breaks). Reverse with large cud break on rim beginning just above the lower left corner of the pavilion, clockwise to above the M in MANHOOD. Obverse and reverse dies seemingly repolished, but still with many tiny rust pits. Struck earlier than the copper, plain edge, restrike. Among brass restrikes this is the die state most often seen.

**White metal. Plain edge:** Very rare.

**Silver. Plain edge:** W. Elliot Woodward's catalogue of the W.T.R. Marvin Collection of Masonic tokens and medals, June 21, 1881, Lot 48, noted "only 10 struck" as did the Chapman brothers' sale of the Wood Collection, 1894, Lot 662; eight of the 10 specimens appeared in the 1894 sale! Marvin, a Boston numismatist and printer (and publisher of the *American Journal of Numismatics*), researched Masonic medals very intensely and, no doubt, consulted with George H. Lovett concerning the mintage quantity of this silver variety. However, as noted above, Marvin apparently was not aware of silver pieces when he wrote his monograph on the series in 1876. Lovett, separately, stated that he had kept no records of his production. Thus, the figure of 10 may be an estimate. A specimen was in the Bowers and Merena sale of the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections, March 28-31, 1990, part of Lot 226. A specimen in Presidential Coin & Antiques' Ganter Collection, Part II, Lot 436, now in the Orosz Collection, weighs 174.8 grains and measures 31.2 mm.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Dies lightly rusted, with some pits. Perfect dies (no breaks). This silver issue was struck prior to the copper and brass, plain edge, restrikes.

## IRRELEVANT MASONIC MULINGS

Circa 1875-1878, after Augustus B. Sage's death and long after Sage had become inactive in numismatics, the indefatigable George H. Lovett retrieved Sage's OLD MASONIC HALL obverse die and used it to create numismatic rarities for Isaac F. Wood. However, sales must have lagged, for years later in 1894, Wood consigned many pieces to the Chapman brothers for auction.

The sale of such pieces, completely irrelevant to Sage's original activities and intents, rode the crest of two simultaneous fads.

The first impetus was provided by the Centennial Exhibition, held in Fairmount Park in Philadelphia in 1876. This event was immensely successful and drew visitors from all parts of the world. In connection with this and other celebrations of the 1776-1876 anniversary, many varieties of tokens were struck as store cards, souvenirs, and for collectors. The portrait of George Washington earned many such pieces notices in the later works titled *The Medallic Portraits of Washington* (W.S. Baker, 1885; similarly, Russell Rulau and George J. Fuld, 1985). Even more varieties made for the Centennial Exhibition featured non-Washington subjects (such as Independence Hall, Libertas Americana, buildings of the Exhibition, etc.) and to this day have not been completely catalogued. White metal seems to have been the preferred medium for many of these pieces.

The second part of the momentum arose from a widening interest in numismatic items relating to Masons, Freemasonry, and Masonic lodges, showcased by a serial article, "Masonic Medals," by William T.R. Marvin in the *American Journal of Numismatics*. In this connection, certain mulings were made for Isaac F. Wood's outlet, his New York Medal Club.

With regard to Sage mulings, the literature is of little help to anyone seeking precise information as to sizes, metals, and designs. Over a long period of years, small Masonic medals have been incompletely described in sale listings, included as part of large lots, not photographed, etc., as they have had little numismatic worth and have attracted only a small following. Thus, the rarity levels of these later mulings are virtually impossible to determine.

Several representative auction catalogue listings:

J.W. Haseltine's sale of January 15-17, 1879, offered descriptions which at least give some clues as to the varieties:

> Lot 793: New York Masonic Temple; obv. old hall; rev., new temple, brass, Proof. 31 mm.
>
> Lot 798: Holland Lodge, New York; rev. old Masonic Hall; copper, Proof. 31 mm.

In contrast, Lyman H. Low's sale of Part III of the Brown Collection, January 19, 1905, included this listing immediately after an offering of Sage Historical Tokens, a description which is of virtually no help for numismatic identification of varieties:

> Lot 143: Old Masonic Hall, with varying reverses and metals. 31 mm. 8 pieces.

Also see Appendix III of the present work.

The following pieces, incorporating the Sage obverse die for Old Masonic Hall, are those for which descriptions are known to the author:

### MASONIC MULING (Marvin-304):

**OBVERSE design:** Sage's die as preceding; facing view of an old structure, with the inscription, OLD MASONIC HALL, BROADWAY, N.Y. at the border, ERECTED 1827 / DEMOLId 1856 below.

**REVERSE design:** Central device with mosaic pavement, flanked by pillars on each side at the front corners. Designated here for purposes of identification as the "Masonic mosaic pavement reverse." A smaller pillar issues from the pavement, topped

by a G that is surmounted by seven five-pointed stars. This small pillar is flanked by symbols on each side. Above the small pillar is an all-seeing eye in a glory of rays. Around the border is an elaborate wreath of oak leaves arranged in a continuous circle. This was copied from one of Lovett's own medals, the reverse of the Washington NON NOBIS SOLUM issue of 1859.[1] This die seems to have been intended for use as the reverse of the New Masonic Temple (1875) token.

**Copper. Plain edge:** Thick planchet.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die (Old Masonic Hall) with cud break at rim beginning about five beads past the Y in BROADWAY, continuing in an irregular manner clockwise to opposite end of ground line at the left. Die break at N.Y. slightly more advanced than on the copper, plain edge, regular (non-muling) restrike described above. Extensive die rust. Much of the top rim on the pieces observed (Orosz Collection; ANS Collection) is struck in a manner that close observation of die characteristics is not possible; thus a complete comparison with Die State II is not possible. Die break at N.Y.

Die State II: Obverse die with cud break at rim beginning about five beads past the Y in BROADWAY, continuing in an irregular manner clockwise to opposite end of second-floor railing at left (about six beads below the O in OLD). Another cud break begins above A in MASONIC and continues clockwise to above the left side of D in BROADWAY. Die break at N.Y. (Moore Collection).

This muling seems to have been struck earlier than the mulings described below.

50 said to have been struck (cf. W.T.R. Marvin, 1880).

**Brass. Plain edge:** Thick planchet. Obverse die not completely struck up, but seemingly with massive rim break around much or all of rim. Die break at N.Y.

50 said to have been struck (cf. W.T.R. Marvin, 1880).

**Silver. Plain edge:** Marvin 304. Issued by the New York Medal Club (Isaac F. Wood) in 1878. A specimen appeared in Frossard's sale of his own collection, October 2-3, 1884, Lot 191 (see Appendix III of the present work).

10 said to have been struck (cf. W.T.R. Marvin, 1880).

### MASONIC MULING (Marvin-303):

**OBVERSE design:** Sage's die as preceding; facing view of an old structure, with the inscription, OLD MASONIC HALL, BROADWAY, N.Y. at the border, ERECTED 1827 / DEMOLId 1856 below.

**REVERSE design:** Actually the obverse for an irrelevant token, designated for purposes of identification as the "New Masonic Hall reverse." Depicts the new Masonic Temple, four stories plus mansard roof with windows, and tower at top center. Inscription in two curved lines above: TO COMMEMORATE THE DEDICATION OF THE / MASONIC TEMPLE, and in a straight line and curved line below: NEW YORK / JUNE 2 1875.

The N in MASONIC is over what appears to be an erroneous O; the K in YORK is double punched; there is no comma after the 2 in the date; the intended 1 in 1875 is an I. Other repunchings occur and certain letters are misaligned. Obviously, this was a die made in haste.

**Brass. Plain edge:** Thick planchet. 31.3 mm. diameter.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (Old Masonic Hall) die broken or tooled away all around the periphery, from the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads outward. Die repolished to remove rust and much of the break at N.Y. (see copper, plain edge, restrike above, struck earlier). Reverse from perfect die.

Commentary: The New Masonic Hall reverse is known muled with the Masonic mosaic pavement reverse. A 31.1 mm. copper specimen has been observed. This muling is not relevant to Sage as it does not employ a Sage die.

### MASONIC MULING (Marvin-302):

**OBVERSE design:** Die as preceding; facing view of an old structure, with the inscription, OLD MASONIC HALL, BROADWAY, N.Y. at the border, ERECTED 1827 / DEMOLId 1856 below.

**REVERSE design:** Spade-shaped shield at center upon which is an open book with square and compass; standing eagle to left of shield, standing lion to right; inscription on curved ribbon below: DEUCD, ZY, UW, CIERAAD; clasped hands be-

[1] This 50 mm. 1859 medal by Lovett features the portrait of Washington on the obverse and is listed as Baker-289 (other varieties with different obverses, mulings made for collectors, are listed as Baker-290 with an obverse die signed A.C.M., for A.C. Morin; and Baker-291 signed C.C.W., for Charles Cushing Wright). The motif of Masonic emblems on the reverse is similar to that used on the Sage-related muling from a smaller die in the 1870s and was the inspiration for it. This reverse die was cut by George H. Lovett and is attributed to the year 1859 by Rulau-Fuld, *Medallic Portraits of Washington*, 1985, p. 128. The reverse is described by Rulau-Fuld: "Mosaic pavement on which rests two pillars, globes atop them, and in the field are many Masonic symbols. Around: NON NOBIS SOLUM SED TOTO MUNDO NATI. At bottom: MDCCCLIX." The "NON NOBIS SOLUM...." inscription and border treatment were not used on the Sage-related medalet.

low ribbon. Above the shield is an all-seeing eye surrounded by an ellipse of stars, with rays beaming downward from the eye. At the border is the inscription: HOLLANDSCHE LOGE to the left, 5787 below, and STAAT VAN NIEUW YORK to the right. This die, not at all related to Augustus B. Sage, is muled from Isaac F. Wood's "Series D, No. 4" medal conceived by Woods in the 1870s and cut by George H. Lovett. In a combination issued by Wood this same die is used as the obverse and muled with a reverse composed of lettering and reading: Fd. SEPt. 20 AS No. 8, ORIGl. WARnt. STOLEN at the top border; FIRST MASTER JOHN MEYER on a curved ribbon below; beneath which is the inscription: REISd. / A.L. 5810 / BY G.L. OF N.Y. / CHgd. TO No. 16 / 5819: 13, 5830: / 8, 5839:. In smaller letters in curved lines below is seen: I.F.W. DES. G.H.L. FEC. / I.F. WOOD'S SERIES "D" NO. 4.[1]

**Copper. Plain edge:** Thick planchet.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse (Old Masonic Hall) die broken or tooled away all around the periphery, from the centerpoint (approximately) of the beads outward. Reverse from perfect die. Both dies highly polished, but with die rust still visible on the obverse.

**Brass. Plain edge:** Thick planchet.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: As preceding, and probably struck about the same time.

Certain other mulings "one generation removed," not incorporating the Old Masonic Hall die, are discussed in Appendix IV of the present work.

## ISAAC F. WOOD

As Isaac F. Wood figures largely in the story of Augustus B. Sage's Masonic tokens and mulings, some biographical notes may be of interest. Wood did not begin his activities until 1868, by which time Sage was no longer active in numismatics. It is not known if Wood and Sage ever met.

Wood, one of George H. Lovett's prime customers, commissioned the die sinker to make restrikes from certain of Lovett's old dies that were still on hand or in the custody of the American Numismatic Society (per Sage's gift of dies made in 1867).

The man known later as Isaac F. Wood was born on July 15, 1841, as F. Augustus Wood, in the 7th Ward of New York City, where his family had ample means and was prominent in the Quaker community. He attended Haverford College in Pennsylvania and in 1862 graduated from that highly respected institution, after which he became a member of William Wood & Co., New York City publishers. Later, he left the firm and, with ample investment income at his disposal, devoted his life to the pursuit and enjoyment of numismatics.

On February 5, 1864, he joined the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society under his birth name of F. Augustus Wood, which he maintained until 1868, when he changed it to Isaac F. Wood, Isaac being his father's first name.[2] It could have been that he was interested in coins at an earlier time, but the American Numismatic Society had been inactive from October 20, 1859, until the February 5. 1864, meeting. Thus, February 1864 was the earliest date for any member to be recorded in the 1860s. Wood collected books avidly, and after a time could state with pride that his shelves contained many numismatic volumes not represented in the Astor Library, then the most important public repository for this specialty.

In 1868 Wood decided to become a medal issuer in a large way, seemingly more as an amusement than anything else. At this time the field of numismatically oriented tokens and medals was rather quiet, and had been since the end of the Civil War. Taking a leaf from the annals of Sage, Robinson, the Lovetts, and others, he embarked on his first sequential production, this being the Memorial Series. William H. Key in Philadelphia was tapped to do a medal illustrating St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, CT; while George H. Lovett was employed in New York to cut dies for a medal showing "Andrew Johnson's Public Entry into New York City in 1866."

At the time he started his medal venture, Isaac F. Wood was located at 61 Walker Street, New York City.[3] Soon thereafter, he was elected librarian of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, a position he filled for several years thereafter, a natural outgrowth of his personal interest in books. His library contained many volumes on diverse subjects, perhaps not a match for the eclectic interests of his contemporary, W. Elliot Woodward, but still considerable. Often he would write his name in ink boldly across the top margin of the auction catalogues he owned, many of which survive today.

In 1871 Wood's residence was 377 2nd Avenue, New York City. If anything, New York City numismatists were peripatetic in the nineteenth century, and it was a rare individual who stayed in the same place for all of his adult life.

Wood's Memorial Series of medals progressed slowly, and it was not until January 1874 that the fourth variety was issued, this featuring the Boston Numismatic Society on the obverse and the New England Historical and Genealogical Society on the reverse.[4] In 1875 he was one of 140 listed individual subscribers to S.S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America*. In 1877 and 1878 Wood advertised that he desired to purchase tokens and medals relating to General Grant.

Toward the end of the decade he operated the New York Medal Club as a business enterprise at 64 Madison

[1] Notes on the Wood die: The bottom inscription notes in abbreviated form that I.F.W. (Wood) designed the die and G.H.L. (Lovett) *fecit* (= made it). The intended apostrophe in Wood's is a period.

[2] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958*, p. 33; *Proceedings*, 1896, p. 52 (obituary by William Poillon).

[3] *American Journal of Numismatics*, February 1869.

[4] *American Journal of Numismatics*, January 1874.

Avenue[1] and advertised as a publisher of tokens and medals and a dealer in numismatic items. It was probably during this era that mulings mixing Wood and Sage Masonic medal dies were created to his order by George H. Lovett. In addition he had Lovett re-use certain dies in Sage's Historical Tokens series to make restrikes and unusual combinations.

The medals he issued were varied in size and topics and did not fit easily into extended, uniform series, although some were numbered as such. Apparently, all sorts of scattered ideas continually popped into his head, at which time he would visit Lovett or another engraver and commission a new medal. Among the best remembered of his productions are those satirizing Samuel J. Tilden, the presidential candidate in 1876 who won the popular vote but lost in the Electoral College, who was characterized as "Shammy" Tilden by Wood. Inscriptions on various tokens include: DEMOCRATIC PARTY DIED OF TILDENOPATHY; on another, O MY OFFENCE IS RANK AND SMELLS TO HEAVEN. Another figure of the era was described on a Lovett-Wood token: DEDICATED TO CHAS. A. DANA EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK "SCUM," with, on the reverse, "THE CHINESE STINK-POT OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM, HARMLESS / BUT / OH! SO FOUL!! / PHEW![2]

Other tokens satirized Ulysses S. Grant. Yet another token (Rulau NY-Bk-7) satirized Edward Cogan and bore these inscriptions: Obverse: THE / ENGLISH / "DADDY / OF THE / AMERICAN / COIN TRADE"; and (reverse): "YOURS FAITHFULLY" in script, and, in dialect, "A FOINE OULD / BROOKLYN GINTLEMAN / OF A PEPPERY / TURN OF MOIND / HE GITS HIS / EBENAZUR UP AND / THIN HE GOES IT / BLOIND."[3] No doubt such pieces set the stage for Thomas L. Elder, a dealer of a later generation, who in the early twentieth century issued various tokens satirizing the American Numismatic Association, Farran Zerbe, pacifists during the World War, etc.

Lovett assisted in the marketing of medals he struck for Wood. In April 1879 Lovett advertised in the *American Journal of Numismatics:*

> George H. Lovett, die sinker and metallurgist. No. 181 Broadway, New York City.... Medals and tokens on hand for sale; also the issues of Mr. Wood's various series and of the New York Medal Club. Collectors are respectfully invited to call.[4]

Perhaps representative of the complex ordering of Wood's series and the obscure subjects selected is the exhibition of a die at the March 16, 1880, meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. Wood was not in attendance, but he had fellow member Richard H. Lawrence show the reverse die of his Washington Initiation Masonic medal with the seal of the Fredericksburg Masonic Lodge. The obverse die had not been created yet. This medal was to be No. 6 in Series C.[5]

In 1881 Wood had his medal-selling business at 64 Madison Avenue and resided at 177 2nd Avenue. In the autumn of 1883 he made a gift of coins and tokens to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.[6] By this time he had more or less retired from the New York Medal Club and related commercial activities. In time he relocated to Rahway, NJ.

Over a period of time Isaac F. Wood's name appeared on the cover or title page of several other auction sales. His "collection" (one of several called such) was auctioned by Edward D. Cogan, May 19-21, 1873, in the sale room of Bangs, Merwin & Co. From July 5 to 7, 1882, John W. Haseltine's sale featuring his coins and medals was held. Included in the event were many important medals among which were pieces by Charles Cushing Wright as part of an offering described on the title page as "American and Foreign Medals...probably the finest ever offered at public auction."

In spring 1883, Wood enlisted Édouard Frossard to describe his various collections for auction in the sale room of Bangs & Co.[7] This saw fruition on February 25-29, 1884, when a major offering of his material crossed the block in 2,871 numbered lots and realized the impressive sum of $3,782.12. Featured were choice medals, rare Washington items, and numismatic books. Still another firm, the Chapman brothers (S. Hudson and Henry), held a sale of Wood's collection on July 11-12, 1894, this being quite revealing, though hardly definitive, in the context of Wood's own productions. Included were colonial coins and Washington pieces, a Bushnell research manuscript, and other items among which were mulings of Sage pieces that Wood had commissioned Lovett to make (Appendix III of the present work gives details). The 1894 catalogue included this introduction (quoted in part):

> Mr. Isaac F. Wood is one of the earliest collectors in America, his long and enthusiastic interest in numismatics dating back to the sixties. For several years he devoted his attention to the publishing and designing of various medals relating to the historical and political history of America, and to his efforts are due many of the medals relating to events celebrated from 1868 to 1880.

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[1] He styled himself as the "actuary" of the Club (*e.g.*, in advertisements in *Numisma* in 1880).

[2] Additional information concerning the Lovett-Wood political medal concoctions may be found in Edmund B. Sullivan, *American Political Badges and Medalets 1789-1892* and in the Chapman brothers' 1894 catalogue of the Wood Collection.

[3] Another die exists and is described by Russell Rulau in *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900*. Cogan was fond of stating his importance in the coin trade, and this token seems to be a comeuppance.

[4] *E.g., American Journal of Numismatics,* April 1879.

[5] *Proceedings* of the annual Society American Numismatic and Archaeological meeting held this date.

[6] *American Journal of Numismatics,* October 1883.

[7] *Numisma,* May 1883. At the time the former Bangs, Merwin & Co. was known as Bangs & Co., a.k.a. Messrs. Bangs & Co.

> The coins and medals of General George Washington have been his especial study, and the success which has crowned his efforts may be judged from a perusal of the pages describing this section. Many of the greatest rarities are to be found in the catalogue, and we would call attention of advanced collectors to these gems.
>
> This is Mr. Wood's entire collection, and with the exception of two lots, which are designated, all are to be sold without limit or reserve. To the advanced amateur the dispersion of such a large collection is a delight, for it affords him an opportunity to acquire many coins and medals for which he has long sought in vain, as it is becoming more and more difficult to procure rarities.
>
> We hope collectors will accord this sale the same generous support they have given our sales in the past. We guarantee all coins and medals genuine and as described; holding this guarantee good indefinitely.

On September 25, 1895, Isaac F. Wood died of apoplexy, following a long illness, at his home in Milton Avenue in Rahway.[1] He was survived by his wife, Sarah Bowne Wood, a sister of Judge Hugh H. Bowne. She had joined the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society in 1878, becoming its first woman member.

On February 17-18, 1896, the Chapman brothers sold a small listing of additional material from Wood's holdings including some Masonic tokens of the Holland Lodge, but nothing relating to Sage.

As George H. Lovett was known for making all sorts of irrelevant mulings for just about anyone who wanted to buy them, and as Wood's topics were often diverse or obscure, it is not possible today to sort out which of the Lovett-Wood pieces were thought of by whom. No comprehensive catalogue of the Lovett-Wood pieces has ever been compiled, and not even Wood kept one of each for his own reference.

## SAGE'S TOKEN SERIES: A SUMMARY

It seems reasonable to conclude that Augustus B. Sage began his publishing of his own copper tokens, generally of about 30.7 to 30.8 mm. in diameter, in the autumn of 1858, having been inspired by current events, with *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* providing the impetus. The first issues, called the Odds and Ends series, featured the burning of the Crystal Palace in October, a sugar house used as a Revolutionary War prison (mentioned in a recent article), and the continuing chess triumphs of Paul Morphy. The reverse inscriptions of these tokens seem to have reflected Sage's emotions and compassion, as with ALL IS VANITY on the reverse of No. 1, the plight of the patriots in a British prison on the second issue, and the observation concerning Staunton's discourtesy on the third token. These three subjects, as interesting as they may have been to Sage himself, met with a mixed or lacklustre reception on the part of intended customers.

Meanwhile in the final days of 1858 he conceived his Historical Tokens series with a sharper focus. Featured were early American structures, which eventually took the form of 13 different buildings plus one ship, most of which had to do with the Revolutionary War. These were early entries in a vast sea of tokens and small medals that would be published by coin dealers and die sinkers during the next several years to provide delicacies for the numismatic market. Sage's Historical Tokens are the first lengthy private series of commemorative tokens produced in the United States for sale to collectors, an American equivalent of various series in Europe including Edward Thomason's products in England and the Series Numismatica in France.

In early 1859 Sage's Historical Tokens with Washington-related *buildings* seem to have had a fine reception, but not nearly on the order of what it might have been had such pieces featured Washington *portraits*. Later numismatists including James Ross Snowden (1861), William Spohn Baker (1885), George J. Fuld (1985), and Russell Rulau (1985), prepared detailed listings of tokens and medals featuring the *portrait* of Washington. In many instances, wording of these later texts was taken directly from Snowden's 1861 book, *The Medallic Memorials of Washington in the Mint of the United States*. In general, Washington-related tokens and medals, but without the portrait of the Father of Our Country, were ignored, the 1796-dated Seasons medals by Conrad Küchler being rare exceptions. Although Sage's Historical Tokens featured many Washington-related subjects, none had a portrait. Because of this, Sage's pieces fell into numismatic limbo and over the years were lightly reported in the literature. In fact, to the present day no standard reference on Washington pieces has included a complete listing of Sage's tokens and their die combinations. Had Sage or Lovett thought of inserting even a tiny portrait of Washington as part of the motif of buildings, etc., the scenario would have been different, and Sage's pieces would be much better known today.

In 1859 the floodgates would open, and a spate of new Washington tokens and medals by various entrepreneurs and die sinkers would appear, continuing through 1860 and 1861, after which there was a pause until Washington became a popular portrait for use on Civil War tokens in 1863 through the dies of Emil Sigel (portrait of Washington within a star-shaped frame), William Bridgens (inscription THE WASHINGTON TOKEN enclosing portrait), and others. No doubt, Sage's tokens, if they had been made with portraits, would have risen with this new tide of interest. Generations of later numismatists would have studied and collected Sage's pieces.

The third series issued by Augustus B. Sage was the Numismatic Gallery set, which had its beginning in early 1859,

[1] *American Journal of Numismatics*, October 1895, obituary. An obituary notice also appeared in *The Numismatist*, January 1896. At the time Rahway was becoming known nationally as the center of music box production in America, the Regina Music Box Co. having set up business there. Over a century earlier, in the late 1780s, certain New Jersey copper cents were struck in the town.

and which eventually depicted eight different numismatists, or possibly nine (if the James R. Chilton token was, indeed, issued). Later in the year, at least four of the Numismatic Gallery tokens were also issued in white metal—these being reissues of the subjects toward the end of the set.

In spring 1859 Sage announced his fourth and, apparently, his final series, known as Masonic Medalets. However, only No. 1 ever saw the light of day.

The Henry Bogert sale catalogue, probably written in January 1859, seems to represent the high water mark of Sage's token and medal promotion, what with such advertising occupying three of the four covers. By contrast, Sage's June fixed-price catalogue (probably written in April) had two pages of such advertising; Sage's June 1859 catalogue of the Foskett Collection (probably written in April or early May 1859) had but one page of token and medal advertising; and the November 1859 Whitmore catalogue had none.

In 1859 and 1860 dozens of new varieties of tokens and medalets were published by other dealers and collectors. In general, the latecomers to the token area selected subjects they thought would be *popular* and thus aid in sales. Portraits of presidents in particular were widely used.

In contrast, few numismatists in the 1858-1859 era (or now), would have been able to identify certain of Augustus B. Sage's arcane and slow-selling token subjects such as the Old Swamp Church, William H. Chesley, the Hartford meeting house, or the Old Jersey prison ship.

Although scattered offerings of Sage's tokens appeared in various auction sales from 1859 onward, absent were feature articles about them in *The American Journal of Numismatics, The Numismatist,* and in more recent times, the *Token and Medal Society Journal.* As events transpired, the only comprehensive study of Sage's tokens to reach print was that by Richard D. Kenney, in the form of two articles in *The Coin Collector's Journal,* 1948 and 1949. This periodical had a very limited circulation, and few collectors read what Kenney had to say. A few other Sage tokens were mentioned selectively in other periodicals, most notably Guido Kisch's two-part study, "War-Prisoner Money and Medals," in *The Numismatist,* which discussed in detail and illustrated tokens relating to Revolutionary War prisons.

## MONUMENTAL AND REVOLUTIONARY SERIES

While Sage's series such as the Odds and Ends, Historical Tokens, and Numismatic Gallery can be studied at some length today, and even the short-lived Masonic Medalets mini-series of one issue is fairly well delineated, little has been found concerning Sage's two series known as Monumental Medalets and Revolutionary Heroes. Similarly, the First Class Medals series—if, indeed, this was intended as the title of a series, rather than a general description of quality—is somewhat of a mystery.

In 1859 the Monumental, Revolutionary, and First Class series were advertised as follows, with information that these *will be issued.* Whether *any* were actually made has not be recorded in any information encountered by the present writer. These seem to have been medals that might have been, but were not.

> **Aug. B. Sage's Monumental Medalets.** This series, having for obverses representations of the Monuments of our Revolutionary and other Heroes, and noted men, will shortly be commenced.
>
> **Aug. B. Sage's Revolutionary Heroes.** This series will consist of about 36 Medalets, having for obverses the busts of Washington, Franklin, Jones, Revere, Greene, Warren, Putnam, &c., with appropriate reverses. They will be uniform with the other series.
>
> **First Class Medals:** The subscriber [*sic; publisher* was intended] will issue, about once a month, a large Medal, either having for the obverse the bust of some distinguished character, or a representation of some public building. Aug. B. Sage.

## HARRISON AND CRYSTAL PALACE MEDALS

Sage's February-March 1859 Bogert Collection catalogue contained advertising of these two medals, the issuance of which was said to have been impending.[1] These were to be sold on a subscription basis. The comment, "The papers are now ready," probably indicates that prospectuses had been printed, but that no medals had yet been struck.

> Shortly to be published, by subscription only, an Historical Medal of Wm. Henry Harrison. Size 1-3/4 inches in diameter. Silver, $3.50. Bronze, $1.50. Tin, 75 Cts.
>
> Also a Crystal Palace Medal. Silver, $2.50. Bronze, $1.00. Tin, 50 Cts. The Papers are Now Ready.

The precise nature of these medals has yet to be determined. The diameter of 1-3/4 inches for the Harrison medal equates to size 28 in the American scale or 44.5 mm. on the metric scale, but it is likely that the Harrison medal measured closer to 43 mm. (see below).

The size of the Crystal Palace medal was not stated, but as it was priced at a lower figure, it may be reasonable to assume that it was slightly smaller than the Harrison medal. It is also reasonable to assume that the Crystal Palace medal offered by Sage was intended to have been the work of George H. Lovett.

For the Harrison medal a die cut in Boston by another engraver was used. No specimens are known bearing the name of Sage as issuer.

The following commentary is largely hypothetical:

## HARRISON MEDAL

**History:** Sage's William Henry Harrison medal may be the same as the 43 mm. medal described by J. Doyle DeWitt and

[1] Somewhat similar notices appeared in Sage's Catalogue No. 1, January 1859.

## AUG. B. SAGE'S

# Revolutionary Heroes.

This series will consist of about 30 Medalets, having for obverses the busts of Washington, Franklin, Jones, Revere, Greene, Warren, Putnam, &c., with appropriate reverses. They will be uniform with the other series.

## AUG. B. SAGE'S

# FIRST CLASS MEDALS.

The subscriber will issue, about once a month, a large Medal, either having for the obverse the bust of some distinguished character, or a representation of some public building.

AUG. B. SAGE.

**Not much is known today about Sage's Revolutionary Heroes and First Class Medals series, both of which were advertised in February 1859 (on the back cover of the Henry Bogert auction sale catalogue). Presumably, these ideas represented what might have been, but wasn't.**

AUG. B. SAGE,

DEALER IN

# COINS, MEDALS, &c.,

121 Essex Street, N. Y.

Has now on hand a valuable assortment of

## Coins, Medals and Tokens,

OF ALL NATIONS,

Which he offers for sale at reasonable rates. HISTORICAL TOKENS issued regularly; also, from time to time, different numbers of ODDS AND ENDS.

---

**Shortly to be Published,**

BY SUBSCRIPTION ONLY,

## AN HISTORICAL MEDAL

OF

## WM. HENRY HARRISON.

*Size, 1⅝ inches in diameter.*

*Silver*, $3 50. *Bronze*, $1 50. *Tin*, 75 *Cts.*

ALSO A

## CRYSTAL PALACE MEDAL.

*Silver*, $2 50. *Bronze*, $1 00. *Tin*, 50 *Cts.*

THE PAPERS ARE NOW READY.

**A medal of William Henry Harrison was soon to be published by Sage, according to this announcement on the inside front cover of the Bogert sale catalogue, February 1859. A Crystal Palace medal was also in the offing.**

Edmund B. Sullivan as No. WHH 1840-4. This is generally referred to as the Harrison Jubilee medal. Varieties are known in copper, brass, white metal, and silver. Originals were struck in copper and white metal; restrikes were struck in these metals and others by W.E. Woodward circa 1862; these would have been in addition to those Sage was anticipating having restruck in 1859. "Some of the restrikes give the appearance of copper-nickel."[1]

**OBVERSE design:** Depicts the head of President Harrison facing left, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON around the top half of the border, arc of 26 stars below. Signed MITCHELL Ft. BOSTON.[2]

**REVERSE design:** The reverse die is unsigned. Depicted is the Bunker Hill Monument, with cannons and flags at its base, inscription surrounding: HARRISON JUBILEE BUNKER HILL SEPt 10, 1840.

**Copper:** Listed in 1862 as Satterlee No. 70. Listed by DeWitt and Sullivan as part of WHH 1840-4. Unknown number of originals struck; 26 restruck by or for W.E. Woodward, circa 1862; unknown number restruck earlier.

**Brass:** Listed by DeWitt and Sullivan as part of WHH 1840-4. Restrike trial piece; unknown mintage, but very few.

**White metal:** Listed by DeWitt and Sullivan as part of WHH 1840-4. Unknown number of originals struck; 21 restruck by or for W.E. Woodward, circa 1862; unknown number restruck earlier.

**Lead:** Listed by DeWitt and Sullivan as part of WHH 1840-4. Restrike trial piece; unknown mintage, but very few.

**Silver:** Listed by DeWitt and Sullivan as part of WHH 1840-4. Restrike; 8 restruck by or for W.E. Woodward, circa 1862; unknown number restruck earlier.

**Commentary:** In 1862 George H. Lovett, who, apparently, was involved in the production of these pieces, furnished an affidavit to W. Elliot Woodward to the effect that Proof restrikes had been made to the extent of eight silver, 26 copper, and 21 white metal impressions, plus trial strikings in lead and brass.[3] This medal was described as size 27 by Woodward (27 sixteenths of an inch); other Woodward listings (such as Lot 472 in his October 1884 sale) use the size 28 description. On June 2, 1862, Woodward issued a circular offering Harrison Jubilee medals for sale. Apparently, the dies were kept "active" for some time.

However, the author has located no particular connection between dealers Sage and Woodward, and in the offering of Sage tokens in later Woodward catalogues no anecdotes or biographical information about Sage were given.

## CRYSTAL PALACE MEDAL

Designs of Sage's Crystal Palace medal are not known to the writer. It would seem that the Crystal Palace, which had burned down on October 5, 1858, was a truly dead issue by early 1859, and that demand would have been nil for new medals featuring it (although such a medal was made in Philadelphia from dies by Paquet; see commentary below). Popular Crystal Palace medals known to numismatists today are generally those made by various firms in 1853 and distributed at that time.[4]

This Crystal Palace medal offered by Sage is different from that published as No. 1 in his Odds & Ends series a month or two earlier. No diameter was stated for the new issue, although it is presumed it was slightly smaller than the 43 mm. Harrison medal offered by Sage. The price of $1.00 for a bronze specimen is four times the price charged by Sage for his Crystal Palace token in the Odds and Ends series.

**OBVERSE design:** Not known.

**REVERSE design:** Not known.

**Copper:** Not located today.

**White metal:** Not located today.

**Silver:** Not located today.

**Commentary:** A large diameter (51.3 mm.) medal by Anthony C. Paquet, earlier illustrated in Chapter 9 (in connection with Sage's Odds and Ends token on the same subject), featured the obverse design of the Crystal Palace in flames and a reverse inscription noting that the structure had been destroyed by fire on October 5, 1858, in 40 minutes. The dies were prominently signed PAQUET and PHILA. These have been included in various auctions over the years, an offering in Edward D. Cogan's sale of the Lewis White Collection, April 17-18, 1876, being an example: "Lot 714: [Under heading "Silver Medals"] New York Crystal Palace Medal. Building on Fire. Rev. 'Destroyed by Fire October 5, 1858, in 40 minutes.' Rare. [Size] 32." Similarly, Lot 419 of the Bushnell Collection sale (Chapman brothers, 1882) was described: "The Crystal Palace, N.Y., in flames. Rev. Ins. [inscription]. Bronze. Very fine. [Size] 33." The Bushnell piece sold for 35¢. A white metal specimen is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

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[1] Edmund B. Sullivan, *American Political Badges and Medalets 1789-1892*, p. 56.

[2] Translates to "Mitchell fecit," or Mitchell "made it." In the 1840s, Francis N. Mitchell was an engraver in Boston at 5 Tremont Street.

[3] See listing by W. Elliot Woodward, Rev. Joseph Finotti Collection, November 11-14, 1862, lots 393-397. The affidavit was on view during the lot-viewing portion of the auction.

[4] Certain of these are illustrated in *So-Called Dollars*, Harold E. Hibler and Charles V. Kappen, 1963, pp. 3-4. Eliminated as a possibility is this medal described in John W. Haseltine's sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, Part I, July 5-7, 1882: "Lot 604: New York Crystal Palace. By G.H. Lovett. Reverse, flags of different nations, &c. White metal. Very good. [Size] 25 [16th of an inch]." This is Hibler-Kappen (in *So-Called Dollars*) No. 7, known in silver or silver plated format, size 25, there called the "Police-All Nations Dollar." Records of the American Numismatic Society reveal that an impression of this medal was accessioned on July 13, 1858, many months in advance of Sage's indication that his own Crystal Palace medal was to be published and when no one dreamed that the structure would be demolished by fire.

# CHAPTER 13

# *Sage's Fixed Price Lists*

## *(Early 1859)*

### SAGE'S CATALOGUE NO. 1

Dated February 1859 and designated No. 1, the title page of an eight-page[1] listing proclaimed it to be a *Catalogue of Coins, Medals and Tokens, of All Nations, in Gold, Silver & Copper, For Sale by Augustus B. Sage, 121 Essex Street, N.Y.*, further noting:

> Collections carefully arranged and catalogued. Every article in the numismatic line bought, sold or exchanged.
> Price 10 cents.
> W. Pidgeon, Printer, 15 Rivington Street, N.Y.

Although Sage later claimed to be in the printing trade, the Pidgeon imprint suggests that Sage was not in this line of activity in late 1858 (when the catalogue was probably prepared) or the early days of 1859. Events must have transpired quickly, for soon thereafter—in time for the June 1859 catalogue of coins belonging to "A Gentleman of this City" (James D. Foskett) to be issued—Sage had moved his business to 24 Division Street. At the new location he set up as A.B. Sage & Co., Stationers, Printers, &c. As noted, numismatist Henry Bogert maintained an office at the same address and may have tended to the stationery and printing part of the operations.

A rare variant of this catalogue is dated "February, 159."[2] Apparently, the error was recognized and quickly corrected before many copies were distributed.

The offering in Sage's first price list began with a numbered listing of English and related coins, among which were a 1703 VIGO sixpence of Queen Anne,[3] "extra fine," $1.00; a pair of Queen Anne copper farthings, one each of 1713 and 1714, for $11.00; and a pair of 1791 Sierra Leone copper Proofs, halfpenny and penny, for $2.25.

Under the title of "American Coins," on page 5, were these items, among others: "N.E. shilling, very fine and very rare, $25.00," followed by "N.E. sixpence, very fine and very rare, $30.00," and "Lord Baltimore, groat, good order, $27.00." Farther down the list was "Triangle cent (Kentucky?), two varieties, very fine, each $2.50."[4]

Among federal coins, Sage offered a 1795 half eagle, "very fine," for $6.25; a 1794 half dollar, "fine rare," at $2.00; a 1796 quarter dollar, "fine and rare," $1.00; "Cents, 1804, from 25¢" (indicating he had a supply on hand); a Proof 1841 cent for $1.50; and "three cent pieces, 1855, rare, each 15¢."

Under the title of "American Medals" were the following, among others:

> Washington before Boston, first impression. $6.00.
> Recent impression. $4.00.
> Washington, by Twiggs [*sic;* Twigg was intended], white metal, very fine. $3.00.
> Washington, by Wyon, white metal, very fine. $3.00.
> Washington, Liberty and Security, fine. $4.00.

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[1] Including one blank page, plus a separate plate of three coins (Maryland groat, NE sixpence, NE shilling) on a page with a blank reverse; Charles Davis believes this may be "the first American sale catalogue to contain illustrations of any kind, certainly as a drop—in plate—not just a cheap woodcut of a generic coin as a head piece or tail piece" (letter, April 27, 1997).

[2] An example was catalogued by Charles Davis and offered as part of the Armand Champa Library sale, 1995, Lot 474.

[3] Queen Anne silver and gold coins with VIGO on the obverse, made in various denominations from the silver sixpence to the gold five-guineas, were struck from bullion captured by the Royal Navy from the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Vigo, Spain.

[4] Any hesitancy Sage may have had concerning the "Triangle cent" and its attribution to Kentucky was resolved in short order, as his catalogue of the Bogert Collection sale, February 28 to March 5, 1859, included this: "Lot 1269. Triangle cent, commonly called the Kentucky cent."

FEBRUARY, 1859 No 1.

CATALOGUE

OF

# COINS, MEDALS

AND

# TOKENS,

OF ALL NATIONS,

IN

GOLD, SILVER & COPPER,

For Sale by

AUGUSTUS B. SAGE,

121 Essex Street, N. Y.

☞ Collections carefully arranged and catalogued. Every article in the NUMISMATIC line Bought, Sold or Exchanged.

PRICE 10 CENTS.

W. PIDGEON, Printer, 15 Rivington Street, N. Y.

Cover of Augustus Sage's first fixed price list, No. 1, dated February 1859.

6

Grate, very fine 2 25
104 Talbot, Allum and Lee, 1794, fine 1 00
105 do 1795, proof 2 00
106 do do Gilt, 2 00
107 Motts' jewerlers token 1789, very fine 1 50
108 Half Eagle, 1795, very fine 6 25
109 Half dollar, 1794, fine rare 2 00
111 Quarter dollar, 1796, fine and rare. 1 00
112 Cents, 1804, from 25
112 Cent, 1841, proof, 1 50
113 Cents of various dates, many of them extremely fine from 25
114 Three cent peices, 1855, rare, each, 15
115 Mule, Talbot, Allum and Lee, 1794, Rev. A. Stork, proof, 2 00
116 Mule, do. rev. a Boy, very fine, 2 00

## American Medals.

117 Washington before Boston, first impression 6 00
Recent impression 4 00
118 Washington, Eccleston medal, very fine 7 50
119 Washington, by Twiggs, whitemetal, rare 3 00
120 Washington, by Wyon, whitemetal, very fine 3 00
121 Washington, Liberty and Security, fine 4 00
122 Washington, trial piece, obv. of a medal 3 50
123 Paul Jones, by Dupre, *very fine* 4 50
124 Gen'l Taylor, on his death, by Wright, *fine* 4 00
125 Benjamin West, President Royal Academy, *fine* 2 00
126 La Fayette, by Caunois, 1824, *fine* 1 25
127 Gilbert Stuart, by Wright 1 25
128 Washington, Rev. House of Temperance, *fine* 1 00
Rev. awarded to, *fine* 1 00
Rev. head of Franklin, *fine* 1 00
219 Franklin, Rev. awarded to, *fine* 1 00
130 " Awarded to, " Rev. House of Temperance 1 00
131 General Taylor, Tin, Brown's medal 1 25
132 Eight Presidents, obv. the heads of the first eight presidents, tin, *very rare and fine* 3 00
133 An Abolition Soc, 1840, *fine, very rare* 1 50
134 General Green, copy, *fine* 1 00
135 Wm. Penn, copy 1 00
136 Howard Association, Norfolk Va., copy 75
137 Cyrus W. Field, *very fine*, bronze 3 50
And various others.

## Roman Family Denarii,

Antonia. obv. Standards, Rev. A Galley, *fine* 1 00
Others not as fine 75
Claudia, obv. female head, rev. A. Chariot 75
obv. two heads in profile, rev. Figure standing 1 00
Curtia, obv, head of Minerva, rev. Roma, a chariot, *very fine* 1 00
Cornelia, obv. head, rev. Spears, &c. 1 00
Lucretia, obv. head of Miner-

Page 6 of Sage's first price list, February 1859. Offered are American medals, one of Sage's prime specialties.

8

**PHILIPPUS.**

Billon, rev. Victoria Avg. victory marching 75
do rev. Annona Avg. &c. 75

**GALLIENUS.**

Billon, rev. a Horse 75
do rev. Pax. Avg. Peace standing. 75
do rev. Victoria Avg. Victory standing 75
do rev. Jovi Conservat, Jupiter, standing 75
do rev. P. M. T. R. P. &c. 75

**M. AURELIUS,**

Silver, rev. Prov. D. F. female, standing 1 00
do rev. Figure, standing 1 00
do rev. P. R. P. XXII. &c 1 00
do rev. Health standing 1 00
do rev. Cos. II. female standing 1 00
do rev. Concord Avg. Figure seated 75
do rev. Cos. III. P. P. soldier standing 75

**SEVERUS,**

Silver, rev. T. R. P. III. soldier, standing 75
do rev. Vota Suscepta, figure, standing 75
do rev. Vota Publica, female, standing 75
do rev. Annona Avg. female, standing 75
do rev. Figure standing 75

**CAESAR,**

Silver, Obv. an elephant, fortune, standing, each 75

**American Tokens**

A large variety numbered according to Bushnell's arrangement. Price, from 10 cents upwards.
Bushnell's American Tokens describing some 400 Tokens &c. unbound 3 00
Bound hf. cf. ant. 4 00

**Harrison Medal,**

Shortly to be published a medal of W. H. Harrison, rev. Historical; Bronze 1 50. Silver 3 50. Tin 75.
Sold by subscription only. Size, one and three quarter inches in diameter.
A great variety of Coins, Medals, Numismatic Books, &c. constantly on hands,
Shortly to be published only by subscription

**A Crystal Palace Medal,**

Silver, 2 50. Bronze, 1 00, Tin, 50.

Interior page 8 of Sage's February 1859 catalogue showing ancient coins and American tokens. Offered for sale was Bushnell's recently printed (1858) work on the series, available either unbound or bound. Noted is the impending publication of a medal depicting the Crystal Palace.

## AUG. B. SAGE'S

## HISTORICAL TOKENS.

This series will consist of about 25 Tokens, each one giving a correct representation of some Public Building, around which there is any thing of an historical interest. Eleven pieces in this series have thus far been published, viz.

No. 1 The old Provoost Prison, N. Y. two dies.
2 The old City Hall, Wall St., N. Y.
3 Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.
4 Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, PA.
5 The old Jersey Prison Ship.
6 State House, Philadelphia, two dies.
7 Washington's Residence, Mount Vernon.
8 Washington's Head Quarters, Newburgh.
9 Richmond Hill House, N. Y.
10 Washington's Head Quarters, Tappan.

Others will speedily be issued. The are published in Copper at 25 cents each.

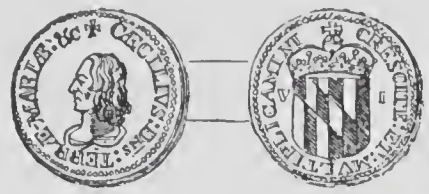
## Aug. B. Sage's

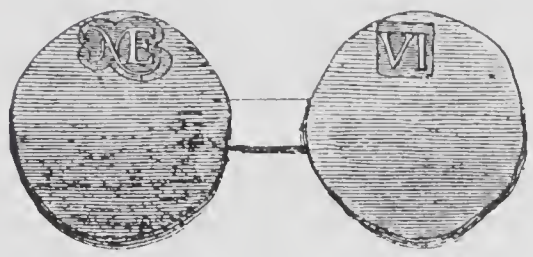
## ODDS AND ENDS,

This series combines general subjects, four have thus far been issued, Crystal Palace, Old Sugar House, two dies; and Paul Morphy, they are also published at 25 cents each.

The February 1859 catalogue also included a page on Sage's tokens. From the text it is not quite certain how many pieces had been issued by this time. The introduction suggests "eleven," while the descriptions list 10 different, two of which (No. 1 and No. 6) each were made with two varieties. Unlike certain other serial sets issued later elsewhere, it seems that most of Sage's tokens were sold one at a time. Quite possibly, intending buyers picked out subjects of greatest interest, and ignored the others.

The Historical Tokens are discussed in Chapter 10 of the present work, and the Odds and Ends Tokens form the subject of Chapter 9.





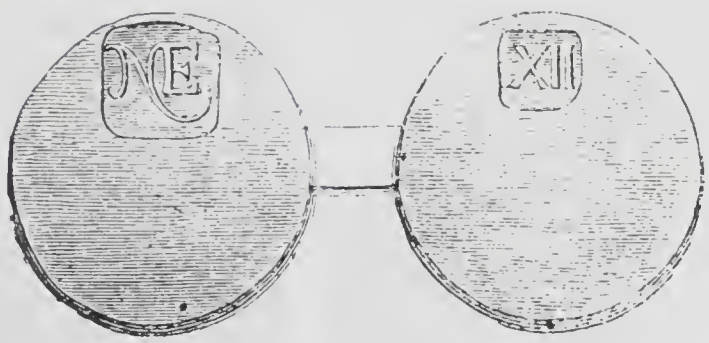


**Plate of illustrations in Sage's February 1859 catalogue, perhaps the first American numismatic catalogue to be illustrated. The engravings were borrowed from his friend Charles B. Norton, who had earlier used them in *Norton's Literary Letter.* Coin and paper money illustrations of the era had a way of being passed around, and on various occasions—not related to Sage—the same pictures were used in many different places.**

Washington, trial piece, obv. of a medal. $3.50.

Eight Presidents, obv. the heads of the first eight p.esidents [*sic*], tin, *very rare and fine.* $3.00.

Cyrus W. Field, *very fine,* bronze. $3.50.

The Eight Presidents medal was produced by engraver William Bridgens, one of Sage's local acquaintances. The Field medal was undoubtedly the second variety of the issue sold by Sage in the summer of 1858.

An extensive listing of ancient Roman coins was continued from that point through near the end of page 8, at which was found a catch-all offering:

American tokens. A large variety numbered according to Bushnell's arrangement. Price, from 10 cents upward.

Seemingly, Sage had a business connection with Charles I. Bushnell, for he also offered unbound copies of *Bushnell's American Tokens* book for $3 and bound copies for $4, rather stiff prices for the time.[1]

Offerings of Sage's own medals appeared on pages 3 and 8. Included were his Crystal Palace medal and, "shortly to be published, a medal of W.H. Harrison," these in addition to his Historical Tokens series and Odds and Ends series.

## SAGE'S "CATALOGUE NO. 2"

Also dated February 1859, but assigned the *No. 2* designation by Emmanuel J. Attinelli, this version of the same catalogue is described by Attinelli, p. 85: "A reprint, with illustrations in reverse order, the N.E. shilling being at the top, and 'Price 25 cents.'" However, a copy of a similar catalogue, with re-arranged illustrations and "Price 25 cents" on the cover, is in the library of the American Numismatic Society and bears the notation "Catalogue No. 1."

A perusal of the listings in the regular (10¢ price) version and the reprinted (25¢ version per the ANS copy) show the interior typography and listings to be identical.[2]

## A SPECIAL APRIL 1859 OFFERING

A small printed sheet dated April 1859 offered *en bloc* a remarkable collection:[3]

New-York, April, 1859.

Dear Sir:

We beg leave to call your attention to the splendid collection of COINS AND MEDALS which we have for sale. It is the property of a well-known gentleman of this city, who being about to start for Europe, wishes to dispose of his Cabinet. It consists of about 500 fine BRONZE MEDALS, and upwards of 2,000 coins, in gold, silver and copper, together with a descriptive Catalogue. The Catalogue will be a great saving of time to the purchaser. The description of each medal is very explicit. The following is the description of a medal struck on account of the Battle of Inkerman:

*Year.* 1854.

*Artist.* Ondine.

*Obv.* Bust of "NAPOLEON III., EMPEREUR."

*Rev.* The Genii of France and England, each holding up their respective standards, and supporting between them the crescent. Two Russian soldiers, one carrying a coat of arms, the other the double headed eagle, flying in terror toward the battlements of Sebastopol, seen in the distance.

[1] The correct title of the 118-page plus plates and exhibits catalogue is *An Arrangement of Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens, also, Election Medals, Medalets, &c., Current in the United States of America for the Last Sixty Years, Described from the Originals, Chiefly in the Collection of the Author.* The volume was dedicated by Bushnell to the memory of Charles Cushing Wright.

[2] ANS copy information courtesy of Frank Campbell, June 10, 1997.

[3] Copy furnished by Frank Van Zandt.

"BATTAILLE D' INKERMAN, 5 NOVEMBRE, 1854."

Every medal is thus described. The price of the Collection, with Cabinet and Catalogue, is $2,500, and is very suitable for a University or any Institution. All communications to be addressed to

AUG. B. SAGE & CO.
Box 2,556
N.Y.P.O.

The catalogue seems to have been prepared by the unidentified owner of the collection, not by Sage.

What relationship this had, if any, to Sage's sale at auction of "The property of a Gentleman of this City," June 7, 1859, is not known. That offering included only 47 lots of foreign medals among which was a *silver* medal described as follows:

Lot 41. Victoria War Medal. Crimea, 1854. Three clasps, Alma, Inkermann, Sebastapol [*sic*]. Silver. *Fine and rare.* [Realized $5.]

## SAGE'S JUNE 1859 CATALOGUE

In the same year another fixed-price catalogue was issued by Sage. Not bearing a number, it was dated June 1859 at the top of the cover or, on some copies, simply the year 1859.[1] Copies exist with white as well as pink covers. The price was 25¢ per copy, the same as charged for the so-called "Catalogue No. 2." The size of the June listing was 24 pages plus covers. However, unlike Catalogue No. 1 (and "2"), there were no illustrations.

The inside front and back covers were devoted to descriptions of the medal series offered by Sage, while the back cover bore an advertisement noting the A.B. Sage & Co.'s specialty in "Coins, Medals, Autographs, Paintings, Engravings, New & Old Books, Stationery, &c.," continuing with "Die Sinking and Printing neatly executed," and finally listing the names of the proprietors, A.B. Sage and Henry Bogert.

Each item offered was given a number in the manner of an auction catalogue. Titles were given to various sections. The descriptions were quite excellent for the era and often included a comment about rarity. There were no uniform grading standards in effect in the hobby. Such terms as *very fine* and *extra fine* no doubt referred to high-quality specimens, in some cases to Uncirculated or Proof examples.

Listings included the following selected examples under various headings:[2]

"American Coins" began with No. 1 and continued to No. 79, and comprised what might be called today "Early American Coins" or "Colonial Coins." Examples:

1. GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO. *Rev.* Liberty in a cage-"Voce Populi." Commonly called the "Tory Cent." *Very fine.* $2.50.

2. NOVA EBORAC. *Rev.* "VIRT. ET LIB." Female facing to the right. *Very fine and rare.* $5.00.

3. " " *Rev.* Female facing right. *Very fine.* $3.00.[3]

4. " " Another. *Good.* $2.50.

5. " " Others. $1.50 and $2.00.

10. Kentucky or Triangle. *Rev.* Pyramid. *Very fine.* $2.50.

16. VERMONT. *Rev.* BRITANNIA. *Fine.* $0.75.

17. VERMON AUCTORI. Common die. *Fine.* $0.75.

18. " " Connecticut Head.[4] $1.00.

19. " " *Rev.* Et Lib Inde. *Very rare type.* $3.50.

20. VERMONTENSIUM. Res Publica. *Fine and rare.* $1.50.

21. FRANKLIN CENT.[5] "States United." *Extra fine.* $1.00.

24. CONNECTICUT CENT, 1785. *Very fine and rare.* $1.50.

25. " " Others. $0.25 and $0.50.

31. NEW-JERSEY. "Nova Cæsarea," 1786. *Very fine.* $0.50.

32. " " 1787. *Very fine.* $0.25 and $0.50.

33. " " 1788. " " $0.25 and $0.50.

35. NOVA CONSTELLATIO, 1783. *Very Fine.* $1.25.

36. " " 1783. Others. $0.25, $0.50, and $0.75.

39. COLUMBIA TOKEN.[6] *Very fine.* $0.25.

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[1] Frank Van Zandt has furnished a copy with the printed date 1859, on which "July 4" has been added in pencil, probably by an early owner of the catalogue.

[2] In the quotations from the June 1859 catalogue, Sage's listings are given *verbatim*, without editing (except that dollar signs have been added in front of each price), and with Sage's occasional original use of italic type.

[3] Ostensibly, nos. 2 and 3 seem to be the same variety in the same grade. However, perhaps No. 2 was actually the finer of the two.

[4] Probably the Draped Bust Left (today known as Ryder 10, 11, and 15, the last a major rarity).

[5] 1787 Fugio cent.

[6] Not an American coin, but a small undated token said to have been made in Birmingham, England, in 1830, "and designed for circulation in Columbia, South America," per Montroville W. Dickeson's book, *An American Numismatical Manual,* p.143, which also noted that it was sometimes confused with the American series. The obverse depicted a head and the legend COLUMBIA; the reverse, "a female figure seated, holding a balance." However, the spelling of the South American country is Colombia, not Columbia. This may have given rise to an unsigned contribution to Frossard's house organ, *Numisma,* May 1884, in which these are called "Columbia farthings," association with South America is denied, and it is suggested that these were made in Birmingham for circulation in the British possessions of North America, more specifically Canada. "The head on the obverse of these coins is apparently intended for that of Wellington; the figure on the reverse resembles closely that of Britannia." The definitive study of these is "The Columbia Farthing," by George and Melvin Fuld, published in *The Numismatist,* reprinted in 1972 in *Token Collector's Pages,* pp. 173-180, describing die varieties and attributing them to Birmingham.

*June* 1859.

CATALOGUE

OF

# Coins, Medals & Tokens,

## AUTOGRAPHS, OLD BOOKS, &c.

FOR SALE BY

## A. B. SAGE & CO.

**No. 24 Division Street,**

**NEW-YORK,**

☞ Collections carefully arranged and Catalogued.

☞ All orders must invariably be accompanied by the money, and all goods will be sent at the buyer's expense.

Price 25 Cents.

New-York:

A. B. SAGE & CO., STATIONERS AND PRINTERS,

No. 24 Division Street.

1859.

**Cover of Augustus B. Sage's June 1859 fixed price catalogue.**

40. WASHINGTON CENT, 1783. "Unity States." *Very Fine.* $1.50.

43. " " Laureated Bust. *Extremely fine, bronze proof* $3.50.[1]

51. " " Liberty and Security. Large. *Very fine, bronzed, almost proof* $5.00.

53. " " 1791. Large eagle. *As fine as when struck.* $15.00.

56. GEORGE III. *Rev.* Inde. Et Lib. *Very rare.* $2.00.

57. ROSA AMERICANA. Penny.[2] Without date. *Extremely rare.* $5.00.

61. " " Farthing. "Rosa Ameri." *Very rare type.* $5.00.

68. TALBOT, ALLUM & LEE, 1794. *Extra fine.* $2.00.

72. CHALMERS SHILLING. *Not fine, but extremely rare.* $7.00.

"Mint Pieces" was the title, and "Gold" was the subtitle of nos. 80 to 88 in Sage's catalogue. Examples:

80. Half Eagle, 1795. *Very fine.* $6.50.

81. " " 1803. " " $6.00.

83. " " 1804. In silver, struck from the original die. $1.50.[3]

84. " " 1808. " " $1.50.[4]

85. BECHTLER DOLLAR. One Dollar. $1.50.

87. CALIFORNIA HALF DOLLAR. $0.87.

88. " QUARTER. *Rare.* $0.75.

Under the subtitle "Silver" various "Mint Pieces" included these examples as part of nos. 89 through 129:

89. DOLLAR. 1795. Hair tied in knot. *Very Fine.* $1.50.

91. " 1797. " " $2.00.

97. " 1804. " " $1.50.[5]

98. " 1846. " " $1.50.

99. " 1854. *Very rare.* $2.50.

101. " 1859. *Extra fine.* $2.00.[6]

102. HALF DOLLAR. 1794. *Very fine.* $2.00.

103. " " 1795. " " $0.75.

108. " " 1826. *Very Fine.* $0.62.

119. QUARTER DOLLAR. 1796. *Very fine.* $1.00.

116. " " 1805. *Fine.* $0.31.

118. DIME, 1801. *Fine.* $0.50.

122. " 1811. *Fine and very rare.* $1.50.

123. " 1846. " " $0.75.

124. HALF DIME, 1795. *Very fine and rare.* $0.75.

127. " " 1846. " " $0.75.

128. THREE CENTS, 1854. *Rare.* $0.10.

129. " " 1855. " $0.20.

Under the subtitle "Copper" various pieces were offered from No. 130 to 204. Examples:

130. CENT, 1793. *Extra fine. Palm-leaf.* $5.00.

131. " 1793. *Good specimen.* $3.00.

132. " 1793. *Poor. Link.* $1.50.

134. " 1793. Liberty Cap. *Very rare.* $3.00.

135. " 1793 Link Cent. "America." *Very fine.* $4.00.

136. " 1794. *Very fine.* 1.00.

137. " 1794. *Good.* $0.25.

141. " 1797. *Equal to a proof.* $1.00.

146. " 1799. *Very rare.* $2.50.

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[1] Probably what is known today as a Washington Draped Bust copper restrike, made circa 1860 in England from Soho Mint dies.

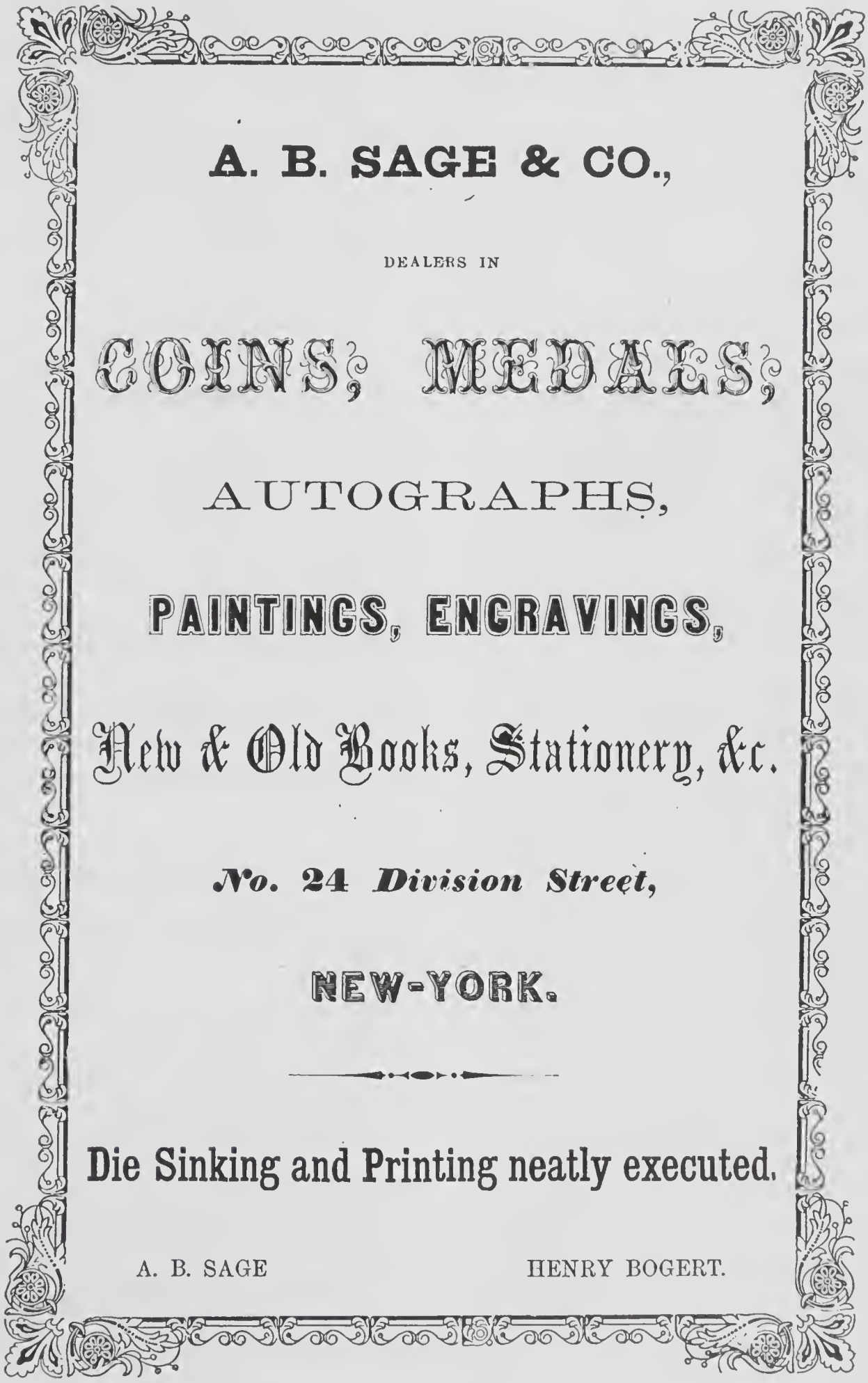
[2] What Sage and certain of his contemporaries called the Rosa Americana penny, halfpenny, and farthing are known, respectively, as the twopence, penny, and halfpenny by numismatists today.

[3] Restrike, traditionally (but on what authority the writer does not know) attributed to Philadelphia numismatist, Joseph J. Mickley, and struck from obsolete dies originally sold by the Mint as "scrap iron." As Mickley, who in fact did possess certain old dies, lived in Philadelphia it seems unlikely that he would have filtered such pieces through Sage, especially as William K. Idler and Edward D. Cogan of Mickley's home town would have been closer. Alternatively, Sage could have picked these pieces up almost anywhere, including during his earlier visit to Philadelphia or as part of a purchase from a collector or dealer. The entire issue of who was restriking what, by using early federal dies, is a field worthy of re-examination by modern scholars, at which time many traditional explanations will likely be found wanting. Such an investigation would do well to include the activities of H. Miller & Co., die sinkers on 7th Street, Philadelphia, in the late 1850s (credited by Charles Steigerwalt, in the April 1907 issue of *The Numismatist,* as the possible source for 1823 cent restrikes; also see W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the J.N.T. Levick Collection, Lot 921, a store card: "Miller, H. & Co., die sinkers, etc.; rev., 'To commemorate the Mechanic's Fair, 1858'; thick planchets, perfect. Size 21").

[4] Another restrike, the 1808 being of great rarity and, apparently, struck only to the extent of a few pieces. This issue is largely unrecorded in modern literature.

[5] An unusual listing, for it is unlikely that Sage would have had a rare 1804 dollar in stock; if it was a copy, it probably would have been designated as such. Perhaps it was a typographical error, or a transposition of "1840."

[6] Although 1859 was a current-date, the intrinsic or melt-down value was more than $1.00 at the time of issue, and such pieces were not available at banks or elsewhere at par; a premium had to be paid for them.




Advertisement for Augustus B. Sage's business as printed on the back cover of his June 1859 catalogue. Sage and Bogert are given equal billing, apparently as partners.

147. " 1799. *Altered-very finely done.* $1.50.

153. " 1804. *Extra fine.* 4.00.

154. " 1804. *Fine.* $2.00.

155. " 1804. *Good.* $1.50.

163. " 1816. *Very fine.* $0.50.

164. " 1817. " " 15 stars. $0.25.

165. " 1817. " " $0.25.

174. HALF CENT, 1794. *Very fine.* $1.50.

176. " " 1794. *Very fine, and different type.* $2.00.

179. " " 1803. " " $0.25.

182. " " 1806. *Bright.* $0.30.

183. " " 1807. *Rare and fine.* $0.50.

196. " " 1843. *Fine.* $5.00.

"Pattern Coins" included nos. 205 to 209. Examples:

205. FLYING EAGLE DOLLAR, 1836. *Extra fine.* $6.00.

207. PATTERN CENT, 1855. Flying Eagle. *Proof.* $2.50.

208. " " 1856. " " Nickel. $1.50.

209. " " 1858. " " Shield.[1] $2.50.

No. 210 stood on its own, "HALF CENT'S WORTH OF FINE COPPER, 1837," for $0.75.[2]

The next section, "American Medals," included strikings in silver (nos. 211-213), bronze (214-238), and tin (139-250). Included were some specimens of the same issues that Sage had marketed in the summer of 1858, such as the House of Temperance. Examples:

211. [silver] WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY. Bust of Washington on a pedestal. *Fine and very rare. Size* 13.[3] $5.00.

213. [silver] American Institute. Presentation Medal-worth in silver, $2.25. $3.00.

214. [bronze] WASHINGTON. The Eccleston Medal. In beautiful order. *Very rare.* $7.50.

215. [bronze] " Medal struck during the Second Presidency. *Obv.* Man sowing wheat.[4] *Not fine, but extremely rare. Size* 13½. $3.00.

216. [bronze] " Temp. Society. *Rev.* House of Temperance. *Rare.* $1.00.

218. [bronze] FRANKLIN. From the Numismatic Series.[5] *Fine and very rare.* $2.00.

219. [bronze] " Rochester Mec. Assoc. *Size* 12. $1.00.

222. [bronze] NEW-HAVEN MEDAL, by Wright. THE DESERT SHALL REJOICE AND BLOSSOM AS THE ROSE. *Very fine and rare. Size* 15. $3.00.

225. [bronze] MULE. *Obv.* House of Temperance; *rev.* Awarded to. *Very Rare. Size* 12. $1.00.

231. [bronze] CYRUS W. FIELD, by Lovett. *Very rare, but fifty having been struck.* $3.50.

240. [tin] JNO. C. FREMONT; by Paquet. *Rev.* "The Rocky Mountains echo back Fremont." *Very rare.* $1.00.

247. [tin] CRYSTAL PALACE. *Rev.* Globe, &c. Figures. *Very fine and rare. Size* 18. $1.50.

248. [tin] CRYSTAL PALACE. *Rev.* Flags, &c. *Very Rare. Size* 12. $1.00.

249. " " Another. $0.50.

250. " " By Dowler. *Rev. "First Pillar,"* &c. *Proof* $1.00.

"American Tokens" were not given inventory numbers by Sage in his catalogue, but were attributed to "Bushnell's Arrangement of American Tokens." Prices varied from 10¢ to $2.

"Foreign Medals" extended from No. 251 to 343, after which "English Coins" went from 344 to 407. Certain issues of British colonies were included in the same section. Then followed "Books, Relative to America, &c.," including references on historical and political subjects, nos. 408 to 426. "State Bills" began with 427 and extended to 436, and included issues of Connecticut and Maryland. "Autographs" commenced with 437 and ended with 446, and included various American historical items.

"Numismatic Books," 447 to 462, included these American titles:

453: DICKESON. Am. Numismatical Manual. Philadelphia, 1859. 4to. $6.00. An indispensable work for the American collector.

454: BUSHNELL'S American Tokens. New-York, 1858. $2.50.

The heading "Curiosities, Relics, &c." closed out the catalogue with these two listings:

463. REVOLUTIONARY SWORD, found two miles below Newburgh. Broken. $1.50.

464. CHINESE UMBRELLA. Curious. $1.25.

The Sage catalogue must have been very impressive in its day. Whether it was successful and inspired other catalogues is not known. Only Sage's February and June 1859 fixed-price listings have been seen by numismatic historians.

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[1] Style with oak wreath and ornamented shield reverse. It will be recalled that on June 26, 1858, Sage wrote to Director Snowden at the Mint to obtain such a pattern cent for his personal collection.

[2] Actually, a Hard Times token, variety Low-49. The legend is slightly misquoted; it should be HALF CENT WORTH OF PURE COPPER.

[3] Sizes were expressed on the Mionnet Scale, which was reproduced on the first page of catalogue listings. See Appendix VIII.

[4] This is "The Farmer" in the set of three Washington "Seasons medals" engraved by Conrad Küchler and struck at the Soho Mint in Birmingham, England, for the U.S. government; intended for presentation to Native Americans, many medals were distributed by Lewis and Clark in their 1804-1806 expedition.

[5] Series Numismatica struck in Paris.

# CHAPTER 14

# *The Bogert Collection Auction*

## *(February 28 to March 5, 1859)*

### SAGE'S FIRST AUCTION CATALOGUE

"Catalogued by AUG. B. SAGE" noted the cover of the *Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Collection* [of] *Coins, Medals & Numismatic Works, the Property of Henry Bogert, Esq. Which will be sold at public auction, by Messrs. Bangs, Merwin & Co. at their rooms, No. 13 Park Row, on February 28th, 1858, and the five following days.*

The catalogue, a 93-page affair, plus covers,[1] told nothing about Bogert. This was not particularly unusual, as what few coin catalogues there were at the time typically lacked biographical information, introductory comments, or, for that matter, much besides bare-bones descriptions of the pieces offered. In all, there were 1,653 numbered lots, some of which included multiple items.

### SETTING THE SCENE

By way of an introduction to the auction scene in the late 1850s, the following reminiscence by Joseph N.T. Levick, which mentions several of Sage's sales, may be of interest:[2]

> I should like to indulge in a few reminiscences of coin collecting in general, dating from a time when the study of numismatics was confined to comparatively few persons; and I trust that my recollections may not be tedious or uninteresting. Letter-writing on the experiences of collectors, such as the very few furnished by Edward D. Cogan,[3] seem to make the popular fancy best; for he has received numerous communications urging him to furnish more such articles.
>
> Philadelphians undoubtedly recollect how particularly pleasant it was to visit Mr. Cogan's store [in the late 1850s], aside from business, for the reason that he always made it so, by his continually having something rich and rare to exhibit. As he is a gentleman of great conversational powers and amiable temper, besides being well supplied with anecdotes and jokes, his place was well attended; in truth, it was difficult for the collectors to remain away from his store over 24 hours at any time. As for me, I dropped all other pleasures, preferring to go to Mr. Cogan's to see what was to be seen and learn any news that might be stirring in the numismatic world. Go at what hour you might, you would be sure of meeting someone, and frequently strangers from New York, Boston, Baltimore, and other parts of the country.
>
> In the evenings, most generally, the same faces were recognized, and many friendships were formed thereby. One custom existed among the principal Philadelphia collectors, and that was the interchanging of visits, accompanied by a liberal display of each other's collections and the imparting of all the knowledge and information that each possessed. Thus arose a spirit of emulation and an immense competition for fine and rare pieces.
>
> Mr. [Joseph J.] Mickley's residence was frequented by almost all the collectors, for he was always pleased to receive and entertain visitors, and so large, fine and varied was his collection that to examine it was equivalent to learning much. There indeed we saw the rarest of the rare, and the finest of the fine, and this made us more fastidious in regard to our selection of pieces for our own cabinets.
>
> Fine and rare coins always being in demand, the great question, when Mr. Cogan procured a piece, was who should have it; for all wanted it and were willing to pay Mr. Cogan's price for it. This then was one great source of perplexity to Mr. Cogan, namely, whom he should decide to favor with it.
>
> It was also highly instructive and beneficial to be a member of the Numismatic Society of Philadelphia, for, instead of meeting at one designated place, the monotony was removed by the members' meeting at their respective houses, and the meetings were made interesting and pleasant by

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[1] Covers for this catalogue were issued in various colors. In a letter, May 12, 1997, George F. Kolbe noted that "tan, light green, and russet are among the hues I've encountered in copies recently offered for sale." Other examples are bright yellow (author's collection), blue (collection of P. Scott Rubin), and buff and red covers (Remy Bourne collection examples).

[2] Edited and excerpted from the *American Journal of Numismatics*, November 1868, pp. 55-56, and December 1868, pp. 63-64, "Reminiscences of Coin Collecting" by Levick.

[3] The aforementioned Philadelphia dealer moved to New York City during the Civil War and spent the rest of his career there.

the sight of the fine collection of coins at the party at whose house we met. I shall never forget one of our meetings at the residence of the late Richard W. Davids,[1] and how we laughed at some of his large foreign silver pieces, which looked as if, in case of necessity, they might answer well for dinner plates. This Society has grown to such a magnitude that it has now a hall at which its meetings are held, and the Cabinet and Library are arranged in it for inspection. I fear, however, that of late years, this Society has lost its identity with Numismatics, for many of the old coin collectors are no longer conspicuous in the proceedings. They seem to have allowed the Society to go into the hands of those who take a deeper interest in matters of History, Archaeology, &c., and place coins in the background.[2]

It was in 1858 that Mr. Cogan parted with his fine set of Cents, which he was induced to do in order to gratify his numerous friends. The disposition of Mr. Cogan's collection was without doubt the commencement of the *furore* for collecting fine cents and of the paying of such extraordinary prices for remarkable specimens. From the published accounts of this sale my attention was first drawn to the subject, and there dates the starting point of my collection. It is fresh in my memory with what vigor I entered into the collecting of cents. In the short space of 10 months, I had formed a collection that defied competition in Philadelphia. I managed to secure many of the best cents in the Foote and Gratz collections, and so eager was I to have the first chance at Mr. Foote's best pieces, that I arose several times during the night before the sale, fearing I should oversleep myself; and finally I got dressed and wended my way to the spot, and was waiting at Mr. Cogan's store by 5 o'clock in the morning (which amusing circumstance he has many a time told to the collectors), and, much to my annoyance, was kept waiting for a proper business hour before commencing the sale, he deeming it unfair that I should have such an advantage over all other purchasers. But at the Gratz Sale, Mr. Cogan offered me, as a bargain, all the Proof cents in the collection, for three dollars each, of which, without a moment's hesitation, I took advantage. Among them were the '21, '22, '29, with some of the thirties and forties, an opportunity which has rarely occurred since, and my only regret is that I ever parted with them, for they would prove of greater value now, than I realized for them at my sale. Morning, noon and night, I spent at Mr. Cogan's, which gave me the advantage of getting the first chance of many of the best pieces he happened to procure. The '96 and '97 cents, in Uncirculated condition, Mr. C. supplied to the collectors at $3 to $4 apiece, but now they are difficult to be had, and command prices ranging from $10 to $15 each.

In glancing over the catalogue of my sale, in 1859, I see that the 1794 dollar, although described as poor, sold as low as $5.50. It would have been called fine by many whom I know, and was well worth $150, in comparison with the one which sold for $285 in one of the Woodward Sales. The 1851 and 1852 dollars, brought respectively $18 and $17. They have since been sold for more than double that amount. The '55 Proof set, at $10, now readily brings $30. The 1856 and '57 Proof sets, respectively $7.50 and $7.25, are now worth at least $25 per set. Among the experimental pieces, was sold the 1792 pattern cent for $66.50, which was, a few years ago, sold for $225.

On one of my first visits to New York, in 1859, to attend a coin sale, I rather astonished many of the New Yorkers, by the spirited manner in which I bid for pieces. I gained a bargain, however, as I purchased for one dollar, a 1795 thick die [lettered edge] cent, which set the Philadelphians wild when I exhibited it to them. That piece afterwards realized the sum of $11, at my sale, and was bought by Mr. Wm. J. Jenks. It is, I presume, now owned by Mr. Seavey, of Massachusetts; I should like to buy it of him for double that price. I question if there is another of that type its equal in the country; at least, I never saw or heard of one. The 1796 half cent in my sale sold for $12. Oh! how cheap, alongside of the one I bought at Woodward's 1864 McCoy Sale for $120. In this manner I could go on to enumerate piece after piece, that sold low, in comparison with what they now bring, but it would necessitate the taking up of almost the entire catalogue. Among the principal and most enthusiastic buyers at my sale, for cents, was Mr. M.G. Gronberg, who purchased with a determination to secure most of my best cents. In a very short period he afterwards acquired a collection unsurpassed by any in Philadelphia. He sold this collection to George F. Zehnder, of Philadelphia, for not less than $300, which was at that time said to be a high figure; and it was the subject of laughter that any one could be found so insane as to pay such a price. But what would be said of a collection in New York City, owned by Mr. M.L. Mackenzie,[3] which has cost him not less than twelve hundred (1,200) dollars? While some of the Philadelphia collectors were in this excited condition, other cities were not behind hand.

In the same year, 1859, several collections were sold in New York; those of Henry Bogert, Wm. L. Bramhall, J.D. Foskett, J.K. Curtis, and Henry Whitmore. Boston had a few, but no names of owners given.

It is my desire to present in a future number of the *Journal* a list of the principal sales, or rather to mention such catalogues of those sales as are of any value, and especially catalogues of collections of merit; and I will also point out which sales consisted of perfect trash, so that their catalogues are not worthy of a place on the shelves of a library, being of no benefit as works of reference. By the far off and out of the way collectors, I should think, this list would be appreciated; and if I receive any encouragement to do so, I will make an effort to contemplate such a list.

Concerning the consignor, information obtained elsewhere reveals that Henry Bogert, who lived in New York City, joined the American Numismatic Society on September 14, 1858, and on November 3 was named as the group's first vice president.[4] His duties must have been

[1] Davids had been a collector for some time. In 1853 he had sponsored the publication of the collection of the New York State Library, which had grown to the point at which 58 pages were required (cf. Attinelli, p. 82).

[2] In time, the Society became defunct, and its books were given to a local library. On March 22-26, 1997, many of these volumes were auctioned by Charles Davis.

[3] Mortimer L. Mackenzie, a New Yorker engaged in the shipping trade; an enthusiastic collector of early cents.

[4] A scrapbook of Sage items preserved in the American Numismatic Society library lists Bogert as vice-president at a meeting held at the Omacatl Club, 811 Broadway, on November 4 (*sic*), 1858 and November 11. The November 3, 1858, date is from Adelson, pp. 20 and 348.

Sale to Commence at 5 o'clock.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

VALUABLE AND EXTENSIVE COLLECTION

OF

**COINS, MEDALS & NUMISMATIC WORKS,**

THE PROPERTY OF

HENRY BOGERT, Esq.

WHICH WILL BE SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION,

**By Messrs. BANGS, MERWIN & CO.**

AT THEIR ROOMS,

***No. 13 PARK ROW,***

**On February 28th, 1859, and the five following days.**

**Catalogued by AUG. B. SAGE.**

Arrangement of Sale.

| | |
|---|---|
| FIRST DAY, - - - - - | MONDAY, February 28. |
| SECOND DAY, - - - - | TUESDAY, March 1. |
| THIRD DAY, - - - - - | WEDNESDAY, " 2. |
| FOURTH DAY, - - - - | THURSDAY, " 3. |
| FIFTH DAY, - - - - - | FRIDAY, " 4. |
| SIXTH DAY, - - - - - | SATURDAY, " 5. |

New-York:

BOGERT, BOURNE & AUTEN, STATIONERS AND PRINTERS,

No. 58 Pine Street.

1859.

**Cover of Augustus Sage's first auction sale. Featuring the collection of his business partner, Henry Bogert, the event took place at Bangs, Merwin, & Co. on February 28, 1859, and the five following days.**

light, if, indeed, there were *any* duties at all. The ANS became moribund in 1859, and when it arose from its sleep in 1864, Bogert was not important in its activities, although his name was still on the rolls as vice president (and was replaced by George H. Perine, M.D., on March 11, 1864).

In 1859, Bogert was one of nine personalities depicted on tokens issued by Augustus B. Sage as part of the Numismatic Gallery series, suggesting that Sage considered him to be in the front rank of the hobby; alternatively, this may have been a favor to a close business associate and friend. Meanwhile, Bogert was a printer by trade and shared office facilities circa 1859-1860 with Sage at 24 Division Street, the location of Sage's coin business. Although Bogert seems to have had partner status in November 1859 (as evidenced by the cover of the Henry Whitmore Collection catalogue), he was never well known as a numismatist.

The Bangs, Merwin & Co. catalogue of his sale bears the cover imprint: *New-York: Bogert, Bourne & Auten, Stationers and Printers, No. 58 Pine Street.*[1] Within the following decade the printing partnership changed, and in September 1868 we find a directory notice for "Bogert & Nexsen, stationers, printers, lithographers, blank book manufacturers, publishers of Ogden's U.S. Tariff, Cowle's Exchange Tables, &c. 174 & 176 Pearl Street, N.Y."

Years later, on April 24-26, 1867, Edward D. Cogan catalogued a sale held at Bangs, Merwin & Co. Offered were properties from the collections of Joseph Zanoni and Henry Bogert, the latter said by Cogan to have been a personal friend. The catalogue was printed by Bogert, Kidder & Nexsen, 175 and 176 Pearl Street, New York City.[2]

## THE BOGERT CATALOGUE

Not only did the Bogert catalogue bear Sage's name on the cover as its creator, but the inside front and back covers and the back cover bore his advertisements. Bogert is not identified as a business partner; that would happen later.

The cover of the Bogert opus further noted the "arrangement of sale" for Henry Bogert's cabinet, with each session to commence at 5 p.m. It was a week-long presentation, with "First Day, Monday, February 28" followed by "Second Day, Tuesday, March 1," continuously on a daily basis until "Sixth Day, Saturday, March 5."

On page 1 of the catalogue the Scale of Mionnet was published, this being a size scale devised years earlier by a Frenchman of the same surname, and intended for use to describe the diameter of coins. In time, the Mionnet scale with its irregular intervals was superseded in the United States by the "American Scale,"[3] proposed and adopted in September 1858 by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, and, alternatively, by the simple expedient of expressing the diameter in millimeters (for a précis of the Mionnet Scale see Appendix VIII).

Nothing was stated as to the identity of the auctioneer who would call the sale from the Bangs, Merwin & Co. podium. There were no terms of sale, no guarantees, no information for mail bidders. There was not even an introductory *sentence,* let alone a paragraph or page, describing the desirability of the offering about to take place.

One can imagine that during each day of the sale week, prospective bidders busied themselves with inspecting the coins and books to be offered. No doubt the lots were arranged on wooden tables served by attendants of the Bangs, Merwin & Co. firm, or perhaps along the long wooden counter at the front of the room, resembling nothing so more than a bar in a particularly large tavern.

Late each afternoon and continuing into the evening, under the illumination of gas lamps, the sale took place. At the front of the room, behind the wooden bar, the auctioneer stood, catalogue in hand, as he called the sale. Behind him were one or two recording clerks at a desk or podium, and flanking him were several clerks and attendants. The latter kept track of the coins, books, and other items as they were sold and, upon request, would show a lot to a bidder who wanted a second look.

Serving as the front wall of the room were large bookcases with items consigned to be sold, primarily books, for the premises were primarily used for the book trade, and other types of auctions were in the minority. Twice a year, representatives from book dealers all over the East would come to New York City and buy large quantities of books shipped to Bangs, Merwin & Co. by over a hundred different publishers, mostly from New York City, Philadelphia, Hartford, and Boston. At one auction in 1856, well-known publisher Harper sold over $75,000 worth of books to those in attendance.

During each auction, bidders sat in curved-back wooden chairs and on movable benches. Many wore top hats and were unconcerned about blocking the view of other participants. Tobacco smoking and chewing were practiced, and the floor was littered with paper scraps and tobacco juice.[4] Decorum was at a minimum, and it was not at all unusual for one bidder, or the auctioneer, to shout, "Shut up!" On one memorable occasion a number of years later, two well-known dealers became involved in fisticuffs and ended by rolling around on the floor while pummeling

[1] The Bogert in the firm of Bogert, Bourne & Auten was not Henry, but was a relative (presumably), Philip E. Bogert, who lived at 492 Pacific in Brooklyn. William O. Bourne of the firm was listed in the directories as an editor as were James W. Auten and John G. Auten.

[2] See Appendix III for a further description of this sale.

[3] The American Scale used 1/16th of an inch. Thus, a coin measuring a half-inch diameter would be listed as Size 8, a coin of one-inch diameter would be Size 16, etc.

[4] Some later and often humorous recollections of New York City auction sale room activities, circa 1880s, are to be found in Édouard Frossard's house organ, *Numisma,* issues of January 1882 (there was so much spitting on the floor that it cost $5 to clean up the place after each sale) and January 1884 (auction lot examination), etc.

**A section of Division Street in the era in which Augustus Sage had his offices in the district. Shown here are residences and businesses between Eldridge and Orchard streets. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* 1861)**

each other! This was no place for ladies, which was a moot point, as numismatics was nearly exclusively a man's hobby at the time.

## First Day's Sale (Monday, February 28, 1859)

Action commenced with Lot 1, under the title "Roman," described as "As. Obv. Head of Janus; rev. prow of a vessel. (Akerman, pl. 1, No. 1). Fine and very rare. Size 16." Popularly known in later times as the *aes grave,* "grave" meaning *large,* this bronze coin was knocked down to Frank Jaudon for $4.50, which, as it turned out, was the top price realized for any ancient coin lot the first evening.

It should be noted that "prices realized" in certain auction catalogues of this and other eras do not necessarily represent actual sale prices. While most of Bogert's coins may have found buyers, some may have been "bought in" by the consignor or his agent. Further, sometimes a bidder would not honor his invoice, and coins would be returned to the consignor or auction house for subsequent sale. Thus, it was not unusual for coins to be recycled from one sale to another.

There were also other reasons for quick reappearances of coins in the sale room. It was not unusual for an auction buyer to reconsign an item for sale a few weeks or a month or two later. An example of the last is provided by this medal sold the first evening at the Bogert sale:[1]

> Lot 251. GERMANIA.; rev. VORWÆRTS MIT DEUTSCHEN FLEISSE UND DEUTSCHER KRAFT. Locomotive &c.; bronze, a fine medal by Loos. Size 13.

The medal ostensibly was sold for 25¢ to James D. Foskett. It did not stay off the market for long. A few months later on June 7, 1859, it reappeared as Lot 28 in Bangs, Merwin & Co.'s sale of "A Gentleman of this City" (Foskett), there identified as "from the Bogert collection." At least Sage endeavored to give the medal's recent pedigree. More often, this was not done. Thus, anyone perusing sale catalogues of the nineteenth century can conclude that certain coins, medals, and tokens are more plentiful that they actually are, as multiple listings may represent just a single specimen.

The first day's sale of the Bogert Collection included items from ancient Greece and Rome, through Lot 105, which bore the notice that offerings of ancient coins were "to be continued on Wednesday." Obviously, Sage wanted to make each session one of varied content so as to maintain the interest of bidders.

Then followed the first item under the title of "American Medals":

> Lot 106. Art-Union Medals. Washington Allston, Gil-

[1] Buyer's surnames are from copies in the libraries of Remy Bourne and Joel J. Orosz (first names added by the present writer, if reasonably certain).

bert Stuart, and John Trumbull; a fine set; bronze. 3 pieces.[1]

This trio realized $1.75 to John R. Glover, which was *per piece* in the lot, the custom of the day (and continued by many auctioneers for years thereafter). Thus, the entire lot would have brought $5.25.

Lot 107, a tin striking of the 1826 Erie Canal medal, "by Wright," and catalogued as "Very fine and rare," went to the cataloguer, Sage, for $2.00, whether as a buy-back or a purchase is not known.

There were no uniformly accepted grading standards in effect, and such terms as *fine* and *very fine* typically meant a *nice* example, one that could even be Uncirculated or Proof. Intending bidders, if they were at all conscious of grading, had no choice but to attend the sale in person or bid through an agent. Indeed, many lots had no grade description at all, and others had numismatic descriptions so sparse that a reader of the catalogue could not possibly know which specific variety was intended.

Sage was quite interested in medals, as were most other American numismatists of the era. The following medal, issued by Sage himself, realized $5:

Lot 112. Field, C.W., by Lovett; pub. By A.B. Sage. Medal presented by a few of his friends for his perseverance in superintending the laying of the Atlantic Cable; in silver. Very rare, but three impressions in silver being struck. Size 14. [Sage was the buyer either for a commission or his own account.]

Other offers of similar genre included:

Lot 113. Henry Clay, by Wright; published by Richards, at $5.00; an early impression, in fine order and in morocco case; bronze. [Realized $3.00 to John R. Glover.]

Lot 114. Webster, by Wright; published by Greene, at $5.00; very fine impression, in morocco case; bronze. [Realized $3.75 to Glover.]

Lot 115. Clay, by Wright; obv. bust; rev. SENATE 1806. SPEAKER 1811 [etc.]. Published at $30.00; very fine and extremely rare; bronze. Size 20. [Realized $15.00, an extraordinary price for an American bronze medal at the time, despite the publication price; the buyer was F.A. Paddock.]

Lot 116. Washington, by Wright; rev. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE JULY 4th 1776; bronze. Very fine and very rare. This is, undoubtedly, the finest medal ever cut in this country. Size 20. [Realized $8.00, to James Oliver.]

"French Medals of LaFayette" was the title appearing over the section of the catalogue beginning with Lot 126, continuing only through Lot 130, after which medals in other series were offered. Lot 135, a bronze impression of the Herndon medal presented by the State of Virginia to the widow of the courageous captain who went down with his ship, the *S.S. Central America,* on September 12, 1857, was described as "one of the finest medals ever cut in this country," and sold for $5.50 to cataloguer Sage.[2]

The knowing specialist might have recognized the following item as a very rare Indian peace medal from dies cut by Conrad Küchler in 1796, and part of the series known as the Washington Seasons medals. Equally important, the condition of this piece indicates that it may have been employed in actual service after presentation to an Indian in the American West, a very desirable aspect (in the present writer's opinion) and one that may well transcend the appeal of a piece that had never been used. One can imagine this piece being a cherished possession of an Indian family in the West for several decades (such Seasons medals were mostly presented circa 1804-1806).[3]

Lot 149. Obv. Man sowing wheat; Exergue, U.S.A.; rev. SECOND PRESIDENCY OF GEO: WASHINGTON, MDCCXCVI. Poor, but very rare; bronze. [Realized 50¢ to Williams.]

At Lot 154 the specialty of the catalogue changed to "Scotch Coins," followed in due course by issues of South and Central America, coins of Mexico, and "Miscellaneous Medals." Among the last we find:

Lot 229. Curious medal. Obv. A shield with a horse upon it; rev. I.M. 1624; brass, very curious. [Realized 35¢ to "Groe;" Edward *Groh* was intended by the person jotting down prices].[4]

Finishing the first day's sale was this medal:

Lot 278. George II; rev. Justice, standing; brass, curious; size 11. [Realized 35¢ to Oliver.]

It is not known with what pace the auctioneer proceeded, but it probably was quite slow by the standards of a later era. It was the custom when selling a coin to either hold it up for all to view, or, upon request, for an attendant to bring it into the audience for a second look by a bidder. Likely, it was well into the evening when the last lot was sold. After that time, bidders probably repaired to local restaurants, oyster houses, or saloons for a repast punctuated by discussions of the sale just held.

## SECOND DAY'S SALE (TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1859)

Beginning with Lot 279, a English silver penny of William I (which brought the odd sum of 63¢[5]), and continuing to Lot 554, a modern (1857) silver taler of Maximilian

[1] These three medals are from dies by Charles Cushing Wright, America's pre-eminent medallic artist of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

[2] Or $3.50, as one hand-priced catalogue suggests, probably an errant listing.

[3] At the time there were no comprehensive numismatic references covering early American medals, let alone Indian peace medals. Information was where you could find it, here and there.

[4] Per the copy in the library of Remy Bourne. The correct "Groh" is in the Joel J. Orosz library copy.

[5] Auction advances sometimes progressed at 2½¢ cent increments, or 12½¢, left over from the old Spanish-American system of reals ("bits"

II of Austria ($1.25), this session contained foreign and ancient coins and medals, with scarcely an American item in sight. This was not unusual, as the typical collector of the era was not particularly inclined to acquire United States dimes, quarters, etc., by date sequence, nor was much time spent studying such pieces.

One can imagine Augustus B. Sage in his rooms at 121 Essex Street, in the winter of 1858-1859, surrounded by books published in London (in particular), Paris, and other places, on the subject of numismatics, plus the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and other reference and general historical texts to aid him with basic facts. However, Sage and other cataloguers of the era often simply looked at an item and described its appearance in a general way, without any numismatic or historical references, with the word *curious* frequently interjected.[1] Examples include these silver medals from the second evening's session:

> Lot 473: MARRIAGE MEDAL; German; very curious. Size 13.[2] [Realized $1.25 to bidder R.S.S.]
>
> Lot 491: ANNE, Queen of England; rev. VICEM GERIT, &c.; obv. A female hurling thunderbolts at double-bodied men, &c.; Poor; very curious. Size 13. [Realized 75¢ to Robert J. Dodge.]
>
> Lot 492: BIBLICAL MEDAL; obv. Eliphaz and Job arguing; rev. Job's servant informing him of the burning of his buildings; very curious. Size 13. [Realized $1.15 to R.S.S.]

## THIRD DAY'S SALE (WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1859)

As promised, the third day's sale, which commenced with Lot 555, included more ancient coins. In fact, these extended through Lot 753 and furnished the main thrust of the session.

**Washington funeral medal struck by Jacob Perkins, Newburyport, MA, in 1800.**

American items began with Lot 754, a medal of General Taylor, by C.C. Wright, bronze, size 15, for $3.50 to "Chapin" (probably Charles Chaplin, a Massachusetts collector[3]). Shortly afterward, this was listed: "Lot 761. Washington; obv. HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS. Bust; rev. [description]. A funeral urn. Silver, very rare; size 8. Set in the top of a silver snuff box; size of the box 16." The realization of $10 to bidder R.S.S. marked it as one of the top price-getting items of the sale.[4]

American items were last listed under Lot 778, Wright's medal for the wreck of the *S.S. San Francisco,* silver, "this splendid medal is the only one known in any cabinet in the country." $17 was realized from Charles I. Bushnell, also a landmark price in the Bogert sale.

English copper coins and tokens, and miscellaneous foreign items, completed the session through the last lot, 835.

The pace of the six-day sale was hardly frenetic, and when not occupied during the day with the examination of lots to be sold, numismatists could busy themselves with other activities. No doubt the homes of some members of the American Numismatic Society were opened to visitors for afternoon tea or something stronger, and for conversation on everyone's favorite hobby. This was an era of discovery, and in the absence of reference books, numismatic periodicals, and price guides, even a newly-minted collector was apt to have some knowledge worth sharing with others.

## FOURTH DAY'S SALE (THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1859)

As the sale reached its halfway point, bidders were greeted with "English Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth Century," per the section title, followed by bronze medals. Under the latter heading was to be found an item whose description yielded little in the way of clues to those who did not examine the piece in person. We only know today that its price of $3.50 to bidder R.S.S., quite high for a foreign brass medal, must reflect that it was important to at least two competitors in the sale room:

> Lot 877. POLISH MEDAL: Obv., Bust; rev. Polish inscription. Very curious and extremely rare. Size 10.

Who knows, it may have been somewhat titillating, in the vein of Lot 868, a German medal offered a few minutes before, and given an eight-line description including of the obverse motif: "a priest examining a nude female; a

worth 12½¢); the New York Stock Exchange in the twentieth century continued to use the system of bits, or 12½¢ increments through the late 1990s (when a change was made to the decimal system). On invoices the odd half cent was rounded up or down, depending upon the coin auction house's policy.

[1] While use of the word *curious* was not unique to Sage's cataloguing, he seems to have employed it with a particular relish, often in italic type. Others liked the word *curious* as well; for example, W. Elliot Woodward's sale of October 23-24, 1860, employs it in connection with various items; Woodward was also fond of the word *splendid*.

[2] The listing included no description of the design, issuer, or date! Actually, many other lots were described in a similarly sparse style.

[3] Also see Appendix I.

[4] The medal was one of several variations made in 1800 by Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, MA.

person standing holding garments...." which fetched $1.50, also to R.S.S.

Subsequently tucked under the heading "Miscellaneous Copper Coins" was this:

Lot 922. SANDWICH ISLANDS. Kamehameha III, coin, 1847. Fine. [20¢ to James K. Curtis.]

Later, the Sandwich Islands became generally known as the Hawaiian Islands.

## FIFTH DAY'S SALE (FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1859)

The session this day commenced with gold coins, the first being Lot 1113, a quarter guinea of George III of England, 1762, very fine, for $1.87. Finally, beginning with Lot 1209, was the first United States legal tender coin in the sale, a gold $10 piece of 1796, extremely fine, to dealer Curtis for $12.50. Gold coins included these examples:

Lot 1210. Eagle, 1797. Extremely fine. [Realized $12.75 to New York dealer James K. Curtis.]

Lot 1212. Quarter eagle, 1807. Very fine. [$3.75 to James; possibly F.H. James.]

Lot 1213. Quarter eagle, 1830. Curious head. [$3.25 to Thompson.]

Lot 1217. California half dollar, 1854. Fine. [$1.00 to Sackett.]

Then followed a selection of American silver coins among which these were found:

Lot 1219. Dollar, 1795. Long flowing hair. Very Fine. [Realized $1.38[1] to Miller.]

Lot 1221. Dollar, 1836. Flying Eagle. Extremely fine and very rare. [$5.00 to Sage.]

Lot 1222. Dollar, 1836. Flying Eagle. But not as fine. Rubbed. [$2.75 to Glover.]

Lot 1223. Dollar, 1839. Flying Eagle. Very fine and extremely rare. [$7.50 to French.]

Lot 1224. Dollar, 1856. Very fine. [$1.37 to Curtis.]

Lot 1226. Half dollar, 1794. Very fine and very rare. [$1.25 to Sage.]

Lot 1228. Quarter dollar, 1806. [25¢; no grade was stated; possibly to Frank Jaudon.][2]

Lot 1231. Dime, 1805. Extremely fine, nearly a Proof.[3] [$1.75.]

The stage was soon set for colonial and early American coins. The first such offering, Lot 1246, a 1652 Massachusetts Pine Tree shilling, grade not stated, went to a buyer for $4.00, followed immediately by another, but "different type from above," at $4.00.[4] Other silver colonial and related pieces included these:

Lot 1249. Pine Tree threepence, 1651.[5] Very rare. [Realized $4.50 to Thompson.]

Lot 1252. Franco-Americana Colonia. Silver coin, 1796.[6] Fine and extremely rare. [$8.00 to R.S.S.]

Lot 1253. The Washington Half Dollar, 1792. Fine and extremely rare. This is the crown piece for an American collection.[7] [$57.00 to Paddock.]

A selection of early American and related copper coins followed, beginning with Lot 1255, an undated (1722) Rosa Americana penny,[8] "extremely rare and very fine," at $6.00 to Jaudon, certainly a liberal price for the time. Other items included:

Lot 1261. Louisiana. Copper coin for the French colony of Louisiana, 1711. Extremely rare. [Realized $2.75 to Bushnell.]

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[1] Some hand-priced catalogue copies show $1.37, others $1.38. Undoubtedly, the auctioneer sold this lot for $1.37½, and bidders making notes of the sale came to different conclusions as to how the odd half cent would be treated on the auction invoice (a nod to Karl Moulton for pointing out some such differences among known priced catalogues).

[2] This amounted to face value for the coin, which at the time had a silver content even more than face value! Another quarter dollar, an 1834, also sold for face value two lots later.

[3] At the time the term *Proof* was not defined and was often used to mean either a Mint State coin with traces of a prooflike surface, or a particularly choice Mint State coin, or an actual mirror-field Proof.

[4] Or $3.50; priced catalogue entries vary.

[5] This is a mystery coin. No pieces were made with the 1651 date (such coins were not authorized until legislation of 1652, after which it was many years until the Pine Tree motif was first employed). Perhaps it was an altered date or an incompletely struck coin. Whatever it might have been, it brought a strong price.

[6] Type known today as the Castorland medal or jeton; related to the Castorland settlement by French exiles in upstate New York.

[7] This is the so-called Washington half dollar by Peter Getz of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Sage's comment, "This is the crown piece for an American collection," is unusual "sales commentary" for that cataloguer.

[8] Probably what numismatists today know as the Rosa Americana *twopence*.

Lot 1262. Louisiana. Copper coin, 1722. Different type from above. Very rare.[1] [$2.75 to Curtis.]

Lot 1264. Granby cent. Obv. VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE; a stag; Rev. J CUT MY WAY THROUGH; an axe. Extremely rare.[2] [$14.50 to Paddock.]

Lot 1265. PEWTER MONEY, struck by the Continental Congress, 1776. Obv. CONTINENTAL CURRENCY, 1776. Rev. thirteen rings conjoined. Very fine. [$4.50 to Paddock.]

Lot 1269. Triangle cent, commonly called the Kentucky cent. Plain edge. Fine and rare. [$3.25 to R.S.S.]

Lot 1274. Massachusetts. Cents, 1787. [three pieces including] two very fine. [75¢ per coin to Jaudon.]

Lot 1275. Massachusetts half cent, 1787. Pierced. Otherwise fine. [$3.00 to Thompson][3]

In 1859, auction prices for the following Washington items were simply sensational for the time, and were more than certain items would sell for a half century later (by which time the market for Washington prices had cooled down and was relatively dormant):

Lot 1277. Washington cent, 1791. Small eagle. Proof; very rare. This piece has sold as high as $40.[4] [Realized $17.00 to Curtis.]

Lot 1278. Washington cent, 1792. Large eagle. Extra fine. [$10.50 to "M.W.C."][5]

Lot 1279. Washington cent, 1793. Rev. A ship. Fine and very rare. [$2.75 to Thompson.]

Lot 1282. Washington cent. Obv. GEORGEIVS WASHINGTON. Rev. A Harp, NORTH WALES. Fine and very rare. [$3.75 to Edwin Bishop.]

Lot 1286. Washington cent, double head. Very fine. [$1.75.]

Lot 1287. Ditto. Not as fine. [50¢ to Morse, possibly Charles H. Morse.]

Then followed several other early copper coins including these:

Lot 1291. Connecticut cent, 1788, three varieties, two double struck. [Realized 25¢ per coin to Sage.]

Lot 1294. Vermont cent, 1785. Obv. VERMONTIS RES PUBLICA. Very rare type.[6] [$3.50 to Jaudon.]

Lot 1295. Vermont cent, boy's head.[7] Very rare. [$1.75 to Curtis.]

Early copper pieces concluded with Lot 1301, a "Washington token or medalet. Rev. SUCCESS TO THE UNITED STATES...." for $3.00 to Bishop. Then followed Lot 1302, a pattern copper cent of 1854, without stars, "Proof. Very rare" for $3.00 to Morse, and Lot 1303, actually a rather common Hard Times token, described as "Half cent worth of pure copper, 1837. Fine and rare" for $1.00 to Curtis, who may have had a client for it (as the price was hardly a bargain for the time). Curtis had been in the coin trade for several years and may well have been America's longest-established dealer at the time.

In a copy of the catalogue annotated by bidder D. Beveridge, a note after Lot 1300 is penciled in the page margin and indicates a Vermont copper coin that must have been added at the moment by the auctioneer: "1 Vermontis not on Catalogue. 75 S.H.," which seems to indicate that a 1785 VERMONTIS (obverse legend) was sold to bidder S.H. for 75¢.

Next in the Bogert Collection catalogue, commencing with Lot 1304 (a Mott token, 1787, "Very fine and rare; the first business card made in this country," $1.63[8] to Curtis), was a large assortment of store cards, tokens, and medalets ranging from political items to a pair of rare 1837 Feuchtwanger three-cent pieces.

Federal legal tender coins recommenced with this offering:

Lot 1356. A complete set of the United States cents from 1793 to 1859; including the Liberty cap cent of '93, the 1799 and 1804. Some exceedingly fine. 66 pieces.

Alas, there was trouble in paradise; a scoundrel was afoot.

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[1] Today, such pieces are generally called French colonies sous or coppers, without specific reference to Louisiana; as a type such coins are hardly "very rare."

[2] Style generally known as a Higley copper or Higley threepence today. Note that no grade is listed; typical Higley pieces are well worn.

[3] A little mystery here; why a holed 1787 Massachusetts half cent would bring such a high price is unknown today, and the present writer cannot even advance a logical theory.

[4] This issue, made in England, is actually one of the more *plentiful* varieties of its era!

[5] Mark Wilks Collet.

[6] Actually, not particularly rare in the context of Vermont coppers.

[7] Probably dated 1786, the variety known today as the *Baby Head*, Ryder-9.

[8] Or $1.62; priced catalogue copies vary (thus, it should be noted, that sale price totals as recorded by Attinelli, Parish, or anyone else are not precise, despite their appearance of being so).

In the margin of a priced copy prepared after the sale, this notation appeared: "Withdrawn, the 1799 being stolen."

Following an assortment of United States coins (including Lot 1357, an ungraded 1793 half cent at $2.50 to Curtis), foreign coins, and ancient pieces, the session ended.

## SIXTH DAY'S SALE (SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1859)

On Saturday afternoon at 5:00, in the darkness of the late winter season, the final offering of Henry Bogert's coins began with Lot 1411, a silver medal, size 11, of the New Synagogue of Munich ("NEUEN SYNAGOQUE IN MUNCHEN"), which sold for $1 to R.L.S.

Attracting a winning bid of 31¢, from no less a *curiosity seeker* that Sage himself, was this item, whatever it might have been:

> Lot 1431. Curious copper piece. Obv. A pedagogue behind a bench. Rev. One old alphabet, 23 letters. Copper. Very curious.

"Numismatic Library" was the title of the section beginning with Lot 1530, a copy of John Y. Akerman's text, *A Numismatic Manual,* published in London in 1840, a work with which cataloguer Augustus B. Sage was quite familiar, as he had recently used it in connection with his newspaper exchange with Charles I. Bushnell. The price realized was $3.00 to bidder R.L.S., a handsome sum. A short run of American coin auction catalogues occupied lots 1637-1640, the third being described as:

> Lot 1639. Flandin. Catalogue of collection sold in New-York, 1854 [*sic;* should be 1855]. Priced. Bound with a catalogue of a collection sold in Philadelphia, 1855, and the addenda to Brady's Library, Hf. Cf. ant. [Realized $1.50 to "Cash."]

If Sage had personal memories or a connection with the Flandin Collection, he did not see fit to mention the connection.

The final lot in the sale, No. 1653, was a group of volumes of *Gentlemen's Magazine* issues of the 1822-1825 era, to Sage for 20¢ apiece.

A handwritten notation in a surviving copy notes this:[1]

> The whole returns from this sale, excluding the Addenda, are, according to the books of Bangs, Merwin & Co., equal to $2,198.47. This catalogue was priced by Wm. G. Stevenson, No. 230 West 30 St., New York City.

On Monday, March 7, 1859, at 5:00 p.m., additional items were offered in a catalogue titled *Coins and Medals. Addenda to the Catalogue of Coins, Medals, &c. Sold at Auction, Feb'y 28th, 1859, at 5 o'clock P.M., by Bangs, Merwin & Co.*

The 11-page Addenda catalogue contained 330 numismatic and related lots plus Lot 331, "stereoscope views on paper and glass." The total realization was $309.50. Although dated February 28, 1859, this listing was for pieces announced to be sold on March 5, but actually sold on March 7.[2] The Addenda pages do not mention Sage as cataloguer, but Emmanuel Joseph Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, implied that the cataloguing was his work, as it well may be, for the word *curious* is seen in several places. On the other hand, the same *curious* word was employed by John K. Curtis in his 1859 fixed-price catalogue and may have been popular with other writers as well.

## THE BOGERT SALE (COMMENTARY)

Years later in 1876, numismatic historian Emmanuel J. Attinelli stated that the Bogert Collection sale brought $2,198.47, of which books comprised $284.86 of the total.

Such tag-on listings, variously called *addenda* (the correct plural) and *addendum* (a single lot, but sometimes referring to a single sheet or listing containing multiple *addenda*) in numismatic catalogues past and present, were created for several purposes. Sometimes they contained items from the main consignor, pieces that had been omitted when the original catalogue was prepared or which had been located by the consignor at a later date. Probably more often, addenda consisted of property from other consignors who wanted to sell their holdings through the auction house (in this case Bangs, Merwin & Co.) at a time when many bidders were on hand for the larger premier event.

It would not be until the sale of the William A. Lilliendahl Collection in May 1862 that the record of $2,198.47 for the Bogert Collection would be broken, and then only by a slight margin. Catalogued by William Harvey Strobridge, the realization was said to have been $2,241.00. If the addenda to the Bogert sale are included, the total amount of the Bogert Collection event jumps to $2,407.97, and was not bested in the sale room until W. Elliot Woodward sold the Rev. J.M. Finotti Collection for $3,751.43 in November 1862.

In his description as part of Lot 2552 of the Armand Champa Library sale, Bowers and Merena, 1996, cataloguer Charles Davis offered this: "AUGUSTUS B. SAGE: February 28, 1859, *Catalogue of the Extensive and Valuable Cabinet of*

[1] Copy in the library of Remy Bourne. A named copy in the Frank Van Zandt library gives a slightly different figure and notes: "Correct Total from the Returns of Bogert, $2,197.47."

[2] As verified by a post-sale catalogue with printed prices realized (John W. Adams Collection). This is a very early instance of a priced sale catalogue being issued for reference.

# COINS AND MEDALS.

## ADDENDA

TO THE

## Catalogue of Coins, Medals, &c.

SOLD AT AUCTION,

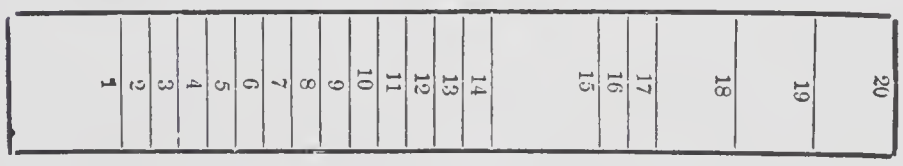
**Feb'y 28th, 1859, at 5 o'clock, P. M.,**

BY BANGS, MERWIN & CO.

**TRADE SALE-ROOMS, No. 13 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.**

☞ This Collection was Sold

**On Monday, March 7th, at 5 o'clock, P. M.**




SCALE OF SIZES OF MEDALS AND COINS.

### BRONZE COINS.

**(Portraits on the Obverses unless otherwise described.)**

| Price. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| $1.12 | 1 | Abolition of British Colonial Slavery, Jubilee Medal, Aug. 1, 1834. *Fine.* | Size 13 |
| 87 | 2 | Agrippa (Camillus), Italian Architect. | Size 13 |
| 50 | 3 | Alasco (John), Polish Reformer, small Medal; and Medal of "Alex. Card. Farn," &c., struck at Rome, 1567. | |
| 63 | 4 | Ariosto, 1474—1532. By Duvivier. | Size 12 |
| 50 | 5 | Bavaria, King and Queen of. By Andrieu. | Size 12 |
| 1.12 | 6 | Benedict (Saint). *Rev.*—"S. Mauro Abb. Gregorius XVI.," &c., "In Hospitio Apostol, 1834." A very fine and rare Papal Medal. | Size 15 |
| 87 | 7 | Beresford (Gen'l Lord). Fine reverse, "Battle of Albuera, 1811." By Webb. | Size 12 |

**Post-sale printed list of addenda to the Henry Bogert Collection. The printer noted that "This collection was sold on Monday, March 7, at 5:00 p.m." Prices realized are given in the left column. Quite possibly, the addenda items belonged to consignors other than Bogert, who rode the coattails of the larger event. This listing is a candidate for the earliest printed American auction catalogue with prices.**

*Coins and Medals, the Property of Henry Bogert,* 93, pages, 1653, lots, ruled in red, priced and named in black ink, 11 page, 331 lot addenda priced and named in pencil, fine frontis portrait of Bogert, original green wrappers bound in." The portrait of Bogert was added later to this particular copy.[1]

In 1859 there were no on-the-spot reporters to write interesting accounts of sales. Therefore, what we know today is largely the result of later analyses by Attinelli and others, who chose to comment upon items that they found to be of interest.

[1] Now in the Joel J. Orosz library.

# CHAPTER 15

# *The Foskett Collection Auction*

## *(June 7, 1859)*

### A ONE-DAY SALE

On Tuesday, June 7, 1859, the sale rooms of Bangs, Merwin & Company were again utilized for an auction conducted under the aegis of Augustus B. Sage. A 20-page (plus covers) catalogue had been printed for Bangs, apparently by arrangement with Sage himself, as the imprint noted: *New-York: A.B. Sage & Co., Stationers, Printers, &c., No. 24 Division Street,* this being a new address, a move from 121 Essex Street. Sage was hardly a printer in the sense of having a press, type, paper, and ink, and no doubt contracted the work elsewhere, possibly through his associate Henry Bogert and the firm of Bogert, Bourne & Auten.

The cover bore the notation, "Sale to commence at 5 o'clock, P.M.," above the title, which read: *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Coins, Medals, Numismatic Books, &c., the property of A Gentleman of this City.*

It was suggested on the cover that "Gentlemen who cannot attend the sale may have their orders executed by AUG. B. SAGE." No instructions were given for ladies who wished to participate, seemingly a vacuous comment, but in fact another reflection that in 1859 numismatists of the distaff set were virtually non-existent.

The consignor to the sale was nowhere identified. Years later in 1876 in *Numisgraphics,* bibliophile Emmanuel J. Attinelli pinpointed the owner as James D. Foskett. Presumably, the collection was still owned by New York City resident Foskett. However, Sage, the cataloguer, may have owned it, for he could have been deemed *a gentleman of this city* just as likely, and it was often the practice of coin dealers to buy collections outright and then auction them.[1] Professional numismatist W. Elliot Woodward, for one, *usually* followed this path.

In his time, Foskett was well known in New York City. In the oyster business at 104 Third Avenue, he lived at 116 Stanton Street. On March 8, 1858, he was a signatory with Sage, Henry O. Hart, Edward Groh, and James Oliver on the circular letter inviting interested collectors to meet at Sage's residence to establish a local coin fraternity that became known as the American Numismatic Society. Although Foskett waspresent at the beginning of the Society, he seems to have played no significant part in its later affairs. A directory of April 1870 noted that he had resigned by this time.

### A NEW REFERENCE SOURCE

In the 1850s, and continuing for a long time thereafter, most coin auction catalogues were arranged in no particular numismatic order. The Foskett Collection catalogue followed the norm.

As was the case with the Bogert Collection auctioned earlier, no terms of sale or commentary were to be found in print. Presumably, such details were given verbally at the sale itself.

An important event had occurred on the American numismatic scene between Sage's writing of the February 1859 catalogue for the Bogert Collection and his preparation of the descriptions for the Foskett sale: Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson's *American Numismatical Manual* was published, a truly incredible work, vastly overshadowing anything that had reached print on American coin collecting earlier. The retail price of $6 did not dissuade hundreds from purchasing it. Dickeson, an entrepreneur *par excellence,* received credit in Augustus B. Sage's catalogue of the Foskett sale and in the publications of a few other enlight-

[1] Such terms as *gentleman* and *esquire* on auction catalogue covers and in other commentaries of the era bear no relation to the education, age, or social status of the individual designated. In one instance, Benjamin Gallagher, a janitor, was referred to as "Esq." when his collection was presented for sale in 1860. There is, of course, nothing wrong with this at all. However, in a later era, *gentleman* was often reserved for members of the social set, and *esquire* was usually applied to a person who was an attorney.

ened individuals, but was ignored by many of his contemporaries. In the closely-knit fraternity of coin collecting and dealing, it was sometimes difficult for one person of accomplishment to enthusiastically praise another.

Now, nearly all the known facts, comments, and other information about United States coins could be found in one handsome and impressive volume, a book that "Gus" and "Numismatist" would have found very useful back in 1857 during their tilts in the pages of the *New-York Dispatch*. In view of the incredible importance of the Dickeson work, the following commentary is merited:

## DICKESON'S ACCOMPLISHMENT

Montroville Wilson Dickeson, born on June 18, 1809, claimed to have become interested in numismatics in 1822, thus placing him among the earliest of American hobbyists in the field.[1] By the 1840s and 1850s he had traveled widely and had gained relics in many areas, including during the course of opening over 1,000 Indian burial mounds, mostly in Louisiana and Tennessee, and extracting more than 40,000 artifacts. In the opening in 1854 of the City Museum Theatre in Philadelphia, Dickeson was noticed as the professor in charge of its Museum Department, which displayed many historical and archaeological items and an Indian Cabinet billed to be "the most complete in this country," the result of 12 years of on-site collecting among the Indian tribes.[2]

**Montroville Wilson Dickeson, author of *An American Numismatic Manual* first published in 1859.**

Meanwhile, he was a medical doctor and practiced his profession in Philadelphia, owned rental properties (including the building in which E.B. Mason, Jr., had his coin shop in the 1860s), sold the Dickeson Coin & Medal Safe,[3] published tokens and medals, and wrote books including his master work, *An American Numismatical Manual,* published in 1859. This volume proved to be the catalyst that ignited the interest of an entire generation of numismatists. On March 24, 1859, he was elected to honorary membership in the American Numismatic Society in view of his signal accomplishment.

It will be recalled that in 1856, Professor Daniel E. Groux announced the impending publication of a comprehensive work on American numismatics. In 1858, Charles I. Bushnell stated that his own similar work was in progress. Neither went beyond the planning stage.

However, what Groux and Bushnell hoped to do, Dickeson actually did.

In early 1859, Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson's master work, *An American Numismatical Manual,* was published. This large and impressive quarto volume included 256 numbered pages, numerous color lithograph plates, and other material. Augustus B. Sage had a copy on hand in spring 1859 during his cataloguing of the Foskett Collection sale (held on June 7, 1859). Slightly revised and retitled *An American Numismatic Manual,* the book was also issued in 1860 and 1865 editions. The publisher was J.B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. Apparently, at least several thousand copies were issued totally, for the work became widely circulated and even today is readily available.

Even a cursory examination of this book will reveal that it was a seven-league jump beyond anything available before. Here in one truly marvelous volume was a distillation of the information that had appeared earlier in the Felt, Eckfeldt, and Dubois works (very liberally quoted and appropriately credited), plus data that seem to have been taken from Hickcox (not credited). Other information was obtained in consultation with Mint Director James Ross Snowden (who was the most numismatically knowledgeable director up to that time), other Mint officers, Joseph J. Mickley, and "numerous private individuals."

Today, one cannot help but wistfully contemplate the vast numbers of coins available to Dickeson for study. As an example, in a discussion of 1787 New Jersey coppers, he noted that he was able to describe die varieties of this year "from the examination of several thousand specimens." When discussing 1793 cents, Dickeson described pieces he "found in cabinet collections and *circulation*" (italics added).

Not only does the book contain a generous measure of history, but for the numismatist it was the first volume to give detailed information concerning die varieties, rarity,

[1] *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* March 1869.

[2] Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum,* p. 320. Sellers also gave what seems to be faint praise of Dickeson as a "physician-chemist-geologist-showman-adventurer, a man of popular fame and some scientific repute."

[3] Manufactured by Evans & Watson; a medal advertising this on the reverse, with Washington on the obverse, is classified as Baker-530.

and availability. Each copper, silver, and gold issue from 1793 to 1840 received its own heading and commentary as did many issues after that date. Even large denomination gold coins such as $10 and $20 were given rarity commentaries. Nearly a half century would pass before $10 and $20 pieces were studied again in detail—the second time around by Edgar H. Adams, whose commentaries concerning later (Liberty Head onward) styles were superficial at best.

Although later generations of numismatic researchers and writers would make many corrections and additions to the information provided by Dr. Dickeson, there are few first efforts in any major discipline that are as impressive as his 1859 book. Indeed, modern-day numismatists who read the commentaries word for word will learn much. Dickeson's page-long exposition on the history and background of Peter Getz's 1792 Washington half dollar is one of many gems of information the volume holds. Apart from Crosby's specialized text on pre-1792 issues, *Early Coins of America,* issued in 1875, the nineteenth century yielded no American numismatic books or studies challenging Dickeson. Any reading of Dickeson's superb delineation of colonial and state coins will reveal that Crosby owed a debt to this earlier work.

Collectors in Dickeson's era ignored mintmarks. Accordingly, although Dickeson noted the establishment of branch mints, he did not furnish separate accounts of mintmarked varieties. Nor was there a system of grading coins in place. Thus, the various grade levels of coins are not discussed.

The term *numismatical* was a popular adjective of the time and, in fact, had been employed by Groux in 1856. In time, it was replaced by *numismatic.* The study and collecting of coins was often referred to as *numismatology;* today the term is *numismatics.*

A few sample entries may be of interest and reflect the wealth of information presented:

**1796 half cent:**

The design the same as of the cent last issued and described [rather than be repetitive, Dickeson described each type in detail the first year it was used, and simply referred readers to earlier citations]. In our very extensive researches, though there were 115,480 pieces of this design and denomination issued in this year, we have only been able to find 10 pieces in the whole; and our investigations have resulted in but one type and two varieties. There may be more but we have not been able to discover them.

Taking into view the number coined, it is difficult to account for this scarcity.[1] But, probably being defective, from the imperfect tempering of the dies, as the greater number of the very few pieces we have found indicate, they may have been deemed unworthy of care or preservation. But three cabinets in Philadelphia contain a specimen of this coin; they are consequently both rare and valuable.

**1794 cent:**

*Device.* The Goddess of Liberty, facing to the right, the hair flowing loosely back, and supporting the pole surmounted by the liberty-cap.

*Legend.* LIBERTY.

*Exergue.* 1794.

*Reverse.* A wreath enclosing the words ONE CENT.

*Legend.* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*Exergue.* 1/100.

*Edge.* ONE HUNDRED FOR A DOLLAR.

(Size 8.[2] See Plate XVII, Figure 6.)

Of this emission we have discovered but one type; of which 26 varieties have come under our notice, which may be determined mainly by reference to the variations of those of 1793.

These cents are somewhat thicker than those that preceded them, the weight of each being increased by about 17 grains;[3] the hair of the goddess, also, does not recede so much from the forehead.

The planchets from which they were struck were of good copper, and the milling of the edges being more prominent has protected them from the effect of abrasion, and hence they are frequently found in a fine state of preservation.

They are quite plenty, the number issued by the Mint amounted, according to the official statement, to 12,513,300;[4] and the number of dies in a single year excites surprise, the preparation of each die involving much expense.

**1822 dime:**

The designs the same [as those earlier described], with one type and two varieties, and the number coined was 100,000. Rare.

[1] Today it is recognized that the early Mint often used serviceable dies from earlier years to strike coins. Likely, most half cents minted during calendar year 1796 were actually from dies dated 1795.

[2] On the Mionnet Scale, which was illustrated in the book, but not credited to Mionnet.

[3] Not a correct statement; the standard remained the same as 1793.

[4] An error. The number of one-cent pieces minted with the 1794 date is not known with certainty, but it is far short of 12+ million. The *Guide Book of U.S. Coins* (1998 edition) suggests 918,521, while *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* (1988) states that 807,500 were made.

**1840 silver dollar:**

*Device.* The Goddess of Liberty seated, supporting a shield with the right hand and with the left a pole, surmounted by the liberty cap. Around the upper portion of the field 13 six-pointed stars.

*Exergue.* 1840.

*Reverse.* The eagle with expanded wings, holding in its talons the arrows and laurel branch.

*Legend.* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*Exergue.* ONE DOL.

(Size 12. See Plate XV, Figure 7.)

Of this emission there was one type and a single variety, and the number coined was 61,005. Scarce.

**1797 half eagle:**

The designs the same as this denomination in the preceding year. There were of this issue one type and two varieties, and the number coined was 3,609. They are now quite rare.

**1858 $3 gold:**

The designs unaltered, with one type and one variety, and the number coined was 26,010. Scarce.[1]

**1849 Oregon Territory gold coinage:**

The mint of the 'Oregon Exchange Company' issued two denominations, ten and five dollars. They respectively profess 260 and 130 grains' weight of 'native gold.' One five-dollar piece was found to weigh 127½ grains, was 878 thousandth fine, and contained only the natural alloy; resulting value, $4.82; with the silver—in sufficiently large lots—2½ cents more.

These coins are not well struck, but are pleasantly distinguished by the picture of the beaver, a good emblem of mining industry and of Western life.

(See Plate No. XVIII, Fac Similes Nos. 1 and 8.)

Dickeson lived for many years after the publication of his *Numismatical Manual,* but was not a central figure on the coin-collecting scene. He died in Philadelphia in 1882.[2]

By the summer of 1859, with a copy of Dickeson on the shelf and with other specialized references on hand, the numismatist of that era was well equipped to pursue the hobby.

Sage kept an inventory of books for sale, rental, and even as raffle prizes for interested collectors. Obviously, books were central to Sage's activities, not only for commercial resale, but as a source for information.

## THE FOSKETT CATALOGUE

The listings in the Foskett Collection catalogue began with the title "Foreign Medals," under which Lot 1 was described as: "Frederick the Great. 'Fama, Prvdenia et Virtute.' Female kneeling. Arms, &c. Brass. Size 13½."[3] The buyer for 20¢ was Post.

Foreign medals continued until page 6, which bore the title "Foreign Coins," under which were various subtitles, carrying lots 48 through 186. By this point page 11 had been reached, and "Roman Coins" were offered in lots 187 to 197, the last *Roman coin* being described: "197. Japan. Oval coin. Rare and fine," this to Davis for $1.88.

The first American item in the sale followed immediately under the title "American Medals." Lot 198, a silver Indian peace medal with the portrait of Jefferson, was described as "very rare and fine." The buyer for $5.50 was John K. Curtis, well-known New York City dealer.[4] Then

[1] The mintage was actually 2,133 (per figures used today by numismatists). It is interesting to note that in 1859 when Dickeson's book was published, this recent coin was already considered scarce.

[2] His obituary appeared in *Mason's Coin Collectors' Magazine,* June 1882, and was reprinted in *Numisma* in July: "Dr. M.W. Dickeson, a numismatist of 50 years' experience, and author of Dickeson's Manual of Coins, died suddenly, at the age of 70 years, on April 14th, at his residence, No. 211 Lombard St., Philadelphia. Dr. Dickeson was an energetic worker in certain fields of science; he graduated at the Pa. University of Medicine, Phila., and was a surgeon in the Mexican war. As a geologist, mineralogist, and archaeologist he possessed considerable talent, and filled important positions in different states, engaged in geological researches. His knowledge of the American Indians and 'mound relics' generally was extensive and he has left to the world many evidences of his industry and discoveries."

[3] Sizes were given per the Mionnet Scale.

[4] Buyers' surnames are from priced and named copies of the catalogue in the John W. Adams and Joel J. Orosz libraries; the Orosz copy was the personal copy of Sage. Prenoms have been added by the present writer in instances in which the attribution seems certain.

James Oliver Esq
With autographic compliments of A.B.S.

**Sale to Commence at 5 o'clock, P. M.**

# CATALOGUE

OF

## THE VALUABLE COLLECTION

OF

# COINS, MEDALS, NUMISMATIC BOOKS, &c.

THE PROPERTY OF

## A Gentleman of this City,

WHICH WILL BE SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION,

## By BANGS, MERWIN & CO.,

AT THEIR SALES ROOMS,

***No. 13 PARK ROW, N. Y.,***

## On Tuesday, June 7, 1859.

**COINS TO BE VIEWED ON THE DAY OF SALE.**

CATALOGUES MAY BE OBTAINED, BY ADDRESSING

A. B. SAGE & CO., 24 Division-st., N. Y.

Gentlemen who cannot attend the sale may have their orders executed by AUG. B. SAGE.

New-York:

A. B. SAGE & CO., STATIONERS, PRINTERS, &c.,

No. 24 Division Street.

1859.

Cover of Augustus B. Sage's catalogue of the James D. Foskett Collection, June 7, 1859, offered as "the property of A Gentleman of this city." (This copy from the John W. Adams library bears an inscription in Sage's hand.)

followed other medals, some of which were not American (such as Lot 204, a Lafayette medal by Caunois). The final medal appeared as Lot 224, a tin medal described as "Admiral Boscawen. Fine copy," to Mr. Gray for 25¢. The word *copy* meant fake, imitation, etc., not a genuine coin. In this and other contemporary catalogues by various firms, copies were routinely offered (and described as such) among genuine pieces.

On page 13 "American Silver" greeted the catalogue reader. Lot 225 was described as: "Dollar. 1795. Hair tied in a knot. Fine." This is what today would be designated as a 1795 Draped Bust silver dollar. The successful bidder at $1.37 was a Mr. Mace.

Lot 229, another dollar, was listed as: "1836. Flying Eagle. Very rare." The buyer at $4.25 was a Mr. Lawson. No grade was given. Presumably, most participants attended in person or bid through agents. Thus, written descriptions were not as important as would have been the case had there been intense mail bidding activity. Alternatively, prospective bidders could have assumed that this coin, what today we know as an 1836 Gobrecht dollar, was Proof, the finish usually seen on such pieces.

Lot 234 was listed: "Dime. 1798. Struck over 1797. Curious and rare." This is what today would be called the 1798/7 overdate. Again, no grade is given, and the buyer, John K. Curtis, had no clue as to whether it was worn as smooth as a pancake or was bright with mint lustre. Presumably, he examined it before running the bid up to 60¢.

Also under the "American Silver" heading were to be found two Massachusetts Pine Tree silver coins dated 1652 (a threepence and shilling) and a Wood's Minstrels token.

Then followed "American Copper," commencing with Lot 245, a Castorland medal, presumably dated 1796 (as are all known to numismatists today), but listed as *1795*. The buyer at $5.50 was Edwin Bishop, a New York City collector-dealer who was involved in a few shenanigans in his time. Sage claimed that Paul Revere cut the dies, but at least one copy has this crossed out, and "not so" added.[1]

Various colonial and state coins followed. Sample listings:

> Lot 250: Washington cent. 1783. Two heads. Rare. [Realized $1.12½ to Mr. Dawson.][2]
>
> Lot 260: 2 Vermon Auctori. Fine. [Realized 30¢ to Sage.]
>
> Lot 261: Curious Vermon Auctori. Struck over an Irish halfpenny of George III. Rare specimen. [Realized 50¢ to Dawson.]
>
> Lot 263: Kentucky or Triangle cent. Very rare. [Realized $2.12½ to Curtis.]
>
> Lot 267: 2 Franklin cents. 1787. Fine.[3] [Realized 55¢ each to Bishop.]

Such words as "rare" and "very rare" seem to have been salted and peppered through the listings, undoubtedly based upon Sage's knowledge and also information from his library. Today, the applicability of the same terms would be different. As an example, the "Tory cent of Vermont," today known as variety Ryder-13, called "very rare" by Sage, is one of the most common of all Vermont coppers.

United States large cents began with Lot 279, "1793. Link. United States of Ameri. Very Rare."[4] As usual, no grade is given. Bishop took it home for $3.00. Lot 281, "1793 Palm Leaf," reflects nomenclature for what would later be known as the *Wreath* cent. The "palm leaf" probably referred to the little sprig above the date 1793 (which in no way resembles a palm leaf, nor does the reverse wreath). The buyer was Davis for $2.37.

Next in the catalogue were "Continental Bills," lots 310 through 313, followed by "State Bills" (314 to 316), then "American Tradesmen's Tokens." Under the last heading there were several group lots, most of which offered little information to the catalogue reader. Sample:

> Lot 342. Miscellaneous. All good, some fine. 10 [pieces]. [Realized 4¢ per item to Lawson.]

Then came "Election Medalets," lots 352 through 371. Some had nothing to do with elections or, for that matter, American citizens, examples being Lot 370, a medal featuring Louis Kossuth, a Hungarian, which brought 10¢ to Mr. Matthews; and Lot 371 described as "St. Matthew's Academy, Walker Street, tin. Size 12," the buyer being Frank Jaudon at 10¢.

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[1] Joel J. Orosz library. In contrast to Sage's comment, John H. Hickcox, *An Historical Account of American Coinage,* 1858, p. 85; and Montroville W. Dickeson, *American Numismatic Manual,* 1859, p. 136, both attributed the Castorland issue as having been struck in Paris by Duvivier.

[2] Auctioneers' advances in this and certain other sales were apt to be in increments of 2½¢ at this price level; the invoice in the instance of the present lot was rounded down to $1.12.

[3] Franklin cent = what we call the Fugio cent today; the mottoes, such as MIND YOUR BUSINESS, are said to have been suggested by Benjamin Franklin.

[4] Known today as Sheldon-1, the famous 1793 Chain AMERI.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Curtis | 10 | 348. TEMPERANCE TOKEN, N. Y. NO REPEAL | 1 |
| Haxby | 3 | 349. MISCELLANEOUS LOT | 10 |
| Curtis | 24 | 350. do. do. | 10 |
| | | 351. do. do. | 18 |

---

## ELECTION MEDALETS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Do. | 15 | 352. ANDREW JACKSON. *Rev.* Elected A. D., 1828, &c. We commemorate, &c. *Rare* *size* 7½. | 1 |
| Do. | 15 | 353. do. Elected 1829 *size* 7½. | 1 |
| Taudon | 25 | 354. do. President of U. S., 1833. *Rev.* an eagle Defender of N. Orleans. *Very rare* *size* 7. | 1 |
| Bushnell | 20 | 355. do. Nations good. *Rare* *size* 6. | 1 |
| Lawson | 25 | 356. MARTIN VAN BUREN. The sober second thoughts, &c | 1 |
| Do. | 10 | 357. W. HENRY HARRISON. The Hero of Tippecanoe. Copper | 2 |
| Do. | 10 | 358. do. do. Log Cabin. Brass *size* 6. | 1 |
| Groh | 25 | 359. HENRY CLAY. Protection to American industry. Brass *size* 7. | 1 |
| Lawson | 20 | 360. do. do. American System. Brass *size* 7½. | 1 |
| Do. | 15 | 361. do. do. I would rather be right, &c. Brass *size* 6. | 1 |
| Groh | 35 | 362. do. do. Farmer of Ashland. Brass, *rare* *size* 6½. | 1 |
| Lawson | 50 | 363. GEN. LEWIS CASS. *Rev.* Female on clouds. Brass, *very rare* *size* 8 | 1 |
| Curtis | 12 | 364. GEN. ZACHARY TAYLOR. Brass *size* 6. | 2 |
| Lawson | 30 | 365. GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT. *Rev.* Lundy's Lane. Brass *size* 8. | 1 |
| Do. | [illegible] | 366. GEN. W. SCOTT. *Rev.* Names of seven battles. Brass *size* 7. | 1 |
| Bailey | 10 | 367. J. BUCHANAN and MILLARD FILLMORE. Brass *size* 8. | 2 |
| Lawson | 25 | 368. BUCHANAN, FILLMORE, FREMONT. Tin *size* 10. | 3 |
| Taudon | 40 | 369. W. H. SEWARD. The pride and glory of our Nation. Brass *size* 8. | 1 |

**Interior page of the Foskett catalogue, June 1859, with buyers' names in ink at the left margin, and prices realized (denominated in cents). (Hand priced; from the John W. Adams library)**

After Lot 377 the numbering scheme was discontinued for a half page of listings of books and cabinets for the storage and display of coins, seemingly 13 different lots. Page 20 commenced with "Foreign Copper" and offered lots 378-403. By the present writer's reckoning, this would add up to a total of 403 plus 13 lots or 416.

Historian Attinelli suggests that the sale had 403 lots which realized $317.09 at the auction, plus an addenda listing of 21 pieces which brought a further $14.89, noting "the addenda was [*sic*] sold from manuscript; a few copies have since been privately printed [almost undoubtedly by Attinelli himself], 5 copies on note paper and 20 on plain paper."

In his description as part of Lot 473 of the Armand Champa Library sale, Bowers and Merena, 1994, cataloguer Charles Davis offered a copy described as: "20 pages, 403 lots, eight items added in manuscript."[1] The addenda were not numbered and were listed as follows:

Flying Eagle cent 1855 [realized $1.75].
do [ditto] do Nickel 1856 [realized 75¢].
Nickel 1858 Indian head - plain [realized $1.25].
do do do Shield [realized $2.25].
Carolina cent copy [realized 50¢].
Wash. Cent 1791 copy small E [realized 50¢].
Do - - Large E [realized 38¢].
Do 1792 - - - [realized 31¢].[2]

In his description of another copy of the catalogue, this one as part of Lot 2552 of the Armand Champa Library section sold in 1996, Davis noted:

> AUGUSTUS B. SAGE: June 7, 1859 *Catalogue of The Valuable Collection of Coins, Medals, Numismatic Books Etc., the Property of a Gentleman of this City,* 20 pages, 403 lots, ruled in red, priced and named in black ink, 18 lot addenda entirely in manuscript, priced and named, pink wrappers bound in. The catalogue appears to be Sage's personal copy with 18 lots in manuscript, and the notation "commissions 31.06, catalogues 30.00, advertising 5.00, expenses $66.06. Later in the library of Charles Bushnell with his signature on the freefly.[3]

The aforementioned 18-lot addenda listing and buyers' names follow:[4]

Flying Eagle Cent 1855, copper, $1.75 [to Wilson].
Flying Eagle Cent 1856, $.70 [Bishop].
Indian Cent 1858, $1.25 [Moses].
Indian Head and Shield 1858, $2.25 [Wilson].
Carolina Elephant 1694 Copy [electrotype or cast], $.50 [Stevenson].
Eccleston Washington Medal Copy, $.75 [Brown].
John Stewart Revolutionary Copy $.50 [Brown].
Washington Centennial 1791 Small Eagle Copy, $.50 [Brown].
Washington half dollar 1792 Copy, $.50 [Sage].
William Penn Medal Copy, $.30 [Bishop].
Washington Cent. 1791 Large Eagle Copy, $.38 [Stevenson].
Washington Cent. 1792 large Eagle Copy. $.31 [Davis].
Washington Medal by Wyon Copy $.38 [Whitney].
Jefferson Medal, 4th of July 1776 Copy, [Cash].
Washington, Liberty & Security Copy, $.35 [Davis].
Washington Medal Series Numismatica Copy, $.25 [Davis].
Shakespeare Medal Copy, $.25 [Cash].
Jefferson Indian Medal Smallest Size Copy, $.35 [Davis].

The inside covers of the Foskett catalogue were blank. The back cover advertised Sage's medals.

The Bogert Collection sale (February 28 to March 5, 1859) contained no *specific* references to American numismatic works. However, general knowledge may have been obtained from the 1858 book by Hickcox on early American coinage and Bushnell's work of the same year for tokens and store cards.

In the Foskett catalogue Sage cited Montroville W. Dickeson's newly-published *American Numismatical Manual* for these lots:

Lot 246: William Pitt Token. 1766. *Obv.* Bust of Pitt. Legend, "The Restorer of Commerce, 1766." "No Stamps." *Rev.* A Ship sailing to "America." Legend, "Thanks to the Friends of Liberty and Trade." The dies of this Token were cut by the celebrated Paul Revere. See Dickeson, Plate VIII, Fig. 2. *Very rare.* [Realized $3.25 to Sage.]

Lot 274: Very rare Connecticut cent. ET LIB INDE. 1787.[5] [Realized $1.00 to Sage.]

Lot 275: Do. Do. Do. AUCTORI CONNEC. 1787. [Realized 44¢ to Curtis.]

Lot 276: Connecticut Cent. INDE ET LIB. [Realized 31¢ to Lawson.]

****See Dickeson, pp. 109, 110, for description of the rarity of the above three coins.*

Lot 277: Tory cent of Vermont. Head of George III. Rev. BRITANNIA. 1787. Very Rare.[6]. [Realized 75¢ to C.A. Leveridge.]

****Dickeson, Plate X., Fig. 3, p. 101.*[7]

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[1] Copy now in the library of Scott E. Douglas.

[2] Commentary: The first four items were pattern cents. Note that the 1856 Flying Eagle cent realized substantially less than did the other three patterns. The last four coins were casts or electrotypes. "Large E" and "small E" refer to Large Eagle and Small Eagle, as depicted on the reverses of such issues.

[3] Copy now in the library of Dr. Joel J. Orosz.

[4] From the copy in the library of Dr. Joel J. Orosz.

[5] The famous Small Head Connecticut copper; style struck at Machin's Mills on the shore of Orange Pond near Newburgh, NY.

[6] A later lot, 297, with a similar coin was simply described as: "Vermon. Rev. Britannia. Fine and rare" (to Curtis for 37¢). Similarly, Lot 306 had another variation: "Vermont. Rev. Britanniæ. Fine and rare" (to Curtis for 63¢). Presumably, the variety known today as Ryder-13 was intended.

[7] However, p. 101 of Dickeson does *not* describe the BRITANNIA reverse, and Plate X, Fig. 3, depicts a counterfeit British halfpenny without any reference to Vermont.

# CHAPTER 16

# *The Whitmore Collection Auction*

## *(November 2-3, 1859)*

### (SAGE'S FINAL SALE)

What may have been the final coin sale catalogued by Augustus B. Sage was the cabinet of Henry Whitmore, which crossed the block in New York City at Bangs, Merwin & Co., November 2 and 3, 1859. Described in a 36-page (plus covers) catalogue were 609 lots which, according to early historian Attinelli, commanded prices totaling $576.38. A sheet listed 33 items as addenda, these bringing a further $6.63 according to the same source.

Apparently, Whitmore had been collecting for just a short time, if Sage's later reminiscence in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1867, is any indication:

> In 1859, Mr. Henry Whitemore [*sic*], whose decease I saw recorded some two years since, commenced collecting, and being a gentleman of wealth and cultivated taste, soon formed a very fine collection. His taste ran mainly on fine bronze and silver medals, and the Greek and Roman series.
>
> He possessed fine sets of the Mudie and Dassier medals and an extensive collection of numismatic works and coin catalogues. He had constructed a very fine iron safe and cabinet for his collection. This safe afterwards became the property of Benjamin Haines, Esq., of New Jersey. I will have occasion hereafter to speak of the Whitemore sale, by Bangs.

The offering, titled *Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Collection of Coins, Medals & Numismatic Works, the Property of Henry Whitmore, Esq.,* was judged by later historian John W. Adams as being "well described," a comment based in part upon the medals therein, perhaps leading Adams to comment concerning Sage (in connection with Adams' study of the 25 most important coin catalogues issued by Bangs, Merwin & Co.):[1]

> Easily the best job is done by Augustus Sage, an early collector, dealer, and student who appears all too briefly on the numismatic scene. Sage, an acknowledged expert on U.S. medals, catalogued [several collections for the firm].

Concerning Whitmore, he was an active numismatist in the 1850s and was on hand on March 15, 1858, when the American Numismatic Society was formed at the home of Sage, and joined the Society on April 6. From April 13 through November 3 he served as the first vice president of the group. Described as "a man of wealth" from New York City,[2] he collected Greek and Roman coins, bronze and silver medals, and other specialties.

Apparently, the sale of his coins marked the end of Whitmore's active collecting. His death occurred a few years later in 1864.

The sale of his coins was conducted on two days, Wednesday, November 2, 1859, and Thursday, November 3. The event commenced at 5:00 each day, with viewing of the lots held each morning.

### THE WHITMORE CATALOGUE

The front cover noted that the pieces were "catalogued by A.B. Sage" and that the catalogue was the work of A.B. Sage & Co., Stationers and Printers, No. 24 Division Street.

A notice on the inside front cover suggested that Sage anticipated continued activity in the auction business:

> Our facilities for cataloguing coins, &c., are unsurpafsed [*sic;* in the old style]. Gentlemen wishing to find a ready sale for their cabinets can not do better than to place them in our hands.
>
> A.B. Sage & Co.

The back cover of the catalogue noted that the firm

---

[1] Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature. Volume I. Nineteenth Century Auction Catalogues,* pp. 147-149. Interestingly, the title page of the Whitmore catalogue has a slightly different title to the sale: *Catalogue of the Extensive and Valuable Cabinet of Coins, Medals & Tokens, the Property of Henry Whitmore, Esq.*

[2] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 11.

Sale to Commence at 5 o'clock.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

Valuable and Extensive Collection

OF

COINS,

MEDALS & NUMISMATIC WORKS,

THE PROPERTY OF

HENRY WHITMORE, ESQ.

WHICH WILL BE SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION,

BY BANGS, MERWIN & CO.,

AT THEIR ROOMS,

No. 13 PARK ROW, N. Y.

On November 2d and 3d, 1859.

CATALOGUED BY A. B. SAGE.

ARRANGEMENT OF SALE:

FIRST DAY, - - - Wednesday, Nov. 2.

SECOND DAY, - - Thursday, Nov. 3.

NEW-YORK:

A. B. SAGE & CO., STATIONERS AND PRINTERS,

No. 24 DIVISION-STREET.

1859.

**Front page of Sage's catalogue of the Henry Whitmore Collection, November 2-3, 1859, the final auction catalogued and presented by Sage.**

was engaged in multiple activities and that Henry Bogert was a principal:

A.B. Sage & Co.,
Dealers in
COINS, MEDALS,
AUTOGRAPHS, PAINTINGS,
ENGRAVINGS,
New and Old Books, Stationery, &c.
No. 24 Division Street,
New-York.
Die Sinking, Printing and Book Binding
Neatly Executed
A.B. Sage - - - - Henry Bogert

As young men in business are apt to do, their advertising exceeded the reality of what was probably a very modest enterprise. It is highly unlikely that any die sinking was done by either Sage or Bogert. Quite possibly, inquiries were referred to George H. Lovett and a commission was received. Similarly, printing was probably done elsewhere and by another firm such as Bogert, Bourne & Auten. If the latter was the printer, the typography is noticeably different from that firm's signed Bogert sale catalogue earlier in the year.

The inside back cover of the Whitmore catalogue was blank. Sage's own medals which had been advertised on the inside covers and back cover of the Bogert catalogue and back cover of the Foskett catalogue were conspicuously absent in the Whitmore publication.

## FIRST DAY'S SALE (WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1859)

Per the rule, not the exception, for numismatic sales of this era by various cataloguers, the Sage event of this date was arranged in no particular order. Perhaps the intent was to hold bidders' interest with an ever-changing presentation of coins, issuers, and types. Or, perhaps the pieces were simply catalogued in the order received, or as arranged in a cabinet.

The sale began with the heading "British Copper," with the first lot, a 1674 farthing of Charles II, fetching 15¢ to bidder Davis.[1] "Canadian &c." coins commenced with Lot 19 ("Half penny, 1841" for 15¢, again to Davis), after which, at Lot 37, "Roman Coins" were the order of the day.

"American Medals. Silver," starting with Lot 80, included these, among others:

Lot 80: Allston, Washington. Art Union Medal, 1847. Extremely rare in this metal. Very Fine. Size 17.[2] [Realized $6.00 to Augustus Sage; undoubtedly, Sage brought many buying commissions with him to the sale; in addition, he may have acquired certain pieces for his own account or may have had reserves from the consignor.]

Lot 82: Washington. Obv. Bust. Rev. Plain. A beautiful presentation medal, with loop. Very Fine. Size 14. [Realized 7.00 to William Leggett Bramhall.][3]

Lot 86: James Madison. Indian Medal, 1809. Rev. Peace and Friendship. Hatchet and pipe. Two hands grasped. Very rare. Size 19. [Realized $10.50 to Sage.]

Bronze medals began with Lot 87 and included these examples:

Lot 87: Washington. By Wright. Rev. Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776. This splendid medal is unsurpassed, in point of execution, by any medal ever cut in this country. Very fine and rare. Size 3½ inches.[4] [Realized $10.00 to Sage.]

Lot 95: Adam Eckfeldt, Chief Coiner, U.S. Mint, 1814-1839. A Farewell Tribute of Affectionate Regard to Adam Eckfeldt, from his fellow officers of the U.S. Mint, 1839. Fine and rare. Size 14. [Realized $2.75 to Sage.]

Lot 120: Wm. J. Mullen. By Lander. Rev. Figures, &c. The legend on the reverse is the finest ever placed upon an American Medal, being barely distinguishable by the naked eye. Very rare. Size 9. [Realized $1.50 to Joseph N.T. Levick.][5]

The next major heading was "Papal Medals," beginning with Lot 133. "American Coins - Mint Pieces" commenced with Lot 145 and included these selections:

Lot 145: Half eagle, 1795. Very fine. [Realized $5.25 to Sage.]

Lot 146: Quarter eagle, 1728 [*sic;* could 1798 have been intended?] [Realized $3.50 to William Jenks.]

Lot 147: California half dollar, 1853, rare.[6] [Realized 60¢ to "Cash."[7]]

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[1] Possibly George B. Davis. Buyer's surnames are from a priced and named copy of the catalogue in the John W. Adams Collection; prenoms added by the present writer if the attribution seemed reasonably certain. Wayne K. Homren's copy (originally the property of Mark Wilks Collet) has been utilized as well.

[2] Sizes per the Mionnet Scale.

[3] The price indicates an important medal, but the description gives little clue to its design.

[4] This medal was too large for the Mionnet scale, which did not extend that far. Variety later known as Baker-53.

[5] This medal was issued by Mullen, a manufacturer of gold watch dials, who stated on the token that he established his business in 1828. The reverse shows an allegorical scene of a gold refining or assay procedure with cherubs, etc.; one cataloguer stated it depicted angels running a factory. Described in Russell Rulau's modern reference, *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900,* there attributed to Louisa Lander (who was a student of Thomas Crawford; she is said to have *cut the dies* for this token in 1847, at age 21. The striking is said to have been by C.C. Wright; if so, Lander sprung forth from obscurity to create one of the finest tokens of the era, one with especially delicate lettering). The attribution of the dies to "Lander" is from Bushnell's 1858 token book, which dated the token to the 1830s. Elsewhere, Noel Alexandre Ponthon has been suggested as the engraver (usually cited simply as Ponthon, with his first two names omitted).

[6] 1853 is *not* a rare date in this series; however, in 1859 there were no reference works on such pieces.

[7] A bidder who had not established credit with the auctioneer and who had to pay cash for each item at the time it was bought, or someone who preferred to pay cash.

Lot 148: California quarter dollar. [Realized 37¢[1] to S. Gerard Moses.]

Lot 149: Dollar, 1795. Long flowing hair. Fair. [Realized $1.20 to Davis.]

Lot 150: Dollar, 1795. Hair tied in a knot.[2] [Realized $1.25 to Davis.]

Lot 151: Dollar, 1796. Very fine. [Realized $1.62 to Mr. Wright.]

Lot 152: Dollar, 1797. Very fine. [Realized $1.25 to Wright.]

Lot 159: Dollar, 1846. Very fine. [Realized $1.50 to Mr. Burke.]

Lot 160: Dollar, 1854. Very fine and rare. [Realized $3.75 to John K. Curtis.][3]

Lot 161: Pattern [dollar], 1836. Flying Eagle. Fine and rare. [Realized $4.00 to Wright.]

Lot 162: Half dollar, 1795. Fair. [Realized 62¢ to Davis.]

Lot 163: Half dollar, 1796. Exceedingly fine and very rare. [Realized $10.50 to Curtis.]

Lot 167: Half dollar, 1807. Fine. [Realized 50¢ to "Cash."][4]

Lot 177: Quarter dollar, 1796. Extra fine and rare. [Realized $2.12 to Curtis.]

Lot 178: Quarter dollar, 1804. Rare. [Realized 35¢ to Davis.]

Lot 189: Dime, 1797. Very fine and rare. [Realized $2.50 to Levick.]

Lot 192. Dime, 1805. Very fine. [Realized 25¢ to Curtis.]

Lot 193: Dime, 1809. Splendid. [Realized $1.87 to Curtis.]

Lot 207: Dime, 1838. No stars.[5] [Realized 12¢ to Davis.]

Lot 209: Dime, 1853. No dart heads.[6] [Realized 15¢ to Davis.]

Lot 210: Half dime, 1794. Very fine and rare. [Realized $2.00 to Curtis.]

Lot 211: Half dime, 1795. Fine. [Realized 45¢ to Levick.]

Lot 217: Set of cents, from 1793 to 1857, inclusive; including fine Liberty Cap, '93; fine Palm Leaf,[7] '93; 1804, &c. Some very fine. 69 [pieces]. [Realized 14¢ per coin to Sage.]

Lot 219: Half cent, 1793. Very rare. [Realized $2.12 to Curtis.]

Lot 220: Half cent, 1794. Rare. [Realized 37¢ to Henry O. Hart.]

Lot 226: Pattern cent, 1855. Flying Eagle. Fine. [Realized $1.12 to Benjamin J. Gallagher.]

English medals formed the next section, beginning with Lot 229, after which were found "Miscellaneous Coins," "French Coins," and "Miscellaneous," down to Lot 315, the final of the day.

## SECOND DAY'S SALE (THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1859)

The second day of the Whitmore sale began with "Miscellaneous Medals," foreign, continuing through Lot 351, after which the heading "Colonial" appeared. Included within the last category were the following:

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[1] One priced catalogue says 34¢. Although commentaries and notes could go on *ad infinitum*, it may be relevant to emphasize that one can inspect several different priced copies of the same catalogue and in some instances see three different figures for the price of a given lot. Apropos of the Whitmore catalogue, Wayne K. Homren, upon inspecting a draft copy of the present book, compared some quoted figures with those handwritten in his copy, which was once owned by Mark Wilks Collet. An excerpt from Homren's letter: "A few lots show major differences: Lot 147 ($0.62½ in the Collet catalogue vs. $0.60 in your citation); Lot 189 ($2.50 vs. $2.00); Lot 352 ($2.12½ vs. $17.00!), etc. That's a whopper of a difference on Lot 352." QDB note: Yet another copy of the catalogue in my own library, a hand-priced copy once owned by George W. Rode, verifies the $17 figure seen in two other catalogues.

[2] No grade stated.

[3] The rarity of the 1854 dollar was recognized in 1859, scarcely five years after it was minted, and was also noted in other contemporary catalogues. Years later, its elusive quality was generally overlooked, only to be rediscovered in the 1970s.

[4] Realized face value, a fairly common situation for auctions of the era. Note that the general design type (Draped Bust or Capped Bust, as they are known today, is not given).

[5] This would have been 1838-O; mintmarks were generally ignored by cataloguers of the era. In addition, no grade was given for this lot.

[6] Today the term *arrows* is used.

[7] Palm Leaf cent = what is known as the Wreath Cent today.

382. Washington Token, 1783. United States 1
383. " " Double Head 1
384. Liberty and Security. Washington Medal. *Very fine. Large size* 1

## American Tokens.

385. R. T. Thomas, Jeweler. New-York. *Very rare. Brass* 1
386. Harnett's Billiard Saloon. Wilmington, N. C. *Brass. Rare* 1
387. C. A. Smith. Windsor, N.Y. Dry Goods. *Copper. Rare* 1
388. Sleeper, Umbrellas. Philadelphia. *Brass* 1
389. Leighton, Shirts. N. Y. and U. O. *Copper, brass, tin and lead. Twenty-five sets struck only. Fine* 4
390. R. Lovett, Jr., Die Sinker. Philadelphia. *Obv.* Minerva seated. 1858. *Bronze. Very rare, the die being broken* 1
391. Do. in *Tin* 1
392. M. Leask, Mourning Goods. Brooklyn. *Tin* 1
393. Wood's Silver Token. *Very fine* 1
394. Malcolm & Gaul. N. Y. Dry Goods. *Very fine* 1
395. Wm. W. Long. Philadelphia. Brilliant Token. *Very fine* 1
396. Theo. Bollenhagen & Co. N. Y. Toys. *Rev.* City Hall. Three sizes 3
397. A. B. Vancott. Racine. Watches, &c. 1
398. Hopkins, Publisher. Milwaukie. 1850. *Fine. Brass* 1
399. Jas. Moffet, Brass Founder. N. Y. *Very fine* 1
400. B. Ruggles, Gold Beater. Bale, N. Y. *Very fine* 1
401. Foster & Parry. Grand Rapids. *Very fine* 1
402. Phalon, Barber. N. Y. 1837. *Very fine* 1
403. One lot of Miscellaneous Tokens 25
404. Liberia. 1838. Am. Col. Soc. *Very fine* 1
405. Shinplasters, &c., one lot 25
406. Loco Foco. 1838. *Very fine* 1
407. Jackson. Void of pomp, &c. Backing Donkey. *Very fine* 1
408. Abm. Riker, Shoes. N. Y. 1837. *Fine* 1

**Page 24 of Sage's Whitmore Collection catalogue with buyers' names and prices entered in ink in the left margin. (John W. Adams library)**

Lot 352: New York. Obv. State Arms. EXCELSIOR. Rev. Spread Eagle. E. Pluribus Unum, 1787. Very rare type. Not mentioned in Dickeson.[1] [Realized $17.00 to Ezra Hill.]

Lot 354: Connecticut. Rev. Et Lit Inde. Rare and fine. [Realized 87¢ to Curtis.]

Lot 355: New-York. Nova Eborac. Rev. Female facing to the left. 1787. Rare. [Realized $2.25 to Curtis.]

Lot 356: New-York. Nova Eborac. Rev. Female facing to the right, 1787. Very rare. [Realized $2.00 to Bramhall.]

Lot 357: Virginia. Half-penny, 1773. Fine and rare.[2] [Realized $1.25 to Gallagher.]

Lot 359: Kentucky or Triangle cent. Plain edge. UNANIMITY IS THE STRENGTH OF SOCIETY; OUR CAUSE IS JUST. Very fine and rare. [Realized $3.25 to Gallagher.]

Lot 367: Vermon Auctori. Rev. BRITANNIA. Rare. [Realized 37¢ to Bell.]

Lot 372: Connecticut cent, 1788. Curious type. [Realized 7¢ to Curtis.]

Lot 378: North American Token. 2 varieties.[3] [Realized 10¢ each to Sage.]

"American Tokens," commencing with Lot 385, were next on the block. Examples included these:

Lot 389: Leighton, Shirts. N.Y. and N.O. [New Orleans]. Copper, brass, tin and lead. Twenty-five sets struck only. Fine. 4 pieces. [Realized 40¢[4] per piece to "Cash."]

Lot 390: R. Lovett, Jr., Die Sinker. Philadelphia. Obv. Minerva seated. 1858. Bronze. Very rare, the die being broken. [Realized 62¢ to Harrison, possibly A.J. Harrison.]

Lot 391: Ditto, in tin. [Realized $1.00 to "Cash."]

Lot 412: Feuchtwanger. One Cent. 1857 [*sic;* 1837 was intended]. [Realized 5¢ to Sage.]

Lot 414: Mott, Jeweler's Token. 1795 [*sic;* if a *Mott* token, the date was probably 1789, no other dates are known today] [Realized $1.12 to Curtis.]

Lot 443: [token of] Geo. H. Lovett, Die Sinker, N.Y. *Anpinouium. Very fine.* [30¢][5]

Tokens ended with Lot 444, after which Greek coins, French medals, English coins, and Scotch coins brought the sale to Lot 556. Then followed this:

Lot 557: Miscellaneous; three coins. [Apparently, this vaguely described lot was withdrawn or missing when the sale took place.]

"Numismatic Works" began with Lot 558 and continued through Lot 606, these being foreign reference books and auction catalogues. Concluding the sales under the title "American Catalogues" were these three listings, reflecting the paucity of American numismatic references generally available at the time:

Lot 607: Kline. Sold June, 1855. Two days. Fine copy. [Realized $1.87 to Bramhall.]

Lot 608: Flandin. Sold June, 1855. Priced and named. [Realized 60¢ to Bramhall.]

Lot 609: American Coinage. By John H. Hickcox. Albany, 1858. [Realized $1.37 to Sage.]

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[1] Montroville W. Dickeson's *American Numismatical Manual* published the same year (1859).

[2] This was in an era before the so-called Cohen hoard of several thousand pieces was revealed, in the 1870s.

[3] Probably only one die variety, but two coins. This listing was picked up from Dickeson's *American Numismatical Manual,* which stated there are two types known. Alternatively, one or both could have been of the somewhat similar appearing SHIPS COLONIES & COMMERCE token issues (attributed to Canada).

[4] At least one catalogue copy says 30¢.

[5] Mystery for current readers: The present writer (QDB) has no clue as to what *anpinouium* means and did not check a dictionary. We wonder if readers of the catalogue back in 1859 found this to be an everyday word?

# CHAPTER 17

# *Sage's Advertising Tokens*

## *(1859-1860)*

### STORE CARDS BY LOVETT

Augustus B. Sage commissioned George H. Lovett to create a series of three different store cards, each with the portrait of George Washington, reduced from a larger punch created earlier by George's father, Robert Lovett, Sr.[1] These are variously dated 1859 and 1860 and were issued after the debut of the Historical Tokens, Numismatic Gallery, and Odds and Ends series, and quite possibly after those series had been found lacking in market acceptance. Significantly, the image of Washington is employed, perhaps a belated recognition that such might have helped the salability of his earlier Historical Tokens.

Relative to the demand for Washington items, Augustus B. Sage recalled the following:[2]

> In 1859 or 1860 I remember making a purchase from Mr. Billings,[3] the die sinker of William Street, of a number of medalets struck in Birmingham, England, and among them two of the medal of Washington and the Presidents. At the time they were very scarce, and the 'fever' for 'Washingtons' was commencing. I sent one to the Mint,[4] and the other, I believe, went to a collection in this city, but I understand that some gentleman, a few years ago, discovered the dies in Europe, and forthwith had a 'goodly supply' for the market.[5]

Rather than being sold by subscription, such tokens were probably given away by Sage as business cards and souvenirs.

In addition to the four Sage advertising tokens (popularly known as store cards), eventually produced, a muling of store card dies was created. Further mulings were made with two dies from the Sage's Historical Tokens series to create two other store cards.

The following listings are cross referenced to Adams-Miller numbers from Donald M. Miller, *A Catalogue of U.S. Store Cards or Merchants' Tokens,* 1962 (this being an updating of Edgar H. Adams' 1920 work and employing Adams numbers); Baker numbers as employed in *Medallic Portraits of Washington,* Russell Rulau and George J. Fuld, 1985, and include some additions to the 1885 Baker work.

These tokens are given expanded descriptions as follows by the present author; footnotes give additional information.

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[1] For rarity and value information see *Medallic Portraits of Washington,* by Russell Rulau and George J. Fuld, 1985, p. 266.

[2] Commentary published in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* May 1867, penned by Sage March 26, 1867.

[3] The reference is to William H. Bridgens; there was no engraver named Billings. Bridgens was a prolific issuer of medalets and Civil War tokens. One of his tokens of the 1863 period bears the inscription: BRIDGENS / METAL TOKENS / & / STORE CARDS / 189 / WILLIAM ST. N.Y. *Patriotic Civil War Tokens,* George and Melvin Fuld, 1982 edition, p. 174, attributes these dies (Fuld numbers) to Bridgens: 37, 120, 138, 202, 254, 255, 256, 390, 390A, 392, 393, 433, and 434, and notes: "Bridgens' tokens circulated mainly in the New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut area, with a few customers as far distant as Ohio and Illinois. Most of his tokens are common and easily obtainable in high grades of preservation; a variety of off-metal pieces are also available. The tokens are on thin, slightly broader than standard planchets, frequently struck off-center and from misaligned dies...." The notation concerning off-metal strikings indicates that Bridgens was one of the die sinkers who made up special Civil War tokens to order for such numismatists as Edward Groh and Joseph N.T. Levick. "Markers" identifying Bridgens' Civil War token dies include the use of a spear-head ornament and the use of triangular dentils at the border. Other William Street engravers of the era, in addition to Bridgens, included Emil Sigel (177 William Street; he made Civil War tokens and later cut a Lincoln portrait die for the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society) and Charles D. Horter (178 William Street, across the street from Sigel; from his shop on the second floor of an old building he issued many Civil War tokens).

[4] Possibly in response to Director Snowden's offer to exchange other items for pieces the Mint needed.

[5] The reference is probably to the so-called "Eight Presidents Medal" by William H. Bridgens, the dies for which were signed by him (and were hardly made in Europe; if the dies were sent from New York to Europe at a later date, this is not recorded in numismatic literature). The workmanship on the Eight Presidents Medal is hasty and includes such misspellings as MADDISON (for Madison) and MUNROE (for Monroe). Bridgens is best known today for the many Civil War token dies he created.

## SAGE'S ADVERTISING TOKENS

### 1859 Washington / Palm Branches Token

*2x photo*

**OBVERSE design:** Portrait of Washington facing right, ribbon or toga top at truncation. GEORGE WASHINGTON inscription above, crossed palm branches below.

**REVERSE design:** Inscription: A.B. SAGE & Co. / DEALERS / IN / COINS, MEDALS, / AUTOGRAPHS / & / ENGRAVINGS / 24 DIVISION St / N. 1859 Y. The reverse die was engraved rather crudely, with some mixing of letter sizes within a given word, with the N in "N. 1859 Y." defective and without its lower right serif, and with the period placed in the area where part of the letter should have been, the upper left of the D in "DIVISION" is missing and the S in the same word is oversize, etc.

Diameter is 15.7 mm. (usually stated as 16 mm.).

**Adams-Miller NY-766: Copper. Plain edge:** Possibly unique as a copper striking. A specimen was in the Fuld Collection, earlier from the Virgil M. Brand estate, earlier from the Dr. Thomas Hall Collection; George J. Fuld sold it to Richard Picker circa 1967-1968.[1]

**Adams-Miller NY-767: Brass. Plain edge:** Extremely rare. Rulau-Fuld (1985): No rarity rating.

**Adams-Miller NY-768: White metal. Plain edge:** This is the form usually seen. This soft metal abraded easily, with the result that most specimens show marks, friction, etc. Also known as Baker-570 (W.S. Baker, *Medallic Portraits of Washington,* 1885). Rulau-Fuld (1985): 20 to 74 known. A specimen was in the J. Osborn Emery Collection sold by W. Elliot Woodward in 1864, Lot 2606 (a uniface striking of the obverse, in white metal, was Lot 2607 in the same sale). An early offering of this token was that in the Edward Groh Collection sale, February 28-29, 1860: "Lot 644: A.B. Sage & Co. rev. George Washington, tin, very fine, [Mionnet] size 3." Many other appearances could be cited.

Earliest specific appearance found: Sage donated a specimen to the American Numismatic Society, October 10, 1859.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies. This is the die state usually seen.

Die State II: Perfect obverse (Washington side). Reverse with irregular cud break at rim from above B in A.B. SAGE, clockwise to above C in Co.

**Commentary:** This is the smallest diameter token issued by Sage. It appeared sometime after early 1859 by which time he had moved his home-office from 121 Essex Street to a separate office at 24 Division Street. This seems to have been Sage's first essay into the field of store card production. Likely, the dies were by George Hampden Lovett, who is known to have produced the majority of his later issues. Somewhat enigmatically, no other dies are known to have been muled with this Washington obverse. One might think if Lovett had this die on hand a year later in 1860, he would have combined it with other dies to create rarities for his numismatic customers seeking Washingtoniana.

This token in white metal seems to be scarcer than the other two major styles of Washington portrait tokens issued by Sage, the latter being of a larger diameter.

In 1885, Baker listed only tin impressions; apparently, other metal strikings were not known to him.

A 35.1 mm., 50.0-grain aluminum disc with three partial impressions of the obverse die and a like number of partial reverse impressions is in the Joel Orosz Collection, earlier among the Jack Collins Collection items sold in the Coin Galleries Mail Bid Sale, November 6, 1996, Lot 2818. All impressions were made casually and individually by hammering the dies; the dies were not mounted in a coining press. The dies do not show deterioration or rust. As aluminum was not used for tokens or trial pieces in 1859, this indicates that the dies for this particular token were still in existence at a later date.

## SAGE'S ADVERTISING TOKENS

### 1859 Book Raffle Token (1st variety)

*2x photo*

**OBVERSE design:** Portrait of Washington facing left, top of toga at neck truncation. Inscription PATER (to the left) PATRIÆ (right). The ligature Æ was not made from a single letter punch, but was rather crudely made (as observable under magnification) by overlapping A and E punches. The punch used for the portrait of Washington on this die was made by a reducing lathe from a larger-size portrait punch cut by Robert Lovett, Sr. The Sage token die itself, including lettering, is the work of George H. Lovett or his father, Robert, Sr. (who worked in his shop at the time).

This die was also used outside of the Sage series. In the Civil War token field this is known as patriotic obverse die Fuld No. 113.[2]

**REVERSE design:** Inscription: GOOD FOR ONE CHANCE / IN / RAFFLE, / FOR / NUMISMATIC / BOOKS, / AT / A.B. SAGE & Co. / N.Y. / NOV. 1859. Average diameter: 20.5 mm.

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[1] George J. Fuld, letter, April 28, 1997.

[2] *Patriotic Civil War Tokens,* by George and Melvin Fuld, 4th edition, 1982, attributes this die to Montgomery Burr. This particular obverse die, seems to the author to be the work of Robert Lovett, Sr., or George H. Lovett, Fuld No. 113 is also found combined with these other dies (a fruitful avenue for research): Fuld Nos. 0, 127, 294, and 432. In turn, these dies are listed as being combined with these dies: Fuld No. 127 (combined with 113, 160, 177, 185A, 201, 248, 252, 253, 294, 295, 428, 432), Fuld No. 294 (combined with 113, 124, 125, 126, 127, 177, 201, 252, 253, 432), and Fuld No. 432 (combined with 36, 91, 106, 107, 113, 114, 125, 126, 127, 139, 166, 177, 185A, 190, 201, 248, 252, 294, 295, 390, 428).

**Adams-Miller NY-762: Copper. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 20 to 74 known.[1] This rarity estimate seems to be reasonable. A specimen was in the J. Osborn Emery Collection sold by W. Elliot Woodward in 1864, Lot 2496. An example was in the New York Public Library Collection sale, 1982, part of Lot 3059, described as "762A, copper, thick planchet."

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies.

Notes: This variety is known on thin planchets (about 77 to 78 grains) and thick planchets (100 to 102 grains), the latter being more numerous.

**Adams-Miller NY-763: Brass. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known. There is a distinct possibility that some described as "brass" in the past are, in actuality, copper strikings. True brass strikings are very elusive.

**Adams-Miller NY (unlisted): Copper-nickel. Plain edge:** Schuster Collection; yellow-brown surfaces somewhat resembling a toned copper-nickel cent in color. 53.6 grains. Very rare.

**Adams-Miller NY-764: White metal. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 20 to 74 known. However, the present author suggests that this token is much scarcer than the copper impressions from the same dies. Rare.

**Adams-Miller NY-761: Silver. Plain edge:** Also known as Baker-572 (W.S. Baker, *Medallic Portraits of Washington,* 1885). Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known. A specimen appeared in Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s Magriel and Hatie Collections sale, December 3, 1988, Lot 047. Very rare.

**Commentary:** This token type reflects Sage's interest in numismatic books, not only for his own reference (as with his earlier use as sources in his 1857 series in the *New-York Dispatch*). In the absence of even a modest-size bookshelf of numismatic books with American imprints by 1859-1860, it is presumed that most titles held by Sage were published in England.

Raffles and lotteries were a popular merchandising method of the era, and daily papers were filled with many offers of this nature.

W.C. Prime, *Coins, Medals, and Seals,* 1861, mentioned the copper version as his no. 86 on p. 249, gave the size as 13 and the value as 80¢. In 1885, Baker listed this as his No. 572, in silver and copper. Apparently, brass and white metal impressions were not known to him.

The Washington die was also used to strike certain non-Sage issues including Baker-95 and Baker-244. In *Patriotic Civil War Tokens,* George and Melvin Fuld, 1982 edition, the Washington die is illustrated on p. 48 as Fuld's Obverse 113. The same reference lists this obverse in combination with reverse 0, 127 (a.k.a. Baker-244), 294 (B-484), and 432 (B-492).

## SAGE'S ADVERTISING TOKENS

### 1859 Book Raffle Token (2nd variety)

**OBVERSE design:** Obverse of Baker-95: Undraped portrait of Washington facing left, GEORGE WASHINGTON above, BORN 1732 DIED 1799 below.

**Composite photograph (not of an actual specimen) from other tokens of the two dies used to create the second variety of the 1859 Book Raffle token. (2x photo)**

This die, by George H. Lovett, was muled to create several non-Sage mulings, including one with the PATER PATRIÆ obverse, creating a double-headed token.[2]

**REVERSE design:** As preceding; with inscription: GOOD FOR ONE CHANCE / IN / RAFFLE, / FOR / NUMISMATIC / BOOKS, / AT / A.B. SAGE & Co. / N.Y. / NOV. 1859.

**Adams-Miller NY (unlisted). Copper. Plain edge:** Exceedingly rare, perhaps unique. Not cited in standard references and generally unknown to collectors. The sale of the J.N.T. Levick Collection at Bangs, Merwin & Co., April 1865, included this specimen: "Lot 690: Sage, Lovett, mule. Obv. Same as above [which was Lot 689, described as: "G.H.L., Geo. Wash., born, died, &c., rev. Mon. at Balt., cop., v.f. size 13], rev. Sage's rafle [*sic*] die of Wash., cop., thick, v.f. [Size] 13." 20.5 mm.

## SAGE'S ADVERTISING TOKENS

### 1860 Circulating Library Token

*2x photo*

**OBVERSE design:** Obverse as also used on Miller-NY-761 through 764; with portrait of Washington facing left, top of toga at neck truncation. Inscription PATER (to the left) PATRIÆ (right).

This die was also used elsewhere by Lovett, outside of the Sage series.

**REVERSE design:** Inscription: A.B. SAGE & Co's / CIRCULATING / LIBRARY / 24 / DIVISION St. N.Y. / TERMS / 1 YEAR $2.00[3] / 6 MONTHS 1.00 / 3 MONTHS .50 / 1860.

**Adams-Miller NY-758: Copper. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 20 to 74 known. A specimen was in the J. Osborn Emery

[1] Also listed as NC-21a (*U.S. Civil War Store Cards,* George and Melvin Fuld, first edition 1972, p. 595, there illustrated; Sage inscription side called the obverse; copper, plain edge, Rarity -3 in Fuld scale = between 500 and 2,000 known to exist; this rarity rating is much more generous than used later by Rulau-Fuld); Fuld Patriotic 114. H&G 94. A specimen of this medal formed the inspiration for an article by Dr. Joel J. Orosz in his "Printer's Devil" column, *The Asylum,* Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 4-6 (winter 1992).

[2] See Rulau-Fuld p. 66; description of Baker-95, 95A, 95B, 95C.

[3] Apparently, Lovett did not have a dollar sign punch at hand; the $ was made by taking the letter S and separately and somewhat carelessly

Collection sold by W. Elliot Woodward in 1864, Lot 2494. Garrett IV (1980), Lot 1897, included an example. An example was in the New York Public Library Collection sale, 1982, part of Lot 3059. 20.5 mm.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies. This is the state usually seen.

Die State II: Cud break on rim beginning above and to the right of SAGE, clockwise to just before C (Co's). A very small, irregular cud break is at the rim to the right of $2.00 (Douglas Collection).

**Adams-Miller NY-759: Brass. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 20 to 74 known. It is probable that some called "brass" are in fact made of copper. True brass strikes are rare.

**Adams-Miller NY-760A: Copper-nickel. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985) 10 to 19 known.

**Adams-Miller NY-760: White metal. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 20 to 74 known. A specimen was in the J. Osborn Emery Collection sold by Woodward in 1864, Lot 2494. Garrett IV (1980), Lot 1897, included an example. Other citations could be given.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies.

**Adams-Miller NY-757: Silver. Plain edge:** Also known as Baker-571 (W.S. Baker, *Medallic Portraits of Washington,* 1885). Rulau-Fuld (1985): five to nine known.

**Commentary:** During the nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries it was common practice for various retail establishments including book stores to have on hand a few shelves of books for public rental. In an era in which public libraries had few branches, and transportation even within a large city often involved much time, a library such as Sage's provided a convenience for the neighborhood. Apparently, Sage offered term memberships rather than per-book rental charges. Alternatively, the library could have specialized in numismatic books and other specialties (autographs, engravings) as reflected by his earlier raffle of numismatic books.

This variety was known in copper, brass, and tin (white metal) to Baker in 1885. Apparently, he was not aware of silver or copper-nickel impressions.

This particular token formed the subject of "Some Historic Tokens of the City of New York," a paper read by Francis Worcester Doughty[1] before the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, February 16, 1886; published in *Proceedings 1885-6,* pp. 32-40, especially pp. 36-38.

## SAGE'S ADVERTISING TOKENS

### 1859/1860 Raffle/Library Muling

**OBVERSE design:** 1859 RAFFLE *reverse* die, type of Adams-Miller NY-761 as earlier described.

**REVERSE design:** 1860 CIRCULATING LIBRARY *reverse* die, type of Adams-Miller NY-757, as earlier described.

Muling of two reverse dies, the 1859 Raffle die (Adams-Miller NY-761) with the 1860 Circulating Library die (Adams-Miller NY-757). It is a moot point as to which side of this muling should be called the obverse and which should be designated the reverse. 20.5 mm.

*2x photo*

**Adams-Miller NY-765A: Copper. Plain edge:** Rulau, 1997, *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900,* prices this at $40 EF, or about the same as other Sage store cards, but gives no rarity rating. We estimate that 15 to 25 are known.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies (with narrow, somewhat beveled rim, making minute inspection difficult).

Die State II: With cud break on rim of CIRCULATING LIBRARY side, from above A in SAGE, clockwise for a short distance to above C in Co's. A very small, irregular cud break is at the rim to the right of $2.00 (Orosz Collection). Slightly later than Die State II of NY-758.

**Adams-Miller NY-765: Brass. Plain edge:** Rulau, 1997, *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900,* prices this at $20 VF and $40 EF, or about the same as other Sage store cards, but gives no rarity rating. Apparently, quite elusive, but there is an excellent chance that some called "brass" in the past may in actuality be copper strikings. True brass impressions are probably rarer than copper strikings.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Circulating Library die: Cud break on rim of CIRCULATING LIBRARY side, from above A in SAGE, clockwise for a short distance to above C in Co's. Raffle die: Perfect, save for some irregularities at the extreme outer rim from the 6:30 position, clockwise to 9 o'clock (Van Zandt Collection).

Die State II: Circulating Library die: Later state with cud break on rim of CIRCULATING LIBRARY side, from above A in SAGE, clockwise for a short distance to above C in Co's. (same as State II of the copper, plain edge, variety). A very small, irregular cud break is at the rim to the right of $2.00. Raffle die: Cud break begins somewhat subtly at rim beginning above H in CHANCE, clockwise to the 8:30 position.

**White metal. Plain edge:** Unlisted. Very rare.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect die faces and borders (rim on specimen observed [from the Van Zandt Collection], was not distinct, and its state could not be determined).

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adding two vertical strokes. In the line "3 MONTHS .50" the 3 is repunched. Near the lower rim the bottom of the 0 in 1860 is from a defective punch, broken at the bottom (as observed on copper, brass, and white metal specimens, obviating the possibility that this is a striking artifact).

[1] Francis Worcester Doughty, usually in print as F.W. Doughty, began his interest in numismatics in the 1860s. The first sale listing he obtained was the 1863 catalogue of the Lilliendahl sale. In 1890 his book, *The Cents of the United States: A Numismatic Study. Extensively Illustrated from Selected Specimens,* was published by Scott Stamp & Coin Co. Years later in 1949, Dr. William H. Sheldon, in *Early American Cents,* stated the book to have been ghost written by David U. Proskey; this work was roundly criticized by later generations of copper specialists. Irrespective

**Commentary:** The writer does not know if this irrelevant muling was produced by Sage, or was made at a later time, such as in the early 1860s when diesinkers such as George H. Lovett experienced a great demand for numismatic rarities and created many such pieces from dies on hand.

## SAGE'S ADVERTISING TOKENS

### 1860 City Hall / Sage Muling

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of building, CITY HALL, WALL ST. N.Y. at border. Below: ERECTED IN 1700 / DEMOLISHED / 1812. Signed L (for Lovett). This is the obverse die intended for use on Sage's Historical Token No. 2 (discussed in detail in Chapter 10).

**REVERSE design:** With inscription: A.B. SAGE & CO. / DEALERS IN / COINS / MEDALS & TOKENS / BOOKS, STATIONERY, / ENGRAVINGS & PAINTINGS / AUTOGRAPHS / & / CURIOSITIES. / CIRCULATING LIBRARY. / 24 DIVISION ST. / NEW YORK. / 1860.

**Adams-Miller NY-750: Copper. Plain edge:** Scarce. Average about 30.8 mm.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse or CITY HALL side with massive cud break at rim beginning at the left opposite the ground line below the L (for LOVETT), continuing clockwise all around the rim to below the "2" in 1812.

Die State II: Obverse with rim broken or tooled away and revealing only the innermost parts of certain beads. This same die state is about the same used to make copper, reeded edge, mulings of Sage's Historical Tokens combining the obverses of 2/3. Reverse die (with Sage's advertising message) perfect.

**Adams-Miller NY-751: Brass. Plain edge:**

Earliest specific appearance found: October 18-22, 1864, J. Osborn Emery Collection (W. Elliot Woodward), Lot 1399. An example was in the Levick Collection, April 1865, part of Lot 995. An example, edge style not stated, was in Woodward's sale of the Hoffman Collection, 1866, Lot 1973. An example was in the New York Public Library Collection sale, 1982, one of five pieces in Lot 3058. Bowers and Merena sale of the Witham Collection, 1992, part of Lot 2067.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse or CITY HALL side with rim broken or tooled away and revealing only the innermost parts of certain beads. This same die state is about the same used to make copper, reeded edge, mulings of Sage's Historical Tokens combining the obverses of 2/3. Reverse die (with Sage's advertising message) perfect.

**Adams-Miller NY-752: White metal. Plain edge:**

Earliest specific appearance found: March 24-26, 1863, Smith Collection (Strobridge), part of Lot 884. An example was in the Levick Collection, April 1865, part of Lot 995. An example, edge style not stated, was in Woodward's sale of the Hoffman Collection, 1866, Lot 1976. An example was in the New York Public Library Collection sale, 1982, one of five pieces in Lot 3058. Bowers and Merena sale of the Witham Collection, 1992, part of Lot 2067.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Obverse die cud break from below the opposite left corner of the building, clockwise to below C of CITY. This very late obverse die state was also used to strike copper, plain edge, impressions of Sage's Historical Token No. 2. Reverse die (with Sage's advertising message) perfect.

**Adams-Miller NY-749: Silver. Plain edge:** Reported.

**Commentary:** In his *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900,* 1994 edition, Russell Rulau assigns no rarity ratings to any of the preceding. Silver examples are priced at $150 EF, $250 Uncirculated, while copper, brass, and white metal strikes are each listed at $15 EF, $40 Uncirculated.

As Sage's advertising inscription die used on this and the following combination is not known with other dies, it is possible (but not probable) that this and the following were intended as store cards rather than as numismatic delicacies.

## SAGE'S ADVERTISING TOKENS

### 1860 Clinton's House / Sage Muling

**OBVERSE design:** Angular view of mansion. SIR HENRY CLINTON'S HOUSE above, No. 1 BROADWAY, N.Y. below. This is the obverse die intended for use on Sage's Historical Token No. 12 (discussed in detail in Chapter 10).

**REVERSE design:** Die as used on the preceding variety, with inscription: A.B. SAGE & CO. / DEALERS IN / COINS / MEDALS & TOKENS / BOOKS, STATIONERY, / ENGRAVINGS & PAINTINGS / AUTOGRAPHS / & / CURIOSITIES. / CIRCULATING LIBRARY. / 24 DIVISION ST. / NEW YORK. / 1860. Reverse border with long, toothed dentils. Average about 30.9 mm.

**Adams-Miller NY-754: Copper. Plain edge:**

Earliest specific appearance found: March 24-26, 1863, Smith

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of this later-day criticism, his printed works in the *Proceedings* of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, and elsewhere, display excellent wordcraft. Doughty earned his living as a writer of fiction stories, especially for boys. In the early twentieth century he was a highly respected writer of film scripts and was called upon to "fix" *Zudora,* an impressive serial production that, despite vast publicity, was off to a bad start at the box office; the title was changed to *The Twenty Million Dollar Mystery,* but by that time the damage had been done, and the series remained a flop.

Collection (Strobridge), part of Lot 884. An example was in the Levick Collection, April 1865, part of Lot 995. An example was in the New York Public Library Collection sale, 1982, one of five pieces in Lot 3058. Bowers and Merena sale of the Witham Collection, 1992, part of Lot 2067.

**Adams-Miller NY-755: Brass. Plain edge:** Benjamin P. Wright, in "American Business Tokens," serialized in *The Numismatist* 1898-1901, listed this variety as his No. 931, in brass. No other varieties of Sage's business cards were noted in that study, perhaps an indication of their rarity.[1]

Earliest specific appearance found: March 24-26, 1863, Smith Collection (Strobridge), part of Lot 884. An example was in the Levick Collection, April 1865, part of Lot 995. An example was in Woodward's sale of the Hoffman Collection, 1866, Lot 1974. An example was in the New York Public Library Collection sale, 1982, one of five pieces in Lot 3058. Bowers and Merena sale of the Witham Collection, 1992, part of Lot 2067.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: Perfect dies, although obverse rim not completely struck up.

**Adams-Miller NY-756: White metal. Plain edge:** Scarce.

Earliest specific appearance found: March 24-26, 1863, Smith Collection (Strobridge), part of Lot 884; edge style not stated. An example, edge style not stated, was in Woodward's sale of the Hoffman Collection, 1866, Lot 1975. Bowers and Merena sale of the Witham Collection, 1992, part of Lot 2067, plain edge (example in author's collection measures 31.0 mm). Light striking on the reverse is typically seen from 1:00 to 3:00.

Die state(s) observed:

Die State I: One specimen is from perfect dies. On others the die state is not readily determinable due to incomplete striking at upper left obverse, but there is no reason to believe that the die is broken.

**Adams-Miller NY-756: White metal. Reeded edge:** Scarce. An example was in the New York Public Library Collection sale, 1982, one of five pieces in Lot 3058.

**Adams-Miller NY-753: Silver. Plain edge:** Reported, not seen.

**Commentary:** In his *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700-1900,* 1994 edition, Russell Rulau assigns no rarity ratings to any of the preceding. Silver examples are priced at $150 EF, $250 Uncirculated, while copper and brass strikes are each listed at $15 EF, $40 Uncirculated. White metal strikes are priced at $25 EF and $60 Uncirculated.

[1] Wright's effort was the first lengthy, detailed study of American business tokens other than the Civil War series. Presumably, Wright emphasized tokens that were in his own collection or that he had personally examined. Otherwise, his listing could have been expanded considerably simply by mentioning tokens listed in readily-available auction catalogues, several other varieties of Sage tokens being examples.

# CHAPTER 18

# *Sage in Later Years*

## *(1860-1874)*

### THE LOTTERY SCHEME

After creating a stir in the numismatic community in 1858 and 1859—what with helping to start the American Numismatic Society in his own home, the issuance of several important (for the era) catalogues, and the publishing of numerous tokens and medals—Sage seems to have slowed down. The reasons for this are not known to the writer. Perhaps his attention turned to other endeavors, for he certainly possessed an entrepreneurial spirit. Trow's *Directory of New York City,* 1860, lists him as a bookseller at 24 Division Street, with no mention of rare coins. In the same directory, John K. Curtis appears as a dealer in coins and medals, the only person listed under that new business category (previous editions lacked any entries). From this and other listings it is assumed that by 1860-1861, Sage was primarily a seller of printed items, with coins as a sideline. No longer did he issue coin lists or auction catalogues.

Certainly among the latest-dated publicity he is known to have generated in numismatics is a lottery scheme published under the date of March 1, 1861. Addressed "To Coin Collectors," the prospectus solicited purchases for a drawing to be held on March 5, with coins as prizes.

As a promoter of a coin-related lottery, Sage was in good company. In the same year his fellow New York City dealer John K. Curtis was in the fray with this notice:

**New York City in 1861, during the last year of Sage's numismatic activity. Shown is a view of Fourth Avenue between 10th and 11th streets. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* 1861)**

> To Numismatists in Particular! And to everybody in general! The greatest chance ever offered to obtain rare and valuable Coins and Medals, at the very low sum of one dollar each.[1]

Perhaps both Sage and Curtis took a chapter from the book of Daniel E. Groux, who under date of December 1, 1855, published a 16-page catalogue titled *Grand Enterprise For the Disposal of the Best Collection of Medals, Coins, and Numismatical Works in the United States. Catalogue of a Grand Collection of Coins and Medals, Including Extremely valuable collections of rare Grecian and Roman Silver & Bronze Medals, Series of Valuable Historical Medals &c.* The "grand enterprise" was a lottery scheme in which the public could buy tickets or chances. At the time he was operating Prof. D.E. Groux's Museum of Antiquities, 265 Washington Street, Boston. The December 1 lottery must have proved successful, for he was back at the game on December 20, 1855, under which date he printed a circular stating: "Additional arrangements made for the ticket holders...."[2]

Of course, by 1861 Sage could also draw upon his own experience via his book raffle of November 1859.

Apparently, coin lottery schemes were all the rage, if only in the small arena of numismatics. Not long thereafter, Alfred S. Robinson of Hartford, CT, published a 16-page catalogue offering 502 lots to be awarded sometime after June 25, 1861. Robinson gave his terms:[3]

> 309 Main Street, Hartford. June 25th, 1861.
>
> The subscriber, in calling the attention of Numismatists and others to the annexed list, unhesitatingly throws the collection upon its own merits. The coins will be sold upon the following terms. I have arranged 502 small tickets each having a number printed upon it from 1 to 502 inclusive with the exception of two numbers, which have been sold since the list was made up. These tickets are placed in boxes of an equal size, and are arrayed together in an irregular manner. The prices of the tickets are $1.00 each, and the distribution will take place as soon as 200 lots are sold. Orders by mail promptly attended to. Alfred S. Robinson.

## THE SUMTER MEDAL PUBLISHED

In 1861, Sage had another try at publishing medals, again utilizing the talents of George H. Lovett. This medal, not widely known to numismatists today, is one of the most significant in American history. Its story follows:

Following the action taken by South Carolina on December 20, 1860, during the next few months 10 other states seceded from the Union to form the Confederate States of America. By early 1861, Southern militia had been armed and a commission had been named to explore future relations with that *other* country, the United States of America. At the time the federal government was at an impasse. Outgoing president James Buchanan (who turned over the office to Abraham Lincoln on Inauguration Day, March 4, 1861) did virtually nothing in response to the crisis. Secretary of State William Henry Seward stated that in recent events he saw not the establishment of an independent Confederate government leading a willing people, but, instead, a temporary, unjustified, and unconstitutional challenge to the federal government. There was a question as to the sanctity of military posts, customs houses, and other government buildings in the South, and early in his term, President Abraham Lincoln tried to resolve the problem by negotiations. The situation worsened—and then, Fort Sumter.

The event was described in newspapers and magazines across the United States. This extract from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* June 1861,[4] is representative:

> Increased activity had been noticed in the navy-yards and forts in the North. Vessels were equipped and manned as rapidly as possible. About the 8th [of April] a fleet, having on board nearly 2,000 men and a large quantity of stores, was dispatched southward. It soon transpired that its object was to reinforce Fort Pickens, and if possible to throw provisions into Fort Sumter, the supplies of which were known to be nearly exhausted.
>
> On the 8th, General Beauregard,[5] the commander of the Confederate forces at Charleston, was formally notified that an attempt would be made to provision Fort Sumter. After communicating with his government, he was directed to reduce the fort.
>
> On the 11th, Major [Robert W.] Anderson was summoned to evacuate the fort. He refused to comply, and on the morning of the following day fire was opened upon Fort Sumter from Fort Moultrie and the Confederate batteries. This was returned by Major Anderson with as much vigor as possible with the small force under his command. The bombardment continued with scarcely an intermission for 34 hours. The wood-work within the fort was set on fire by hot shot, the quarters were entirely consumed, the main gate burned, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine enveloped in flames, and the door closed from the heat, so that only four barrels of powder and a few cartridges were available.
>
> The garrison, which numbered only about 100 men, including laborers, were exhausted by fatigue and hunger, the only remaining provisions consisting of salt pork. Opposed to them were 7,000 men and powerful batteries. Further resistance being impossible, and the vessels not being able to afford any assistance to the fort, Major Ander-

[1] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 87.

[2] Additional information about Groux is in Chapter 2 of the present work.

[3] Cf. quotation from a copy of the lottery offered by George F. Kolbe, mail bid sale of October 11, 1997, Lot 140.

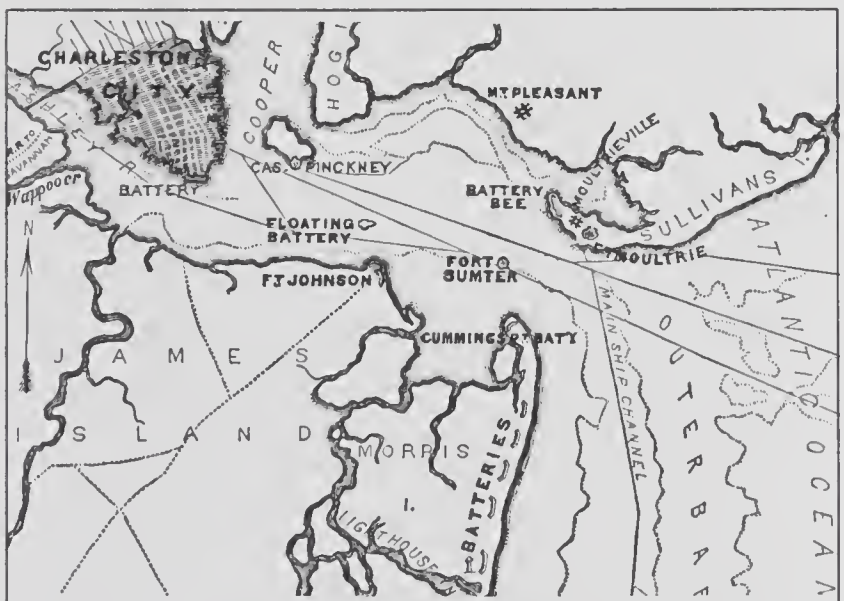
[4] The June issue covered events from April 7 to May 6, 1861. From the outset it was noted in northern newspapers and other accounts that Fort Sumter had been *evacuated,* not *surrendered.*

[5] Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard (1818-1893), C.S.A. general later recognized for his dashing bravery and flamboyance, but not necessarily for his strategies.

The bombardment of Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, S.C., in April 1861. This marked the beginning of the War of the Rebellion, as it was called at the time. After sustaining enemy fire for two days, major Robert Anderson and his troops evacuated the fort which by that time had been reduced to burnt rubble. (Engraving by J.W. Watts, *History of the Great Rebellion,* 1866)

son accepted the terms which had been offered before the commencement of hostilities, marching out with flying colors, saluting his flag with fifty guns. The men on both sides were so completely protected by the works that no loss of life occurred during the bombardment; but in saluting the flag a gun burst, by which several of the defenders of the fort were injured, one being killed.

The evacuation of Fort Sumter took place on the afternoon of Sunday, the 14th of April, Major Anderson and his men embarking on a steamer for New York, where he was welcomed with distinguished honor. The secretary of War subsequently addressed a note to him, expressing perfect satisfaction with the manner in which he had defended the post under his command.[1]




**Map of Charleston Harbor showing Fort Sumter and the two points from which Confederate bombardment occurred, Cummings Point and Fort Moultrie. (*The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860–'64, Vol. I,* 1864)**

On April 15, President Abraham Lincoln proclaimed that the laws of the United States had been opposed in a manner too powerful to be set right by judicial proceedings. He called for the raising of 75,000 troops and for a special session of Congress. War was on.

## FORT SUMTER
### (The Southern View)

The following is from Edward A. Pollard, *The First Year of the War,* printed in Richmond, in 1862, giving a description *from the Confederate viewpoint* of the Fort Sumter situation, here excerpted:

[1] A description of the bombardment of Fort Sumter published in *Harper's Weekly,* April 27, 1861, differs in some details, notes that the Confederate forces suffered loss of men, that two Union defenders were killed during the gun salute, etc. Anderson went to New York City aboard the steamer *Baltic,* having been transferred to that ship from the remains of Fort Sumter by the *Isabel.*

While the South was entreating peace, and pursuing its accomplishment by an amicable mission to Washington, a strong outside pressure was being exerted upon the administration of Mr. Lincoln to hurry it to the conclusion of war. He had been visited by a number of governors of the Northern states. They offered him money and men; but it was understood that nothing would be done in the way of calling out the state militia and opening special credits until the Southern revolutionists should be actually in aggression to the authority of the federal government. Another appeal was still more effectively urged. It was the argument of the partisan.

The report of the intended evacuation of Fort Sumter, and the apparent disaffection in the Black Republican party:

This party had shown a considerable loss of strength in the municipal elections in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other parts of the West; they had lost two congressmen in Connecticut and two in Rhode Island. The low tariff, too, of the Southern Confederacy, brought into competition with the high protective tariff which the Black Republican majority in Congress had adopted, and which was popularly known as "the Morrill Tariff," was threatening serious disaster to the interests of New England and Pennsylvania, and was indicating the necessity of the repeal of a law which was considered as an indispensable party measure by the most of Mr. Lincoln's constituents.

For weeks the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln had been taxed to devise some artifice for the relief of Fort Sumter, short of open military reinforcements (decided to be impracticable), and which would have the effect of inaugurating the war by a safe indirection and under a plausible and convenient pretense. The device was at length hit upon. It was accomplished by the most flagrant perfidy. Mr. Seward had already given assurances to the Southern commissioners, through the intermediation of Judge Campbell, that the federal troops would be removed from Fort Sumter. Referring to the draft of a letter which Judge Campbell had in his hand, and proposed to address to President Davis, at Montgomery, he said, "Before that letter reaches its destination, Fort Sumter will have been evacuated."

Some time elapsed, and there was reason to distrust the promise. Colonel Lamon, an agent of the Washington government, was sent to Charleston, and was reported to be authorized to make arrangements with Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, for the withdrawal of the federal troops from Fort Sumter. He returned without any accomplishment of his reported mission. Another confidential agent of Mr. Lincoln, a Mr. Fox, was permitted to visit Fort Sumter, and was discovered to have acted the part of a spy in carrying concealed dispatches to Major Anderson, and collecting information with reference to a plan for the forcible reinforcement of the fort. On the 7th of April, Judge Campbell, uneasy as to the good faith of Mr. Seward's promise of the evacuation of Sumter, addressed him another note on the subject. To this the emphatic and laconic reply was: "*Faith as to Sumter fully kept—wait and see.*" Six days thereafter a hostile fleet was menacing Charleston, the Lincoln government threw down the gauntlet of war, and the battle of Sumter was fought....

Notwithstanding the extent and skill of the besiegers' works, Fort Sumter was declared, by a number of military critics, to be impregnable. It certainly had that appearance to the unscientific eye. The fortification, a modern truncated pentagonal fort, rose abruptly out of the water at the mouth of Charleston harbor, three and a half miles from the city. It was built on an artificial island, having for its base a sand and mud bank, which had been made secure by long and weary labors in firmly imbedding in its refuse blocks and chips from the granite quarries of the Northern states. The foundation alone had cost the government half a million of dollars, and had occupied 10 years in its construction. At the time of Major Anderson's occupation of the fortification, it was so nearly completed as to admit the introduction of its armament. The walls were of solid brick and concrete masonry, 60 feet high and from 8 to 12 feet in thickness, and pierced for three tiers of guns on the northern, eastern, and western exterior sides. They were built close to the edge of the water and without a berme....

[Early in April, federal ships were dispatched to Charleston with ammunition and reinforcements, and other federal facilities were made ready for action.]

No sooner was the hostile fleet of the federal government safely on its way to the Southern coasts, than the perfidy of Abraham Lincoln and his advisers was openly and shamelessly consummated. The mask was dropped. The Southern commissioners who had been so long cozened, were distinctly rebuffed; and simultaneously with the appearance of the federal fleet in the offing of the Charleston harbor, an official message, on the 8th day of April, was conveyed to Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, by Lieutenant Talbot, an authorized agent of the Lincoln government, announcing the determination of that government to send provisions to Fort Sumter, "peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must." The message was telegraphed by General Beauregard to Montgomery, and the instructions of his government asked.

He was answered by a telegram from Mr. Walker, the Secretary of War, instructing him to demand the evacuation of the fort, and, if that was refused, to proceed to reduce it. The demand was made; it was refused. Major Anderson replied that he regretted that his sense of honor and of his obligations to his government prevented his compliance with the demand. Nothing was left but to accept the distinct challenge of the Lincoln government to arms.

The most intense excitement prevailed in Charleston. No sooner had the official message of Mr. Lincoln been received, than orders were issued to the entire military force of the city to proceed to their stations. Four regiments of one thousand men each, were telegraphed for from the country. Ambulances for the wounded were prepared; surgeons were ordered to their posts, and every preparation made for a regular battle. Among the portentous signs, the community was thrown into a fever of excitement by the discharge of seven guns from the Capitol Square, the signal for the assembling of all the reserves 10 minutes afterwards. Hundreds of men left their beds, hurrying to and fro towards their respective locations. In the absence of sufficient armories, the corners of the streets, the public squares, and other convenient points formed places of meeting. All night long the roll of the drum and the steady tramp of the military and the gallop of the cavalry, resounding through the city, betokened the progress of preparation for the long-expected hostilities. The Home Guard corps of old gentlemen, who occupied the position of military exempts, rode through the city, arousing the soldiers and doing other duty required at the moment. Hundreds of the citizens were up all night. A terrible thunder-storm

Confederate soldiers on shore bombard Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861. (*Book of Anecdotes of the War of the Rebellion,* 1866)

prevailed until a late hour, but in nowise interfered with the ardor of the soldiers.

On the 12th day of April, at half-past four o'clock in the morning, fire was opened upon Fort Sumter. The firing was deliberate, and was continued, without interruption, for 12 hours. The iron battery at Cummings Point did the most effective service, perceptibly injuring the walls of the fortification, while the floating battery dismounted two of the parapet guns. The shell batteries were served with skill and effect, shells being thrown into the fort every 20 minutes. The fort had replied steadily during the day. About dark, its fire fell off, while ours was continued at intervals during the night. The contest had been watched during the day by excited and anxious citizens from every available point of observation in Charleston—the battery, the shipping in the harbor, and the steeples of churches—and, as night closed, the illuminations of the shells, as they coursed the air, added a strange sublimity to the scene to men who had never before witnessed the fiery splendors of a bombardment.

The next morning, at seven o'clock, the fort resumed its fire, doing no damage of consequence. A short while thereafter, the fort was discovered to be on fire, and through the smoke and glare, its flag was discovered at half mast, as a signal of distress. The federal fleet, which was off the bar, contrary to all expectations, remained quietly where it was; they did not remove from their anchorage or fire a gun. In the meantime, the conflagration, which had seized upon the officers' quarters and barracks at the fort, continued; it no longer responded to our fire, which was kept up with an anxious look-out for tokens of surrender; its garrison, black and begrimed with smoke, were employed in efforts to extinguish the conflagration, and in some instances had to keep themselves lying upon their faces to avoid death from suffocation.

During the height of the conflagration, a boat was dispatched by General Beauregard to Major Anderson, with offers of assistance in extinguishing the fire. Before it could reach the fort, the long-expected flag of truce had been hoisted; and the welcome event was instantly announced in every part of the city by the ringing of bells, the pealing of cannon, the shouts of couriers dashing through the streets, and by every indication of general rejoicing. Major Anderson agreed to an unconditional surrender, as demanded of him; he received of his enemy in return, the most distinguished marks of lenity and consideration: his sword was returned to him by General Beauregard; himself and garrison allowed to take passage, at their convenience, for New York; and, on leaving the fort, he was permitted to salute his flag with 50 guns, the performance of which was attended with the melancholy occurrence of mortal injuries to four of his men by the bursting of two cannon. There was no other life lost in the whole affair.

Thus ended the bombardment of Sumter. It had continued during two days; it was estimated that two thousand shots had been fired in all; a frowning fortification had been reduced to a blackened mass of ruins; and yet not a life had been lost, or a limb injured in the engagement....

## FORT SUMTER
### (The Northern View)

The following is quoted from Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United*

*States of America.* Written in 1864 by the publisher of the *New-York Daily Tribune,* this gives the northern version of the Fort Sumter evacuation:

> Whether the hesitation of the Executive to reënforce Fort Sumter was real or only apparent, the reserve evinced with regard to his intentions was abundantly justified. The president, in his Inaugural Address, had kindly and explicitly set forth his conception of the duties and responsibilities assumed in taking his oath of office. No man of decent understanding who can read our language had any reason or right to doubt, after hearing or perusing that document, that he fully purposed, to the extent of his ability, to maintain the authority and enforce the laws of the Union on every acre of the geographical area of our country. Hence, secessionists in Washington, as well as South of that city, uniformly denounced that manifesto as a declaration of war, or as rendering war inevitable. The naked dishonesty of professed Unionists inquiring—as even Senator Douglas, for two weeks, persisted in doing—whether Mr. Lincoln *intended peace or war,* was a sore trial to human patience. A government which cannot uphold and vindicate its authority in the country which it professes to rule is to be pitied; but one which does not even *attempt* to enforce respect and obedience is a confessed imposture and sham, and deserves to be hooted off the face of the earth. Nay, more: it was impossible for ours to exist on the conditions prescribed by its domestic foes. No government can endure without revenue; and the Federal Constitution (Art. I. 9) expressly prescribes that
>
> "No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another."
>
> But here were the ports of nearly half our Atlantic and Gulf coasts sealed against the commerce and navigation of the other half, save on payment of duties utterly unknown to our laws; while goods could be entered at those ports at quite other (and generally lower) rates of impost than those established by Congress. Hence, importers, with good reason, refused to pay the established duties at Northern ports until the same should be exacted at Southern as well; so that three months; acquiescence by the President in what was untruly commended as the "Peace policy," would have sunk the country into anarchy and whelmed the Government in hopeless ruin.
>
> [By early April] very decided activity began to be manifest in the Navy Yards still held by the Union. Such ships of war as were at hand were rapidly fitted for service and put into commission; while several swift ocean steamers of the largest size were hurriedly loaded with provisions, munitions, and forage. By the 6th or 7th of April, nearly a dozen of these vessels had left New York and other Northern ports, under sealed orders. Lieut. Talbot, who had arrived at Washington on the 6th, from Fort Sumter, bearing a message from Major Anderson that his rigidly restricted supplies of fresh food from the Charleston market had been cut off by the Confederate authorities, and that he must soon be starved into surrender, if not relieved, returned to Charleston on the 8th, and gave formal notice to Gov. Pickens that the fort would be provisioned at all hazards. Gen. Beauregard immediately telegraphed the fact to Montgomery; and, on the 10th, received orders from the Confederate Secretary of War to demand the prompt surrender of the fort, and, in case of refusal, to *reduce* it. The demand was accordingly made in due form at 2 P.M., on the 11th, and courteously declined. But, in consequence of additional instructions from Montgomery—based on a suggestion of Major Anderson to his summoners that he would very soon be starved out, if not relieved—Gen. Beauregard, at 11 P.M., again addressed Major Anderson, asking him to state at what time he would evacuate Fort Sumter, if unmolested; and was answered that he would do so at noon on the 15th, "should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my government, or additional supplies." This answers was judged satisfactory; and, at 3:20 A.M., of the 12th, Major Anderson was duly notified that fire would be opened on Fort Sumter in one hour.
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> Punctual to the appointed moment, the roar of a mortar from Sullivan's Island, quickly followed by the rushing shriek of a shell, gave notice to the world that the era of compromise and diplomacy was ended—that the Slaveholders' Confederacy had appealed from sterile negotiations to the "last argument" of aristocracies as well as kings. Another gun from that island quickly repeated the warning, waking a response from battery after battery, until Sumter appeared the focus of a circle of volcanic fire. Soon, the thunder of fifty heavy breaching cannon, in one grand volley, followed by the crashing and crumbling of brick, stone, and mortar around and above them, apprised the little garrison that their stay in those quarters must necessarily be short. Unless speedily relieved by a large and powerful fleet, such as the Union did not then possess, the defense was, from the outset, utterly hopeless.
>
> It is said that the Confederate leaders expected to reduce the fort within a very few hours; it is more certain that the country was disappointed by the inefficiency of its fire and the celerity of its reduction. But it was not then duly considered that Sumter was never intended to withstand a protracted cannonade from batteries solidly constructed on every side of it, but to resist and repel the ingress of fleets from the Ocean—a service for which it has since proved itself admirably adapted. Nor was it sufficiently considered that the defensive strength of a fortress inheres largely in its ability to compel its assailants to commence operations for its reduction at a respectful distance, and to make their approaches slowly, under conditions that secure to its fire a great superiority over that of the besiegers. But here were the assailants, in numbers a hundred to one, firing at short range from batteries which had been constructed and mounted in perfect security, one of them covered with iron rails so adjusted as to glance the balls of the fortress harmlessly from its mailed front. Had Major Anderson been ordered, in December, to defend his post against all aggressive and threatening demonstrations, he could not have been shelled out of it by a thirty hours' bombardment. But why officers' quarters and barracks of wood should ever have been constructed in the center of such a fort—or rather, why they should have been permitted to stand there after the hostile intentions of the Confederates had been clearly proclaimed—is not obvious. That shells and red-hot balls would be rained into this area—that the frail structures which nearly filled it would inevitably take fire, and not only imperil magazines, cartridges, and everything else combustible, but prevent the working of the guns, was palpable from the outset. To have committed to the surrounding waves every remaining particle of wood

that was not essential to the defense, would seem the manifest work of the night which preceded the opening of the bombardment, after the formal demand that the fort be surrendered. To do this while yet unassailed and unimperiled, instead of rolling barrel after barrel of previous powder into the sea under the fire of a dozen batteries, with the whole center of the fortress a glowing furnace, and even the casemates so hot that their tenants could only escape roasting by lying flat on the floor and drawing their breath through wet blankets, would seem the dictate of the simplest forecast.

So, when we read that "the guns, without tangents or scales, and even destitute of bearing-screws, were to be ranged by the eye, and fired 'by guess,' " we have an ample explanation of the inefficiency of their fire, but none of the causes of this strange and fatal lack of preparation for a contest that had so longer been imminent. It might seem as if Sumter had been held only that it should be assailed with impunity and easily taken.

It was at 7 o'clock—nearly three hours after the first shot came crashing against her walls—that Sumter's garrison, having deliberately eaten their breakfast—whereof salt pork constituted the staple—fired their first gun. They had been divided into three squads of reliefs, each in succession to man the guns for four hours, and then be relieved by another. Capt. Arthur Doubleday commanded the first on duty, and fired the first gun. Only the casemate guns were commonly fired—those on the parapet being too much exposed to the shot and shell pouring in from every quarter to render their use other than a reckless, bootless waste of life. The fire of the fort was so weak, when compared to that of its assailants, as to excite derision rather than apprehension on their part. It was directed at Fort Moultrie, the Cummings' Point battery, and Sullivan's Island, from which a masked battery of heavy columbiads, hitherto unsuspected by the garrison, had opened on their walls with fearful effect. The floating battery, faced with railroad bars, though planted very near to Sumter, and seemingly impervious to her balls, was far less effective. A new *English* gun, employed by the Confederates, was remarked by the garrison as wonderfully accurate and efficient; several of its shots entering their embrasures, and one of them slightly wounding four men. But the casemates were shell-proof; the officers constantly warned their men against needless exposure; so that, though the peril from fire and from their own ammunition was even greater than that from the enemy's guns, not one was seriously hurt. And, though Fort Moultrie was considerably damaged, and the little village of Moultrieville—composed of the Summer residences of certain wealthy citizens of Charleston—was badly riddled, it was claimed, and seems undisputed, that no one was mortally wounded on the side of the assailants. So bloodless was the initiation of the bloodiest struggle that America ever witnessed.

But, though almost without casualty, the contest was not, on the side of the Union, a mere mockery of war: it even served to develop traits of heroism. Says one of those who participated in the perils of the defense:

"The workmen [Irish laborers, hired in New York for other than military service] were at first rather reluctant to assist the soldiers in handling the guns; but they gradually took hold and rendered assistance. Few shots were fired before every one of them was desperately engaged in the conflict. We had to abandon one gun on account of the heavy fire made upon it. Hearing the fire renewed, I went to the spot. I there found a party of workmen engaged in serving it. I saw one of them stooping over, with his hands on his knees, convulsed with joy, while the tears rolled down his powder-begrimed cheeks. 'What are you doing here with that gun?' I asked. 'Hit it right in the center,' was the reply; that man meaning, that his shot had taken effect in the center of the floating battery."

Says another eye-witness:

"Shells burst with the greatest rapidity in every portion of the work, hurling the loose brick and stone in all directions, breaking the windows, and setting fire to whatever wood-work they burst against. The solid-shot firing of the enemy's batteries, and particularly of Fort Moultrie, was directed at the barbette [unsheltered] guns of Fort Sumter, disabling one ten-inch columbiad, one forty-two pounder, and two eight-inch seacoast howitzers, and also tearing a large portion of the parapet away. The firing from the batteries on Cummings' Point was scattered over the whole of the gorge or rear of the fort, till it looked like a sieve. The explosion of shells, and the quantity of deadly missiles that were hurled in every direction and at every instant of time, made it almost certain death to go out of the lower tier of casemates, and also made the working of the barbette or upper [uncovered] guns, which contained all our heaviest metal, and by which alone we could throw shells, quite impossible. During the first day, there was hardly an instant of time that there was a cessation of the whizzing of balls, which were sometimes coming half a dozen at once. There was not a portion of the work which was not taken in reverse from mortars.

"On Friday, before dinner, several of the vessels of the fleet, beyond the bar, were seen through the port-holes. They dipped their flag. The commander ordered Sumter's flag to be dipped in return, which was done, while the shells were bursting in every direction. [The flag-staff was located in the parade, which was about the center of the open space within the fort.] Sergeant Hart saw the flag of Fort Sumter half-way down, and, supposing it had been cut by the enemy's shot, rushed out through the fire to assist in getting it up. Shortly after it had been re-raised, a shell burst and cut the halliards, but the rope was so intertwined around the halliards, that the flag would not fall. The cartridges were exhausted by about noon, and a party was sent to the magazines to make more of the blankets and shirts; the sleeves of the latter being readily converted to the use desired. Another great misfortune was, that there was not an instrument in the fort by which they could weigh the powder; which, of course, destroyed all approach to accuracy of firing. Nor had they tangent-screws, breech-slides, or other instruments with which to point a gun.

"When it became so dark as to render it impossible to see the effect of their shot, the port-holes were closed for the night, while the batteries of the Secessionists continued their fire unceasingly.

"During Friday, the officers' barracks were three times set on fire by the shells and three times put out under the most galling and destructive cannonade. This was the only occasion on which Maj. Anderson allowed the men to expose themselves without an absolute necessity. The guns on the parapet—which had been pointed the day before—were fired clandestinely by some of the men slipping up on top.

"The firing of the rifled guns from the iron battery on Cummings' Point became extremely accurate in the after-

noon of Friday, cutting out large quantities of the masonry about the embrasures at every shot, throwing concrete among the cannoneers, and slightly wounding and stunning others. One piece struck Sergeant Kernan, an old Mexican war veteran, hitting him on the head and knocking him down. On being revived, he was asked if he was hurt badly. He replied: 'No; I was only knocked down *temporarily;'* and he went to work again.

"For the fourth time, the barracks were set on fire early on Saturday morning, and attempts were made to extinguish the flames; but it was soon discovered that red-hot shot were being thrown into the fort with fearful rapidity, and it became evident that it would be impossible to put out the conflagration. The whole garrison was then set to work, or as many as could be spared, to remove the powder from the magazines, which was desperate work, rolling barrels of powder through the fire.

"Ninety-odd barrels had been rolled out through the flames, when the heat became so intense to make it impossible to get out any more. The doors were then closed and locked, and the fire spread and became general. The wind so directed the smoke as to fill the fort so full that the men could not see each other; and, with the hot, stifling air, it was as much as a man could do to breathe. Soon, they were obliged to cover their faces with wet clothes in order to get along at all, so dense was the smoke and so scorching the heat.

"But few cartridges were left, and the guns were fired slowly; nor could more cartridges be made, on account of the sparks falling in every part of the works. A gun was fired every now and then, only to let the fleet and the people in the town know that the fort had not been silenced. The cannoneers could not see to aim, much less where they hit.

"After the barracks were well on fire, the batteries directed upon Fort Sumter increased their cannonading to a rapidity greater than had been attained before. About this time, the shells and ammunition in the upper service-magazines exploded, scattering the tower and upper portions of the building in every direction. The crash of the beams, the roar of the flames, and the shower of fragments of the fort, with the blackness of the smoke, made the scene indescribably terrific and grand. This continued for several hours. Meanwhile, the main gates were burned down, the chassis of the barbette guns were burned away on the gorge, and the upper portions of the towers had been demolished by shells.

"There was not a portion of the fort where a breath of air could be got for hours, except through a wet cloth. The fire spread to the men's quarters on the right hand and on the left, and endangered the powder which had been taken out of the magazines. The men went through the fire and covered the barrels with wet cloths; but the danger of the fort's blowing up became so imminent that they were obliged to heave the barrels out of the embrasures. While the powder was being thrown overboard, all the guns of Moultrie, of the iron floating battery, of the enfilade battery, and of the Dahlgren battery, worked with increasing vigor.

"All but four barrels were thus disposed of, and those remaining were wrapped in many thicknesses of wet woolen blankets. But three cartridges were left, and these were in the guns. About this time, the flag-staff of Fort Sumter was shot down, some fifty feet from the truck; this being the ninth time that it had been struck by a shot. The man cried out, 'The flag is down! it has been shot away!' In an instant, Lieut. Hall rushed forward, and brought the flag away. But the halliards were so inextricably tangled that it could not be righted; it was therefore nailed to the staff, and planted upon the ramparts, while batteries in every direction were playing upon them."

The fleet from New York, laden with provisions for the garrison, had appeared off the bar by noon of the day on which fire was opened, but made no effort to fulfill its errand. To have attempted to supply the fort would have, at best, involved a heavy cost of life, probably to no purpose. Its commander communicated by signals with Major Anderson, but remained out of the range of the enemy's fire till after the surrender; when he returned as he came.

Meantime, the boom of heavy ordnance and the telegraph had borne far and wide the eagerly awaited tidings that the war for which South Carolina had so long been impatient had actually begun; and from every side thousands flocked to the spectacle as to a long expected holiday. Charleston herself was drunk with excitement and joyous exultation. Her entire white population, and her gay crowds of well-dressed visitors, thronged her streets and quays, noting the volume and resonant thunder of the Confederate cannonade, and the contrasted feebleness of that by which it was replied to. That seven thousand men, after five months of careful preparation, could overcome seventy, was regarded as an achievement ranking with the most memorable deeds of Alexander or Hannibal, Caesar or Napoleon. Champagne flowed on every hand like water; thousands quaffed, and feasted on the richest viands, who were ere long to regard rancid pork as a dainty, and tea and coffee as faintly remembered luxuries. Beauregard shot up like Jonah's gourd to the altitude of the world's greatest captains; and "Damnation to the Yankees!" was drunk with rapture by enthusiastic crowds whose heads were sure to ache tomorrow with what they had drunk before. Already, in the ardent imagination of her Chivalry, the Confederacy had established its independence beyond dispute, and was about to conquer and lay waste the degenerate, cowardly North.

The credit of putting an end to this most unequal contest is due to Louis T. Wigfall, late a Senator from the State of Texas, now styling himself a Confederate Brigadier. Wigfall—a Carolinian by birth, a Nullifier by training, and a duelist by vocation—had the faults and virtues of his caste; and one of the latter is a repugnance to witnessing a conflict between parties too palpably ill-matched. Seeing that the fire of Sumter was only maintained as a matter of pride—for the fainting garrison had quite enough to do at fighting the flames that had burned their quarters, and in rolling out their powder to prevent its explosion—Wigfall seized a skiff on the afternoon of Saturday (the second day of the bombardment), and made direct toward the almost silenced and thoroughly harmless fortress. He was soon at the side of the fort, and showing his face at an embrasure, waving a white handkerchief on the point of his sword, he asked to be presented to Maj. Anderson. No objection being made, he crawled through the embrasure into the casemate, and was there met by several officers, to whom he urged the futility of further resistance. "Let us stop this firing," said he; "you are on fire, and your flag is down. Let us quit." "No," replied Lieut. Davis, "our flag is *not* down. Step out here, and you will see it waving over the

ramparts." Wigfall persisted that the resistance had no longer any justification, and urged one of the officers to wave his white flag toward Moultrie; and, this being declined, proceeded to wave it himself. Finally, a corporal was induced to relieve him in this, but to no purpose. About this time, Maj. Anderson approached, to whom Wigfall announced himself (incorrectly) as a messenger from Gen. Beauregard, sent to inquire on what terms he would evacuate the fortress. Maj. Anderson calmly replied: "Gen. Beauregard is already acquainted with my *only* terms."

After a few more civil interchanges of words, to no purpose, Wigfall retired, and was soon succeeded by ex-Senator Chesnut, and ex-Representatives Roger A. Pryor and W. Porcher Miles, who assured Maj. A. that Wigfall had acted entirely without authority. Maj. A. thereupon ordered his flag, which had been lowered, to be raised again; but his visitors requested that this be delayed for further conference; and, having reported to Beauregard, returned, two or three hours afterward, with a substantial assent to Maj. Anderson's conditions. The latter was to evacuate the fort, his garrison to retain their arms, with personal and company property, and march out with the honors of war, being conveyed to whatever port in the loyal States they might indicate. Considering his hopeless condition, these terms were highly honorable to Maj. Anderson, and hardly less so to Gen. Beauregard; though it was the manifest interest of the Confederates not only to stop their prodigal expenditure of ammunition at the earliest moment, but to obtain possession of the coveted fortress in as effective a state as possible—each day's additional bombardment subtracting seriously from its strength and efficiency, as a defense of Charleston after it should have fallen into their hands.

While Charleston resumed and intensified her exulting revels, and the telegraph invited all "Dixie" to share the rapture of her triumph, the weary garrison extinguished the fire still raging, and lay down to rest for the night. The steamboat Isabel came down next morning to take them off; but delay occurred in their removal by tug to her deck, until it was too late to get out by that day's tide. When the baggage had all been removed, a part of the garrison was told to salute their flag with fifty guns; the Stars and Stripes being lowered with cheers at the firing of the last gun. Unhappily, there was at that fire a premature explosion, whereby one of the gunners was killed, and three more or less seriously wounded. The men were then formed and marched out, preceded by their band, playing inspiring airs, and taken on board the *Isabel,* whereby they were transferred to the federal steamship *Baltic,* awaiting them off the bar, which brought them directly to New York, whence Maj. Anderson dispatched to his Government this brief and manly report:

### "STEAMSHIP BALTIC, OFF SANDY HOOK, April 18, 1861.

"The Honorable S. Cameron,
"Secretary of War, Washington, D.C.:

"SIR: Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed, and gorge-wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by Gen. Beauregard (being the same offered by him on the 11th instant, prior to the commencement of hostilities), and marched out of the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, which colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

"ROBERT ANDERSON,
"Major First Artillery."

## MAJOR ANDERSON IN NEW YORK

Major Robert W. Anderson, aboard the steamer *Baltic,* arrived in New York City on the morning of April 18th and was greeted by tumultuous cheering.[1] During the ensuing days, receptions and fêtes were held, and Anderson received many gifts and honors including two swords (presented by the citizens of Taunton, MA, and of Philadelphia), a five and one-half inches long gold box (from the authorities of New York City), and, important to the present narrative concerning Augustus B. Sage, a gold medal.

The *New York Herald,* April 25, 1861, carried these accounts:

### MOVEMENTS OF MAJOR ANDERSON.

A large number of persons called at the Brevoort House yesterday morning to pay their respects to Major Anderson. The school children were also out in large numbers and among them were the children from the Orphan Asylum, who ranged themselves on the sidewalk in front of

**Major Robert Anderson, defender of Fort Sumter.**
***(Book of Anecdotes of the War of the Rebellion,* 1866)**

[1] Certain information is from Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America,* 1866, Vol. I, pp. 332-335.

the Hotel, and sang several national and patriotic songs, including the "Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," and "The Red, White and Blue."

Major Anderson was induced to show himself to the children several times during the morning, his appearance always being signal for loud cheering from the children, and also the large number of spectators who had gathered around the hotel. Several of the newly organized military companies marched past the hotel during the day and gave three hearty cheers for Major Anderson.

### GOLD MEDAL TO MAJOR ANDERSON.

A splendid gold medal is to be presented to Major Anderson by our citizens. The number of subscriptions is limited to two hundred of $5 each, and eighty-two subscribers have already contributed, each of whom will receive a bronze copy. The subscription paper is at No. 24 Division Street.[1] The presentation will be made in public by the Mayor.

Major Anderson visited the residence of Hon. John P. Jackson, at Newark, last Tuesday afternoon, where an immense crowd of several thousand persons gathered and greeted him with much enthusiasm. The city looked beautiful, and had all the appearance of a military camp. Flags were displayed from public and private buildings. He was visited at Mr. Jackson's residence by many distinguished Jerseymen, and escorted through the city by Captain Toler's company. The enthusiasm was great and the excitement intense.

## LOSSING'S DESCRIPTION

In later years historian Benson J. Lossing described the medal:

> The citizens of New York presented to him a beautiful gold medal, appropriately inscribed. The medal was two and one-half inches in diameter.
>
> On one side was a representation of the bombardment of a fort on fire; on the other a wreath of laurel, just within the outer rim, clasped by the American shield. Inside of this wreath the words, *"Prudens fidelis et audax invictæ fidelitatis præmium."* Then there was a little circle of thirty-four stars, within and across the face of which were the words: "To Major ROBERT ANDERSON, U.S.A., from the citizens of New York City, as a slight tribute to his patriotism."

One can envision a scenario in which George H. Lovett, upon hearing of the fall of Fort Sumter and the impending arrival of Anderson in New York City, quickly prepared dies for this medal. Enlisted to help sell them was his old customer, Augustus B. Sage.

Issued several weeks after the fall of the fort, this is probably the very first Civil War medal made.

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the John McCoy Collection, 1864, included this under the heading of "American Medals, Silver":

> Lot 2049: Representation of the Bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12, 13, 1861; rev. "To Maj. Robert Anderson, U.S.A., from the citizens of New York, as a slight tribute to his patriotism;" splendid proof, the first impression from the dies, as shown by the number on the edge. Unique in this metal, [size] 46. [Realized $16.00.]

How this first impression made its way from Lovett or Sage to McCoy was not related. This is probably the same silver piece that later appeared in the Charles I. Bushnell Collection sale conducted by the Chapman brothers in 1882, Lot 1660. The cataloguer noted: "Mr. Bushnell stated to us that this medal was *unique* in this metal." Today, a silver impression is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society. The Bushnell sale also included specimens struck in bronze and tin, each called "extremely rare."

Long after the Lovett-Sage medal for Fort Sumter had been distributed, the Chamber of Commerce of New York commissioned a series of medals to be made and presented

**The Lovett/Sage medal for Fort Sumter.**

[1] The office of Augustus B. Sage.

Off to the war! The 7th Regiment of New York City on parade at the corner of Broadway and Cortland Street, April 19, 1861, prior to departing for battle, this being just a few days after the fall of Fort Sumter. In the next several years various regiments were mustered at and near New York City, including the 170th Regiment, which Sage joined in 1862. Many send-off ceremonies were held. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* 1862)

Union troops leave New York City on April 29, 1861 aboard the *Baltic*—a vignette from the Civil War in Sage's era. Fort Sumter was still fresh in everyone's mind. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* 1862)

to Major Anderson and the other defenders. These are discussed in Appendix II.

In the *American Journal of Numismatics,* December 1867,[1] Charles E. Anthon, in an article, "The Ownership and Preservation of Medal Dies," asked, "Where are the dies of the [medal awarded] by the citizens of New York, in 1858, to Cyrus W. Field; and by the citizens of New York, in 1861, to Major Robert W. Anderson?"

Epilogue: On April 14, 1865, by which time the Civil War had ended, Anderson was on hand at the rubble-strewn Fort Sumter when the original Union flag that he had taken down in 1861 was raised again.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUMTER MEDAL

The Sage-Lovett medal, an immense 69.9 mm. in diameter, must have tested the limits of any coining press that George H. Lovett had on hand. A description follows:

**OBVERSE design:** SUMTER. above, near the top border, in sans-serif letters. APRIL 12 & 13 / 1861 below, near the bottom border, in two lines, also sans-serif. At the center is a very well executed, detailed view of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, with smoke billowing from the fort and with smoke (presumably from cannon fire) at the distant shores to the left and right; an exploding rocket or bomb in the air to the left, rocket trails in the sky; and an exploding bomb in the left foreground just above the waves.

**REVERSE design:** Inside the border is a continuous wreath of oak with a shield at the bottom, enclosing the inscription PRUDENS, FIDELIS ET AUDAX. INVICTÆ FIDELITATIS PRÆMIUM in arc at the top half of the medal just inside the wreath; ring of 35 stars interrupted by the shield, enclosing the inscription: TO / MAJ. ROBERT ANDERSON, / U.S.A. / FROM THE CITIZENS[2] OF / NEW YORK CITY, / AS A / SLIGHT TRIBUTE, / TO HIS / PATRIOTISM. Just above the wreath, to the left of the shield, is G.H. LOVETT N. YORK, while to the right of the shield is AUG. B. SAGE PUB.

**Copper. Plain edge:** Very rare. Presented to those who helped pay for the gold medal presented to Major Anderson.

**Brass. Plain edge:** Very rare. A specimen is in the collection of the ANS.

**White metal. Plain edge:** Very rare. Some or possibly all may have been issued with a lightly silvered surface which over a period of time formed an amalgam with the white metal underneath, creating an irregular, matte-like surface. A specimen is in the collection of the ANS; another is owned by Frank Van Zandt and has been in his family for several generations.[3]

**Silver. Plain edge:** Very rare, possibly unique. A specimen is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

**Gold. Plain edge:** Presented to Major Anderson.

## SAGE IN THE CIVIL WAR

On August 19, 1862, at the age of 21, Augustus B. Sage enrolled in the Union Army in New York City.[4] On October 7 in a ceremony held on Staten Island, he was mustered into Company B, 170th Regiment, New York Infantry Volunteers.

The 170th Regiment had been authorized on July 17, 1862, as part of the plan to raise a group to be known as the Corcoran Legion or Corcoran Brigade. Recruiting subsequently took place in Manhattan and Brooklyn. In time, Sage's unit was known under several designations including Augustus B. Sage's Infantry.[5]

On October 16, 1862, the 170th Regiment received orders to go to Washington, DC, from which point the men traveled to Newport News, Virginia, to join the Department of Virginia, remaining there until July 1863.

On December 24, 1862, in Newport News, Sage wrote to Colonel Peter McDermott, commanding officer of the 170th Regiment:

> Colonel:
>
> I hereby tender my resignation as Captain of Co. B 170th Regt. N.Y.V. on account of ill health. I am Colonel,
> Your Obedient Servant
> Aug. B. Sage
> Captain Co. B. 170 N.Y.V.

Sage's resignation was received in short order, and on December 25, 1862, it was forwarded to headquarters. His resignation became effective in mid-January 1863. He left the service with an honorable discharge by order of Major Gen. Dix.

The 170th Regiment, without Sage, continued in service until July 1865, taking part in more than three dozen military engagements, the first of which took place at a deserted house near Suffolk, Kelly's Store, Virginia, on January 30, 1863.

Among other activities, the regiment participated in the siege of Suffolk, VA (April 11 to May 4, 1863), operations on the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad (May 12-26, 1863), Dix's Peninsula Campaign in Virginia (July 24 to August 7, 1863), the Wilderness Campaign (May 17 to June 12, 1864), battles from May 17 to 21, 1864 (at Spottsylvania Court House, Laurel Hill, Ny River, and Fredericksburg Road), battle at Cold Harbor (June 1-12, 1864), extended sieges and operations against Petersburg and Richmond (June 16, 1864, to April 2, 1865), battle at Ream's Station

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[1] From a paper read before the Society at its regular meeting, October 24, 1867.

[2] C in CITIZENS is a larger letter than any other letters in this line and is from a different size font; apparently an error.

[3] The earliest known owner was Archie Atchison, a numismatist who was Frank Van Zandt's mother's grandfather. Cf. conversation with F.V.Z., July 30, 1997.

[4] Information concerning Sage's Civil War service is from the following sources, among others: John F. Walter, "One Hundred and Seventieth New York Infantry," copyrighted December 1979, revised May 1997. Pete Smith, letter, March 1997. Document copies and other information provided by Frank Campbell, American Numismatic Society, May 27, 1997. Thanks also to genealogist Sandra Slater.

[5] Other designations (cf. John F. Walter) from time to time included Peter McDermott's Infantry, James P. McIvor's Infantry, Michael C. Murphy's Infantry, George W. Warner's Infantry, John B. Donnelly's Infantry, Charles Hagan's Infantry, Jeremiah Lynch's Infantry, and Joseph B. Scully's Infantry.

Aug. B. Sage submits his resignation from the Union Army, December 24, 1862. (Reduced size copy from the National Archives)

170th Regiment N.Y.V.
Newport News Va
Dec 24 1862

To
Colonel Peter McDermott
Comdg 170th Regt. N.Y.V.

Colonel:

I hereby tender my resignation as Captain of Co. B. 170th Regt. N.Y.V. on account of ill health. I am, Colonel,

Your Obedient Servant
Aug. B. Sage

Resignation accepted and forwarded Captain Co. B. 170. N.Y.V. to Headquarters Dec 25th 1862.
Peter McDermott
Col Commdg

(August 25, 1864), battles from February 5 to 7, 1865 (Dabney's Mills, Hatcher's Run, Armstrong's Mills, Rowanty Creek, and Vaughan Road), and the Appomattox campaign (March 28 to April 9, 1865).

After the Confederacy surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on April 9, the 170th Regiment remained in the area, at Burkesville, until May 2, after which the men were ordered to Washington, where they took part in the Grand Review of Eastern Armies on May 23. The remaining members were mustered out of service in Washington on July 15. During the career of the 170th Regiment, 10 officers and 119 enlisted men were mortally wounded or killed, and an additional two officers and 96 enlisted men died from disease or other non-combat causes.

Apparently, Augustus B. Sage recovered from his December 1862 illness in good form, for on July 13, 1863, he was mustered in service as Captain Sage of Company A, 11th Volunteer Regiment of New York, again at Staten Island, New York.[1] Soon thereafter, on July 27, he was named colonel to replace the late Col. H.F. O'Brien, under whom he had served briefly.

Meanwhile, the 17th New York Veteran Infantry, as it was formally designated, had been organized on Staten Island, New York, by consolidating individuals from the 11th and 17th New York Infantry regiments, which had been mustered out of service in late spring 1863. In addition, new recruits were signed on. The majority of the regiment's members were from the greater New York City area, but some hailed from other towns in the state including Jamaica, New Dorp, Norwich, and Poughkeepsie.[2]

Sage's second stint of military service, like the first, was brief. This time, complications seem to have arisen from alleged falsification of information on his enlistment documents, although details are wanting. His resignation was either voluntary or involuntary, depending upon one's interpretation of surviving military paperwork. It seems that Sage had been promised the command of the 17th Veteran Regiment as it was being formed, but was not given this honor.

After being mustered into service in September 1863, the 17th New York Veteran Infantry was dispatched to Louisville, KY, and then to Columbus in the same state, at the latter location joining the Department of the Tennessee unit known as the District of Columbus, 6th Division, XVI Corps.

On December 29, 1863, Sage, recuperating in a hospital, wrote to Col. Peter McDermott, at the Commandery Hospital No. 1, Paducah, Kentucky:

> Sir:
>
> I respectfully tender my resignation as Captain of Co. D 17th N.Y.V.I. for the following reasons, viz:
>
> On the 13th of July 1863 I was mustered as Captain in the 11th Regt. N.Y.S.V.I. under Colonel H.F. O'Brien. Col. O'Brien was killed by the rioters in New York City, July 14th and on the 27th of the same month I was appointed Colonel in his place by the Governor of New York.

[1] He was enrolled by Gov. Seymour on July 11, 1863; mustered in by Lt. Cutting, July 13, 1863.

[2] John F. Walter, *Seventeenth New York Veteran History*, 1997, and military documents in the National Archives are the sources for most information. Sage never applied for a military pension, nor did anyone else ever make an application in his name.

I continued in that capacity until October 1st 1863 when by orders from the Adj Genl of N.Y. state my regiment was consolidated with the 17th N.Y.V.I. I had three companies—not wishing to serve as Captain in a Regiment of which I had been Colonel of a portion, thereof; I immediately tendered my resignation to Maj. Genl. John A. Dix, Com'dg the Dept. of the East. Not having the necessary certificate of non-indebtedness from the Ordnance and Treasury Departments at that time—it was not accepted—I was placed on detached service, but when I obtained the necessary documents to ensure the acceptance of my resignation, the regiment had left the Department for the West. I was ordered to join my Regiment and did so without delay.

I, on arriving at Eastport, Miss, where the Regiment was then stationed, immediately, I tendered my resignation, and enclosed the necessary certificates from the Ordnance and Treasury Depts. I heard nothing from it until a day or two since when I heard from the Post Adj at Eastport (Lieut. Gooding, 122d Ill. V.I.) that my papers had been lost. I enclose his certificate of Honor to that effect[1] and also Certificates of Honor from Colonels Grover [spelling not clear] and Cladek[2] through whom the papers were sent. I had a duplicate of my Auditors Certificate which I enclose.

Trusting the Certificate will be sufficient, and that I will not have to wait for a duplicate to come from Washington, as I do not think I am earning my salary by laying [*sic*] in a Hospital unable to make the Government any return, I trust myself entirely to your sense of Honor and Right, and respectfully ask my immediate discharge.

I am Sir,
Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
Aug. B. Sage
Capt. Co D 17th N.Y.V.I.

While, seemingly, Sage resigned voluntarily, an existing document indicates that there may have been another reason: Sage's original enlistment was called into question, as per this docketed note, dated January 11, 1864, at Union City, Tennessee, signed by William T.C. Grover, on Sage's resignation:

> Charges were preferred against this officer of forging and altering the dates of enlistment papers during the organization of this Regiment in New York, but now withdrawn on condition that he tender his resignation. I respectfully and earnestly recommend that it be accepted without delay.[3]

Other than this brief note, nothing else has been located concerning such charges. Sage's resignation was accepted and became official on March 7, 1864, by order of Gen. W.T. Sherman.[4]

It can be said in Sage's favor that his numismatic career and other aspects of his life seem to have been without guile, and he seems to have been held in high esteem by his friends and clients. Moreover, existing documents, including Sage's detailed letter of December 29, 1863, give no indication of any wrongdoing.

## COL. O'BRIEN AND THE DRAFT RIOT

Relative to Sage's mention of Col. O'Brien and Sage's earlier service in the 11th New York Regiment, rioting took place from July 13 to 16, 1863, and was promulgated by the policy whereby men who could afford to do so could pay $300 for a substitute to go to war, while average individuals had no choice but to go to battle. In four days of uncontrolled rampaging by poor men, soon joined by scoundrels and thieves, over 1,200 people were killed, nearly 8,000 injured, over 100 buildings were torched (including the Colored Orphan Asylum), and hundreds more shops and stores were looted. Today the riots are remembered as one of the sorriest chapters in the history of New York City.

A contemporary account in the *New York Herald* told of the turmoil and O'Brien's unsavory part in it:[5]

> Early in the morning there might be seen several hundreds of people congregated at each of the corners in the vicinity of Thirty-Fourth Street and up to Forty-Sixth. There seemed to be no great excitement pervading the masses of persons who were here assembled, but a settled and gloomy quiet hung over their every movement. All canvassed the exciting events which had transpired the day previous with a good deal of sober calmness, and no demonstration of any description took place which might be construed as an outbreak.
>
> Numbers were armed, but no attack upon person or locality seemed to be determined upon. Several of their friends addressed them, and they listened with comparative quiet. Father Clowrey, the Catholic priest of that district, spoke to them, and requested that they would go to their homes and keep quiet. This advice from the venerated clergyman seemed to be regarded with a good deal of interest, and the crowd, for a few moments, seemed to be deeply impressed with what was so feelingly said to them. There appeared to be a general disposition to keep quiet at this moment, and several turned into the adjacent streets, as if to wend their way homeward. Father Clowrey, however, soon went away, and the crowd commenced to clamor

[1] Dated December 27, 1863, signed by H.J.C. Gooding.
[2] John J. Cladek, colonel, 35th New York Volunteers.
[3] No specific information concerning such charges against Sage has been located in the military records in the National Archives. His surviving enlistment papers, filled out by others, seem to be in order.
[4] The life of William Tecumseh Sherman (1820-1891) has several connections with numismatics, including a stint as a banker in San Francisco in the Gold Rush era of the mid-1850s. He was in New York City in the summer of 1857 when the financial panic of that year began. His memoirs mention the *S.S. Central America,* sunk on September 12, 1857, with a vast treasure of gold bars and coins aboard. Relative to Sage's Civil War service, Sherman commanded the XIII, XV, XVI (Sage's unit), and XVII Corps, known as the Army of the Tennessee, from October 24, 1863, to March 26, 1864. The statue of *Victory,* a part of Augustus Saint-Gaudens' 1903 *Sherman Victory* monument erected at the southeast corner of Central Park, New York City, was used as the inspiration for the famous MCMVII (1907) American gold $20 coin.
[5] As quoted in *The History of New York City,* by W.L. Stone, New York, Virtue & Yorston, 1872, pp. 546-552.

and use emphatic gesticulations once more. Propositions were made by several to proceed to different localities and break open premises. But these suggestions seemed to meet with opposition. Some one of the multitude remarked that the police and military were coming up the avenue, as on Monday, and, like a flash of electricity, the whole crowd were moved with the most tremendous excitement, and daring epithets were freely indulged in.

"Let them come on, and we will meet them like men!" were the outcries which were now raised. The crowd rushed into several houses and took therefrom every article which might in any way be converted into a weapon. Women also armed themselves with whatever they could lay hold of, expressing themselves in the strongest language, both of encouragement to their friends and relatives, and disdain for those who were coming up to disperse them. The crowd was at this time congregated between Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Seventh Streets in the Second Avenue, and accessions to their ranks were flocking in from all directions. There was not a single laborer in that locality who did not leave his employment and join the mass, until it must certainly have numbered some ten thousand persons in all. The sight at this time was certainly of a nature to excite fear in the stoutest heart. There was not much clamor or noise of any description, but a settled and determined appearance was the peculiar characteristic of each individual. All seemed imbued with one idea, that of "resistance," and no matter what obstacle came in their path, they seemed ready to encounter it.

At about 10 o'clock in the morning a body of troops, about 400 in all, accompanied by a number of police, marched leisurely up Third Avenue. The military were composed of Company H, of the Twelfth regiment, under command of Captain Franklin; and about fifty of the Eleventh Regiment New York Volunteers, under the command of Colonel H.F. O'Brien. They brought with them two small field-pieces. There were also about 400 police on the march, led by Deputy Superintendent Carpenter and Sergeant Copeland. They were well armed, and carried their clubs in a firm grasp, as if determined to do their part of the work.

On arriving at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Third Avenue, the entire force marched down the street into the avenue, the military passing up some few minutes before. There was no opposition whatever offered to the military as they filed past; but as soon as the police made their appearance the fight commenced, and in earnest. A shower of bricks came down upon their heads from all directions, and a hand-to-hand encounter immediately followed. The police rushed into the various houses on the route, and, hurrying up stairs, used their clubs against any person, young or old, whom they met. In those encounters it is impossible here to state how many were killed and wounded; but there must certainly have been upward of 10 or 15 clubbed to death.

This assault did a great deal to excite the people to the highest pitch, and they now fought and acted like men who did not care what they did, or what was the consequence of their acts. The police fought well, but in some cases they acted in a manner calculated to incite the people to increased violence. Several were clubbed to death in their own houses, and the stairs, rooms, and hallways were covered with blood, while the furniture, glasses, &c., were broken to pieces. The police evidently got the best of it in this encounter, and succeeded to a great extent in putting down the disturbance, which was fast spreading from street to street. The police, as they came from the houses after inflicting summary punishment upon all who came in their way, formed again in the streets. Here they took up the line of march, formed again in the streets. Here they took up the line of march, and were proceeding to another vicinity, when a second attack took place; and now the real work commenced.

There were two howitzers placed in position, supporting which were two companies of the Eleventh New York State Volunteers, under command of Colonel O'Brien, who was on horseback. The military formed on Second Avenue, at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street, with the crowd on either side of them and a few in front, none expressing the slightest trepidation at the dangerous position in which they were placed. Bricks flew like hailstones among the soldiers. Colonel O'Brien rode up and down in the center, and then gave the command "Fire!" to those who had charge of the howitzers. Some allege that these pieces were loaded with grape and canister; but however this may be, there were several seen to fall at this time. The two companies of infantry of the Eleventh regiment, which were under the immediate command of Colonel O'Brien, also opened a fire of Minie bullets and committed some havoc among the crowd, which was firmly massed together at this point. Several fell upon the sidewalks and in the middle of the street, and were carried into various houses, where their wounds were attended to.

The action of Colonel O'Brien, as described by several who were within hearing distance of him during the whole time, is thus described from the commencement of the conflict. He urged on the soldiers to fire into and attack the people in all manner of ways. How true this is cannot be determined; but the fate which he met with is probably one of the most horrible that the present generation ever witnessed. Colonel O'Brien, as has already been stated, was on horseback, and had the entire command of the military, and it was by his orders that they fired.

A most heart-rending occurrence took place during this fight. Colonel O'Brien held a revolver in his hand, and was riding up and down either line of the crowd. He, as it is stated, fired his revolver into their midst, the ball killing a woman and child, which she held in her arms. After several rounds had been fired the people began to disperse, and the police proceeded to another part of the city. Colonel O'Brien and his command, however, remained. The Colonel dismounted from his horse and walked into a drug store.

Had he taken his departure at this time, there is little doubt that his life would have been saved. Colonel O'Brien stayed in the drug store for some few minutes; it is thought that he went in to get some refreshments. The crowd were around the door at this time. There was scarcely a word spoken, but the lowering glances of a thousand men looked down in vengeful spirit upon him as he stood in the door. He then drew his sword, and with the revolver in the other hand, walked out on the sidewalk in the very center of the crowd. He was immediately surrounded, and one of the men came behind, and striking him a heavy blow on the back of the head, staggered him. The crowd then immediately surrounded and beat him in a most shocking manner. His almost inanimate body was taken up in the strong arms of the crowd and hurried to the first lamp-post, where

it was strung up by a rope. After a few minutes the body was taken down, he being still alive, and thrown, like so much rubbish, into the street. The body lay in the middle of the street, within a few yards of the corner of Thirty-fourth Street. Nature shudders at the appalling scenes which here took place. The body was mutilated in such a manner that it was utterly impossible to recognize it. The head was nearly one mass of gore, and the clothes saturated with blood. A crowd of some 300 persons surrounded the prostrate figure. These men looked upon the terrible sight with the greatest coolness, and some even smiled at the gory object. Our reporter walked leisurely among the crowd which surrounded the body, and gazed upon the extended mass of flesh which was once the corpulent form of Colonel H.F. O'Brien. Notwithstanding the fearful process which the soldier had gone through, he was yet breathing. The eyes were closed, but there was a very apparent twitching of the eyelids, while the lips were now and again convulsed, as if in the most intense agony. After lying for about an hour in this position, several of the crowd took hold of the body by the legs and dragged it from one side of the street to the other. This operation was gone through with several times, when the crowd again left the body lying in its original position.

Had Colonel O'Brien been a man of weak constitution, he would certainly have ceased to exist long before this time. He was, however, a man of great natural strength, and this fact probably kept him breathing longer than would any common person. The crowd remarked this, and watched his every slightest movement with the most intense anxiety. Now and then the head would be raised from the ground, while an application of a foot from one of the crowd would dash the already mangled mass again to the earth. This conduct was carried on for some time; and when our reporter left the body was still lying in the street, the last spark of existence evidently having taken its flight.

Probably the worst feature of the affray in is neighborhood was the death of the two or three unfortunate women who happened to be on the ground at the time. One woman's life was saved by the timely services of Dr. E.D. Connery, who extracted a ball from her person. This gentleman's valuable services were brought into requisition in other places where a number of parties had been wounded. These events, of course, inflamed the other women of that ward, and they turned out in large force to aid their relatives and friends when any opportunity should occur.

What part, if any, Sage played in the 11th Regiment's activities in New York City during the dark days of the riot is not known. Perhaps he was among the 400 troops said to have been on hand.

## SAGE'S REGIMENT WITHOUT SAGE

Later, Sage's second service unit, the 17th New York Veteran Infantry, sans Sage, was part of the Second Brigade, Fourth Division, XVI Corps, Army of the Tennessee, from January through April 1864, then joining the Third Brigade of the same group, through August. From that time through June 1865 Sage's former unit was part of the First Brigade, Second Union, of the XIV Corps, Army of the Cumberland.

Actions of the 17th Regiment included: Movement from Louisville, KY, to Vicksburg, MS (January 24, 1864); W.T. Sherman's campaign from Vicksburg to Meridian, MS (February 3 to March 2, 1864); skirmish at Pond Springs near Courtland, AL (May 27, 1864); skirmish at Pond Springs (June 20, 1864); action at Courtland, AL (July 25, 1864); travel to Atlanta, GA (August 4, 1864); siege of Atlanta (August 8 to 25, 1864); flank movement at Jonesborough, GA (August 25-30, 1864); battle at Jonesborough (August 31 to September 1, 1864); engagement at Lovejoy Station, GA (September 2-5, 1864); pursuit of Hood in northern Georgia and Alabama (September 29 to November 3, 1864); participation in Sherman's sweeping march to the sea (November 15 to December 10, 1864); engagement at Sandersville, GA (November 26, 1864); siege of Savannah, GA (December 10-21, 1864); Campaign of the Carolinas (January 30 to April 26, 1865); battle at Bentonville, NC (March 19-21, 1865); occupation of Goldsborough, NC (March 24-30, 1865); advance on Raleigh, NC (April 10-14, 1865); occupation of Raleigh (April 14, 1865); end of hostilities with the surrender at Bonnet's House, Durham Station, NC (April 26, 1865).

On May 24, 1865, the unit took part in the Grand Review of Western Armies in Washington, DC. The regiment was mustered out of service in Washington on July 13, 1865. During its service the 17th Regiment sustained the loss of over 100 men.

## AFTER THE WAR

During the Civil War, including while he was in the Union Army, Augustus B. Sage is listed in city directories as being a stationer at his home at 46 Rivington Street, without any mention of rare coins. There he lived with his widowed mother Catherine and, probably, some of his siblings. He next appears in directories as a seller of books in 1865-1866 at 155 Orchard Street.[1]

In 1866-1867 he practiced law at an office at 863 Broadway while continuing to reside on Orchard Street. In 1868 the Martindale-Hubbell directory of lawyers gives his office at 37 Nassau Street and his residence at 137 Madison Avenue. By 1870 he moved his residence and law practice to his mother Catherine's home at 279 Seventh Street, later locating his residence and practice at 22 Henry Street.

During this time he was not a part of the numismatic scene, nor did scattered auction catalogue listings of his earlier tokens mention his current location or occupation. Similarly, he was not involved in the formation of the New York Numismatic Society in 1864 or the rebirth of the American Numismatic Society in the same year.

[1] Appendix VII includes directory listings for the Sage family.

## AUGUSTUS SAGE MARRIES

On February 11, 1867, Augustus B. Sage married Mary B. Watson, of New York City, with Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D.D., officiating.[1] Witnessing the marriage were Grace and Charles Gilliat.

The application for their marriage certificate included this information:

> Full name of groom: Augustus B. Sage.
> Place of residence: New York City.
> Age: Twenty-five.
> White.
> Occupation: Lawyer.
> Place of birth: Connecticut.
> Father's name: Robert Sage.
> Mother's maiden name: Catherine McKennan [surname not clear].
> No. of groom's marriage: First.
> Full name of bride: Mary B. Watson.
> Maiden name, if a widow: Mary B. Thompson.
> Place of residence: New York.
> Age: Twenty-four.
> White.
> Place of birth: Illinois.
> Father's name: Benjamin Thompson.
> Mother's maiden name: Margaret Lindler.
> No. of bride's marriage: Second.
> New York, Feby 11th 1867.
> [Witnessed by — Smith and H. Creighton.]

No further accounts have been found of Mr. and Mrs. Sage's married life or of Mrs. Sage's later activities.

## SAGE REMINISCENCES

On January 21, 1867, Sage penned the first of three letters to the editor of the *American Journal of Numismatics,* instituting a brief series, "Recollections of a Coin Collector," first appearing in the February issue.

On May 9, 1867, Sage attended by invitation a meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society and gave them a "valuable donation," the nature of which was withheld until the next following meeting.[2] At the subsequent gathering, May 23, it was revealed that the Society had received "from Mr. Sage, dies of various series formerly published by him." By this time certain of the dies had been used extensively for restriking, no doubt at the shop of engraver George H. Lovett who had created them.

A few months later Sage presented another gift to the Society, which was acknowledged at the group's meeting on October 10, "The original roll containing autograph signatures to the gold medal conferred on Cyrus W. Field by the citizens of New York."[3]

In November 1867, the editor of the *American Journal of Numismatics,* noting that Sage had sent three letters earlier with reminiscences, stated "we would be glad to receive No. 4." However, such was not forthcoming.

On May 14, 1868, Col. Sage donated a curious old pistol to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. After this time his numismatic activities, if any, are not known to the present writer.

## FINAL CURTAIN

Late in 1873 or very early in 1874, Augustus B. Sage developed pneumonia. Apparently, the last six weeks of his life were spent with this worsening affliction, which caused his death on February 19, 1874.

Sage's death certificate contains the following information:[4]

> Augustus B. Sage.
> Age 32 years, 9 months, 6 days.
> Color: white
> Married.
> Occupation: lawyer.
> Birthplace: New York [*sic*].
> How long in the United States: life
> How long resident in this city: Do. [ditto.]
> Father's birthplace: England.
> Mother's birthplace: New York State.
> Place of death: 32 Rutgers Street, 7th Ward.[5]
> If a dwelling, by how many families, living separately, occupied: 1.
> I hereby certify that I attended deceased from Jany 4th, 1874 to Feb 19, 1874 that I last saw him alive on the 18 day of Feb 1874, that he died on the 19 day of Feb 1874, about 8 o'clock, [A.M. or P.M. not indicated], and that the cause of his death was pneumonia.
> Place of burial: Greenwood Cemetery.[6]
> Date of burial: Feb. 21st 1874

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[1] Certificate of Marriage, State of New York, No. 743; also, notice in *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1867. Vinton was rector of St. Mark's Episcopal Church on Stuyvesant Street, near 2nd Avenue; he resided in the church rectory at 156 2nd Avenue.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* June 1867.

[3] *American Journal of Numismatics,* November 1867.

[4] Certificate No. 170050; preserved in the Municipal Archives of New York City.

[5] Today a one-story building constructed during the present century is on the site (cf. author's visit, July 28, 1997).

[6] Established in 1838 and laid out on Gowanus Heights, Brooklyn, by 1842 as part of a "rural cemetery" plan by the City of New York, to replace the many burying grounds, cemetery vaults, etc., in lower Manhattan, which by that time had become a nuisance and health hazard. Manhattan residents seeking to visit the site took the Atlantic Ferry to Brooklyn, from which point Greenwood Cemetery was a two and one-half mile carriage ride or walk. From the Fulton Ferry it was three and one-half miles distant. At 36th Street and 3rd Avenue, near the visitors' entrance, several marble cutters and tombstone companies conducted business. In 1857 it was described (in *Phelps' Guide*) as having 360 acres of land and 15 miles of roadways. Over a period of time, many famous people were buried there, including DeWitt Clinton (1769-1828), New

Undertaker: John Gray.
Place of business: 306 E. B.Way.
Time from attack till death: Six weeks.
Signed: Nelson Place, Jr., M.D.
Address: 307 E. Broadway.

Burial was in Section 127, Lot 2458, Grave 541 in Greenwood Cemetery. Today this is a plot without a headstone or marker near Garland and Border avenues in the cemetery, not far from Florio Path. No other family members are buried with him or nearby.

His passing does not seem to have resulted in any published tributes or reminiscences in the New York City papers. However, the *New York Times,* February 20, 1874, carried this brief notice under the heading "Died":

> SAGE—in this City on Thursday morning, Feb. 19, Col. Aug. B. Sage in the 33rd year of his age. Funeral services on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock at his late residence, 32 Rutgers St.

Sage slipped away, unnoticed by the numismatic fraternity. However, five years later, the *Proceedings* of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, March 18, 1879, page 24, noted that he was deceased by this date (as did certain other Society records of the era). Again, there were no tributes, and no obituary appeared in the *American Journal of Numismatics.* Similarly, no commentary concerning his passing has been located in dealer catalogues.

By 1874, the commercial numismatic world largely belonged to Sage's successor dealers who had started business in the 1860s or later, W.E. Woodward, E.B. Mason, Jr., John W. Haseltine, J. Colvin Randall, and others being examples. The Chapman brothers had not yet been heard from, David Proskey had been a collector for but a year, and Édouard Frossard was observing his second year as a numismatist. In Roxbury, Massachusetts, W.E. Woodward was getting ready to conduct his 18th Sale, which began a few days later on February 23, 1874, at Leavitt & Co., New York City.

At the time of Sage's death a prominent dealer of the twentieth century had just been conceived by his mother, or was about to be. Thomas Lindsay Elder was born in Dayton, Pennsylvania, nine months later on November 22, 1874.

However, of the several dealers who were Sage's contemporaries in the late 1850s, only William K. Idler (of Philadelphia) and Edward Cogan (New York City) remained active and well known on the national numismatic scene. John K. Curtis seems to have wound down his coin business by the late 1860s, although he maintained his interest in the subject until the 1880s. Ezra Hill, one of two New York City dealers who had been active buyers in Sage's 1859 sales, had long since died. Nothing had been heard from Charles Benjamin Norton for a long time.

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York governor and prime factor in the Erie Canal; Samuel F.B. Morse (1791-1872), artist and inventor of the telegraph; adventuress Lola Montez (circa 1818-1861); both Currier and Ives (1813-1888 and 1824-1895 respectively); and Horace Greeley (1811-1872), publisher of the *New York Tribune.* John Matthews, prominent in the soda water and soda fountain business in the mid-nineteenth century, is remembered at Greenwood by a huge monument; numismatically he was well known for several varieties of tokens and medals advertising his business.

# APPENDIX I

# *Known Buyers in Sage's Auctions*

## BIDDERS AND BUYERS

The following buyers are listed in named and priced copies of the three coin auction sales known to have been catalogued by Augustus B. Sage.[1] The list is rather remarkable in that many names are not recorded in later numismatic historical literature. One explanation may be that the names of collectors of the 1850s familiar to us today are mostly those who have been memorialized by having their names on auction catalogues and/or signing up as members of early numismatic societies in Philadelphia or New York. Presumably, numismatists who were memorialized in print constituted only a small fraction of those active in the hobby.

By way of analogy, in the 1990s probably 150,000 to 250,000 different people subscribe to various numismatic periodicals (*Coin World, COINage, Coins* magazine, *Numismatic News, Coin Dealer Newsletter,* and others), and an even larger number, estimated at one to two million, are on the Bureau of the Mint mailing list. However, fewer than 35,000 belong to the American Numismatic Association and/or the American Numismatic Society, and probably no more than a few hundred collectors have had their names on the covers of auction catalogues during the past decade.

It is apparent upon reading multiple priced and named copies of the same sale catalogue—the Bogert sale is an example—that the auctioneer called aloud the name of the buyer, such as "Foskett." The Foskett surname is not a common one, and various observers jotted such names as "Foscut," "Fosdick," and "Fosgate." However, Mr. D. Beveridge's named and priced copy (now in the John W. Adams library) has the correct Foskett. Similarly, other names are misspelled and/or abbreviated. Mellis appears sometimes as "Malis," Harrison as "Harris," Hawley as "Hawly" or "Hy," etc. The name of Quackenbush was simply too long to enter on a repeated basis; thus, observers simply wrote "Quack" or "Qck.," or some similar notation. R.L. Stuart apparently bid as "R.L.S.," resulting in some copies having these initials throughout, at least one copy mis-translating it (by copying another's catalogue?) as "R.S.S.," and so on. All of this adds a measure of challenge to trying to determine who did what in the auction sale room in 1859.

The entry "Cash" simply refers to a sale to one or more unregistered buyers who paid cash on the spot.

In the following summaries the surnames of buyers are given, followed by a comprehensive listing with surnames and prenoms (when known) and brief biographies (when known). Certain biographies are given earlier in the main text and are not repeated here.

## BOGERT SALE BUYERS (FEBRUARY-MARCH 1859)

The following is a listing of buyers compiled from four different priced and named (in some instances incompletely) copies of the sale catalogue. Also included are buyers' names from the addenda.[2] The listing reads like a veritable *Who's Who in American Numismatics.*

Messrs. Adams, Baulch,[3] Baulot,[4] Beveridge, Bishop, Black, Bragg, Bramhall, Bray, Brooks, Brown, Bushnell, O.E.C., M.W.C.,[5] W.C. [or M.C.],[6] Cash, Chapin [Chaplin], Charles, Chesley, Connor, Cummings, Curtis, Dickeson, Dodge, Dunn, N.F., Foskett, French, Glover, Graham, Groh, J.H.H., S.H., Hammersley,[7] Harrison, Hawley, James, Jaudon, F.C.L., Lawrence, Lewis, Mack, McDermott,[8] Mellis,[9] Mickley, Miller, Morse, Moses, Nesbit, Nichols, Oliver, Paddock, Page,[10] Pink,

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[1] From copies preserved in the libraries of John W. Adams, Remy Bourne, Joel J. Orosz, P. Scott Rubin, Frank Van Zandt (two priced and named copies of the Bogert catalogue), and the author.

[2] Addenda catalogues from the P. Scott Rubin library (copy originally owned and priced by sale participant W.G. Stevenson) and the Frank Van Zandt library.

[3] "Balch" in some copies.

[4] May be the same person as Baulch.

[5] Mark Wilks Collet.

[6] Probably Mark Wilks Collet again.

[7] Or Hammodsley; in the Beveridge copy it is "Hammodsley" for Lot 359 and "Hammersley" for Lot 366; in the same copy there is also the abbreviation "Hamdsly" for other lots. One catalogue in the Van Zandt library has "Hammersly," and the other has "Hamersly."

[8] "McD.," "McDmt.," "McDesmont," "McDermot," etc., in various copies. Of the two priced and named copies of the catalogue in the Van Zandt library, one has "McDermot" as the buyer for $1.25 of Lot 233 (a medal of Prince Albert for the 1851 Crystal Palace in London), and the other has "Stephenson" as the buyer for the same price; the same catalogue with "McDermot" has the name spelled as "McDermott" in another location (Lot 260).

[9] "Malis" in one named copy.

[10] "Paige" in one named copy.

Quackenbush, S.B.S., W.W.S. [same lot entry as N.D.W. in another catalogue], Sackett, Sage, Schieffelin, Stevenson,[1] Stuart,[2] M.T., N.T., Thatcher, Thompson, Vail, N.D.W.,[3] Walch,[4] Ward, Watson, Westbank [?; bought Lot 1363], White, and Williams.

Lot 1547, a copy of *Bibliotheca Numismatica* published in Nuremberg, 1760, was withdrawn and given to the American Numismatic Society.

## FOSKETT SALE BUYERS (JUNE 7, 1859)

The auction of the collection of "A Gentleman of this City" (James D. Foskett) was held by Bangs, Merwin & Co. Spelling is as noted in ink in the copy given to James Oliver with "autographic compliments" of a friend; additional items are from another hand-priced copy.[5]

Messrs. Bailey, Bigelow, Bishop, Brown,[6] Bushnell,[7] Clay, Clegg, Crane, Curtis, Davis, Dunn, Gerdts, Graham, Gray,[8] Groh, Harrison, Hart, Hasty,[9] Hayne,[10] Hawley, Hill, Jaudon, Jewett, Lawson,[11] Lawrence, Leverige [Leveridge], Mace, Matthews, Moses, Oliver, Paine,[12] Phillips, Post, Sage, Smith, Stevenson, Whitney, and Wilson.[13]

## WHITMORE SALE BUYERS (NOVEMBER 2-3, 1859)

Buyers as listed in priced and named copies of the Whitmore sale include:[14]

Messrs. Bailey, Baker, Bell, Bird, Bishop, Bramhall, Burke [or Burk; spelled both ways], Cash, Curtis, Davis, Dunn, Francis, French, Frost, Gallagher, Gill, Groh, Harrison, Hart,[15] Hewitt, Hill, Hodge,[16] Holcomb,[17] Hutchinson,[18] Jenks, King, Lane, Lawson,[19] Levick, Moses, Nichols,[20] Oliver, Paddock, Paine,[21] Palmer, Quackenbush, Sage, Stevenson,[22] Stuart,[23] Ward, Williams, and Wright.

Lots 37, 78, 122, 230, 347, 406, 438, 497, and 557 may have been swiped at the sale, misplaced, sold before the sale, or withdrawn. Certain extant copies of priced catalogues note them as being "out" or "missing." The absent lots seem to have been of a miscellaneous nature. Thus, if they had been willfully taken, the scoundrel probably was not a knowledgeable collector. Seemingly, virtually every auction sale of the era, by Sage and others, had some "missing" lots.

## CUMULATIVE LIST OF BUYERS
### (with Biographies)

The following is a cumulative listing of buyers in Sage's three 1859 auctions, together with brief biographical notes in instances in which a listing seems verifiable and, concurrently, biographical information has been located by the author.

While such names as Bushnell and Curtis seem to be unequivocal, common surnames such as Adams, Baker, Brown, Miller, and others are more likely to be subject to error in attribution. Further, in the search for historical numismatic names, prime consideration has been given to surnames of collectors and dealers known to have been active in the 1850s or 1860s, less emphasis on those active in the 1870s, and with little consideration for later names. As an example of the last, E.B. Crane, whose collection was auctioned on two different dates in 1896 by Édouard Frossard, was not considered as a candidate for "Crane" below; however, he could have been the person involved.

No particular effort has been made to decipher buyers who are identified only by initials.

**Adams** [buyer in the Bogert sale.]

One candidate is Henry Sewall Adams, a Boston numismatist, who was well known in the 1860s and later and was regarded as a major buyer. However, relatively little about him has appeared in print in later years. In the December 18, 1872, sale held by John W. Haseltine, Adams was the buyer of the 1783 silver Nova Constellatio mark and quint patterns. In autumn 1876 his collection was auctioned by Edward D. Cogan and included an 1804 dollar formerly in the Col. M.I. Cohen Collection.

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1 "Stephenson" in some copies.
2 Most often cited as R.L.S. in named copies, occasionally hastily as R.S.S.
3 Same lot entry as W.W.S. in another catalogue; also appears to resemble "M.D.W." in certain entries; however an entry of "M.D.W." for Lot 323 in the Beveridge copy is boldly corrected to "N.D.W."; but other M.D.W. listings are not corrected!.
4 "Walsh" in one copy.
5 "Autographic" catalogue from the John W. Adams library; another catalogue is from the library of Scott E. Douglas (ex Armand Champa Library, Part I, Lot 473).
6 Buyer in the addenda part after the sale.
7 Also abbreviated as "Bush" in the catalogue.
8 "Gray" and also "Grey" in the Champa-Douglas copy.
9 "Hastie" in the Joel J. Orosz library copy.
10 In the Champa-Douglas copy; buyer of lots 202 and 231.
11 Abbreviated "Law" in some copies.
12 "Payne" in the Champa-Douglas copy.
13 Buyer in the addenda part after the sale.
14 Copies from the libraries of John W. Adams, Joel J. Orosz (Sage's own copy, ex Armand Champa Collection), and P. Scott Rubin (from sale participant B.J. Gallagher).
15 Sage's acquaintance Henry Hart comes to mind. However, the Mark Wilks Collet priced copy of the catalogue records the surname "Hartman" for certain lots such as 396 and 403; could there have been both a Hart and a Hartman among the bidders?
16 J. Ledyard Hodge was the buyer for Lot 425; Hodge's name is overlooked in some priced copies.
17 Also listed as Holcombs and, in at least two priced copies, Holcombe.
18 Sometimes abbreviated as Hutchins.
19 Sometimes abbreviated as Law.
20 "Nicholls" in the Collet copy.
21 "Payne" in the Collet copy.
22 "Stephenson" in some listings.
23 "Stewart" in the Collet copy.

Another possibility is Phineas Adams, a New Hampshire numismatist who bought an 1804 silver dollar in Haseltine's "Centennial Coin and Curiosity Sale," Part I, March 1876. His remarkable collection of $3 gold coins was auctioned by John W. Haseltine, June 6, 1883, as part of the William J. Jenks offering.

**S.B.** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Bailey, James Muhlenberg** [Foskett and Whitmore sales.]

New York City numismatist. Joined the American Numismatic Society on December 10, 1858, and from March 25, 1869 to March 24, 1870 served as the Society's recording secretary. On January 15, 1884, he became a life member of the Society.

**Baker** [Whitmore sale.]

Numismatically connected individuals with the Baker surname abound. Perhaps one of the following is a possibility:

W.C. Baker of Morristown, NJ, wrote to Charles I. Bushnell on August 8, 1855, to describe the minting of New Jersey coppers.[1]

John R. Baker of Philadelphia, PA, was a subscriber to S.S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America*, 1875.

William Spohn Baker was active in the field of Washington items in the 1870s and 1880s and his *Medallic Portraits of Washington* was published in 1885.

Charles D. Baker, Atlanta, GA, was a dealer in Confederate paper money after the Civil War. Was he active in other numismatic fields in 1859?

The above list could be expanded.

**Baulch** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Baulot** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Bell** [Whitmore sale.]

A candidate may be Charles H. Bell, one-time governor of New Hampshire, and resident of Exeter in that state, who is known to have been active in numismatics the 1860s and may have participated before then. On December 5, 1867, he was elected as a corresponding member to the Boston Numismatic Society. Bell was noticed in connection with an auction conducted on September 18, 1885, via a catalogue titled *W. Elliot Woodward's Seventy-Ninth Sale. Revenue and Postage Stamps, Paper Money, Etc. Harlow E. Woodward's Collection.* Lot 5 mentioned that Bell had caused reprints of New Hampshire colonial notes to be printed from original plates said to still be on hand in Concord, NH. Lot 90 in the same sale was a letter of transmittal of same.

**Beveridge, D.** [Bogert sale.]

New York City numismatist. An active buyer at the Bogert sale, he was also a recipient of Sage's February 1859 fixed price list.[2] The 1861 city directory included a listing for a David Beveridge, a clerk who lived at 252 West 22nd Street.

**Bigelow** [Foskett sale.]

No information located.

**Bird** [Whitmore sale.]

A candidate may be Rev. F.M. Bird, whose holdings were later auctioned at Bangs, Merwin & Co., March 12, 1873, and still later in 1883 (by Charles Steigerwalt) and 1908 (three sales by Lyman H. Low).

Another possibility, seemingly remote, is Henry C. Bird, who was a prominent Boston auctioneer (antiques, etc., not specifically coins) from the 1840s onward.

**Bishop, Edwin** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

Edwin Bishop, of New York City, was well known in numismatic circles from the 1850s onward, but relatively little is remembered about him today. In 1863 he offered for sale medals struck from dies by Morin and Anthony C. Paquet, the obverse depicting the head of George Washington, the reverse the Crystal Palace (New York City, 1853).[3]

In his sale of November 1878,[4] W. Elliot Woodward offered a gold copy of a Good Samaritan shilling, called unique, commenting: "Mr. Edwin Bishop, late of New York, informed me many years ago that the dies for the Wyatt counterfeits having come into his possession, he struck a few sets, regular in form, in silver and copper; that he then took an English guinea and, using the obverse dies of Wyatt's Good Samaritan and pine tree shillings, he struck this coin; that he made no similar one in any metal whatever, but immediately destroyed the dies." Concerning this coin, "at the sale of Mr. Bishop's collection, December 17, 1862, it was purchased for Mr. Lightbody for $42.50...."

More information about Bishop was provided by Woodward in his sale of July 11-12, 1882, in connection with certain copies and forgeries, most of which Woodward had loaned to Charles I. Bushnell, but the latter never returned them: A 1793 Washington half cent is attributed as the work of Edwin Bishop, "an ingenious mechanic [who] kept his shop in Dutch Street, New York."

The 1861 city directory included a listing for him as an enameler at 12 Dutch Street; his home was at 514 Broome Street.

**Black** [Bogert sale.]

Possibly "Black" is Samuel H. Black, a well-known electrotypist and token-issuer of New York City, whose possible connection with Sage is mentioned in Chapter 5.

**Bragg** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Bramhall, William Leggett** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

William Leggett Bramhall joined the American Numismatic Society on November 3, 1858; became a corresponding member on October 10, 1867; later "removed" from membership, but continued in the rolls until even after his death (later designated as "deceased"). Biographical notes are given in Chapter 7 in connection with his production of a fascinating series of tokens and medals.

**Bray** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

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[1] Cf. S.S. Crosby, *Early Coins of America*, 1875, p. 282.

[2] Beveridge's personal copy was sold by Charles Davis as Lot 357 in his 1997 sale of the Numismatic Libraries of Henry Chapman and the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. Beveridge made pencil marks near some descriptions, perhaps indicating offerings of interest. Among these was No. 8, Washington's Headquarters at Newburg, in Sage's Historical Tokens series.

[3] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 90.

[4] Harlow Woodward Collection; Harlow was one of W. Elliot Woodward's two sons.

At least three numismatists with the surname Brady were active in the 1850s including O.G. Brady, who was elected to membership in the American Numismatic Society on January 20, 1859.

**Brooks, Henry Mason** [Bogert sale.]

Henry Mason Brooks, of Salem, MA, was active in the 1850s. In 1858 he was a contributor to John Hickcox's book, *An Historical Account of American Coinage*. He purchased the collection of Ammi Brown and resold part of it to Rev. Joseph M. Finotti.

Brown's collection was purchased by W. Elliot Woodward and sold from April 28 to May 1, 1863, as part of a sale featuring these cover names: Henry M. Brooks, Esq., Jeremiah Colburn, Esq., Rev. J.M. Finotti, Dr. Edward M. Field, and Dr. Augustine Shurtleff. Certain other of his coins were auctioned by Leonard & Co., Boston, May 23 and December 18, 1866. He remained active in the Boston Numismatic Society until the early 1880s, when he resigned.

In a commentary in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, March 1867, p. 87, Edward D. Cogan included Brooks in a list of collectors "whose names...are well known to most of the collectors of the present day."

**Brown** [Bogert sale and addenda to Foskett sale]

Possibilities include:

Mortimer S. Brown, who joined the American Numismatic Society, December 16, 1858 (or January 6, 1859, depending upon interpretation of records), but later resigned.

Alternatively, Dr. Ammi Brown of Boston is a candidate; he is discussed in Chapter 2.

**Burke** [Whitmore sale; also spelled as Burk.]

No information located.

**Bushnell, Charles Ira** [Bogert and Foskett sales.]

One of eight or nine numismatists honored in Sage's 1859 Numismatic Gallery token set; No. 1 in the set. Biographical notes are given in Chapters 5 (in particular) and 11. Also see the Index to this work.

**O.E.C.** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Cash** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

Entry for bidders who did not register by name or establish credit and had to pay cash when awarded a lot.

**Chapin** [Bogert sale.]

Probably Charles *Chaplin*, of Charlestown, MA, a printer by trade and a well-known personality on the numismatic scene. In the 1860s and the decade following, he was active in the affairs of the New England Numismatic and Archaeological Society. On November 1, 1872, as a member of Committee of Publication of the New England Numismatic and Archaeological Society, he was a signatory of the original proposal which led to the publication (1875) of *Early Coins of America*.

Chaplin was the author of the humorous comments published under the *nom de plume* of "Gointoem Strong" in the May 1867 number of the *American Journal of Numismatics*, in which certain styles of auction cataloguing were parodied.[1]

Charles Chaplin catalogued the F. Trifet & Co.[2] sale sold in Boston in 1871. In 1876 another collection catalogued by Chaplin was auctioned by Henry C. Bird & Co. in Boston. "The prices obtained were quite unsatisfactory," according to a contemporary report. The offering included many U.S. cents, colonials, Washington pieces, medals, etc., described in more than 1,200 lots in a 52-page catalogue.[3] Via a loan from Chaplin, in July 1877 the *American Journal of Numismatics* reproduced impressions from the Chemicograph plates for Confederate notes, made in England and intended for the issue of February 17, 1864, but captured and never used.[4]

**Charles** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Chesley, William H.** [Bogert sale.]

One of eight or nine numismatists honored in Sage's 1859 Numismatic Gallery token set; No. 7 in the set. Chesley joined the American Numismatic Society, November 19, 1858. His biography is given in Chapter 11.

**Clay** [Foskett sale.]

Identity unknown.

"Clay" may be a notation for P. Clayton, a numismatist of some prominence in the 1850s, who was a buyer of coins at Bangs & Co. as early as 1855 and who wrote to Mint Director James Ross Snowden in January 1859 seeking to purchase pattern coins.

Less likely as a candidate is Charles Clay, M.D., prominent Manchester, England, numismatist, unless it can be shown that he was visiting the United States in 1859. Otherwise, it is unlikely that he would have received the catalogue on the far side of the Atlantic in time to place bids. Dr. Charles Clay was well known in American collecting circles. On August 20, 1866, he sent a catalogue that he had prepared of his collection to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society.[5] In *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine*, July 1871, E.B. Mason, Jr., commented concerning a visit he had paid to Clay in England: "[I was] much pleased with the different series and surprised to find a number of pieces unknown in America. The United States cents, 1793 to 1814, are remarkably fine, but not proofs, as Dr. Clay has claimed in his pamphlet describing the collection, and published for circulation." While there, Mason offered Clay $6,500 *in gold* to buy the coins, but his bid was declined. Subsequently, Mason had a severe case of sour grapes when competing dealer William Harvey Strobridge catalogued the Clay collection for auction on December 5-7 of the same year. Mason's writings are laced with numerous other accounts of his coming in second on deals, his genius being unrecognized by his peers, etc.

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[1] Attribution to Chaplin per Attinelli, p. 91.

[2] Primarily a postage stamp seller, Trifet had a poor reputation and is known to have printed and sold phony stamps and to have sold fake (probably electrotype) U.S. Proof half cents of the 1840s, etc. In the late 1860s the firm commenced publication of a journal, *The American Stamp Mercury and Numismatist*. Later, the "Numismatist" part of the title was dropped. In an early issue of this periodical, Trifet gave details of his counterfeiting certain postage stamps and selling them as genuine; later, he "got religion" and claimed to be honest. Chaplin was a ghost writer for the publication and is a candidate for the man behind the *nom de plume* "Nemo."

[3] *American Journal of Numismatics*, October 1876.

[4] Later impressions were taken from the Chemicograph plates and were offered for sale by the New Netherlands Coin Co., Inc., in the 1950s. A display of them was mounted at the firm's front counter.

[5] *American Journal of Numismatics*, March 1867.

**Clegg, James H.** [Bogert sale.]

Little is recorded concerning Clegg. On January 20, 1859, shortly before the Bogert sale, he became a member of the American Numismatic Society.

**Collet, Mark Wilks** [Bogert sale.]

Mark Wilks Collet, M.D., bid under the initials M.W.C. in the sale; apparently, also as M.C. and W.C. A resident of Philadelphia, young Dr. Collet (misspelled Collett in some citations) was an active numismatist in the 1850s and in January 1858 was a founder of the Philadelphia Numismatic Society. In the same year, at the behest of that group, Collet, J. Ledyard Hodge, and A.B. Taylor constituted a committee to create a list, which was published by January 1860 under the title of *Catalogue of American Store Cards &c., With Space for Marking the Condition, Price, Rarity, &c., of Each Piece, Designed for the Use and Convenience of Collectors.* 423 items were listed. By 1876 the listing was, in E.J. Attinelli's words, "useless."[1] Collet developed the American Scale for coin measurement (divided in 1/16ths of an inch). On March 10, 1859, he joined the American Numismatic Society, New York. Later, as a soldier in the Union Army he was killed in a Civil War battle.[2]

Among Collet's interests were Hard Times tokens. His cabinet of these remained intact and in the 1950s was acquired by Donald M. Miller of Indiana, PA. Certain of these tokens were acquired by the author and later sold into a New York collection, where they remain today.

**Connor** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Crane** [Foskett sale.]

No information located.

**Cummings, Edward S.** [Bogert sale.]

Edward S. Cummings joined the American Numismatic Society on March 31, 1859, but later resigned.

**Curtis, John K.** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

John K. Curtis is discussed in Chapter 3.

**Davis** [Foskett and Whitmore sales.]

Mr. Davis was one of the strongest bidders and buyers in Sage's sales.

One candidate is a Davis, who in 1867 was remembered by Sage:[3] "I believe he still collects, though not as avidly as at that time [in the 1850s]. 'Ned' Davis, the famous minstrel, commenced collecting at this time, and when I saw him a short time since, he informed me that he still owned the cabinet that cost him so much time to collect. He has, I believe, some very rare specimens of our earlier coinage, and also several 'election' medalets."

Another likely candidate is R. Coulton Davis, a Philadelphia pharmacist, who on June 24, 1858, had written to the Mint about the new pattern Indian cents. Davis, who was 27 years old when Sage held his sales in 1859, achieved prominence in the 1860s through the early 1880s and was the first to systematically catalogue U.S. pattern coins. He was also one of 48 numismatists illustrated in 1869 on a sheet titled "Mason's Photographic Gallery of Coin Collectors of the United States, No. 1," published in *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine.* After his death in 1888, his collection was auctioned by the New York Coin & Stamp Company. This truly remarkable offering, conducted from January 20 to 24, 1890, was laden with rarities among which were the soon-to-become-famous 1876-CC twenty-cent piece and the 1838-O half dollar, Proof gold coins dated 1875, a copper striking of the 1794 dollar, and even a 1787 Brasher doubloon. This was the first of several truly great sales held by New York Coin & Stamp, to be followed in short order—actually in just a matter of months—by the Lorin G. Parmelee cabinet.

Still another contender is George B. Davis, whose coins were auctioned by Bangs, Merwin & Co., March 17-18, 1862. In December 1868 in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* J.N.T. Levick called the Davis collection of "Copperheads" one of the best in the country.

A further possibility, seemingly remote, is C.H. Davis, of Troy, NY, who was also one of 48 numismatists illustrated in 1869 in Mason's Photographic Gallery.

**Dickeson, Montroville Wilson** [Bogert sale.]

Dr. Dickeson, of Philadelphia, is discussed in the main text of the present work, especially Chapter 15.

**Dodge, Robert J.** [Bogert sale.]

Dodge was another of eight or nine numismatists honored in Sage's 1859 Numismatic Gallery token series; No. 9 in the set. He joined the American Numismatic Society, May 11, 1858, and upon the Society's renewal became a corresponding member on June 9, 1864, by which time he had moved to New Jersey. He was later "removed" from membership. His biography is given in Chapter 11.

**Dunn, John P.** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

Dunn was a New York City numismatist. His name appeared several times in the *New-York Dispatch* relative to coin inquiries printed in 1857, for example in the issue of April 19.

**Foskett , James D.** [Bogert sale.]

Foskett was listed as "Foscut," "Fosdick," and "Fosgate" in named catalogue copies of Sage's Bogert sale, seemingly indicating that his name was not known to others in attendance. His collection was later sold by Sage on June 7, 1859, and included a few of his Bogert sale purchases. Foskett's biography is given in Chapter 15.

**Francis** [Whitmore sale.]

No information located.

**French** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

No information located.

**Frost** [Whitmore sale.]

Possibly Adolph Frost, author of the curious book of coin mottoes, *Encheiridion ad Illustrandum Interpretationem Abbreviationum in Graecis et Latinis,* published in Philadelphia in 1856.[4]

**Gallagher, Benjamin J.** [Whitmore sale.]

Benjamin J. Gallagher was a janitor of the New Court House, New York City. "Mr. Gallagher had the good fortune to bring

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[1] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 113. Today, the listing is considered valuable as it shows which varieties of tokens were known to exist by late in the year 1858; any token that is common today, but which purports to have been issued in 1858 or earlier, but which is not listed in this work, is a candidate for being a later fantasy or restrike.

[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* June 1867.

[3] Recollection of Sage in *American Journal of Numismatics,* March 1867, penned February 23, 1867.

[4] Suggestion of Joel J. Orosz, letter, June 13, 1997.

before the numismatic public one of the exceedingly rare Sommer Island pieces, which he bought with a lot of worthless pieces at a low figure."[1] His collection was sold by Bangs, Merwin & Co., May 24-25, 1860, via a 24-page catalogue said to have been prepared by Ezra Hill.[2]

**Gerdts, Henry D.** [Foskett sale.]

Henry D. Gerdts, a New York City coin dealer and specie broker, issued a list titled "Numismatic Hall" and "Numismatic Emporium" in May 1862.[3] At the time, specie brokers often encountered scarce, rare, and interesting coins, and from the 1830s through the 1870s many coins of importance were obtained by those in the trade. The 1861 city directory included a listing for him, identified as "numismatist," at 221 Greenwich Street.

Gerdts published several varieties of store cards including those with the head of Washington during the Washington craze of the early 1860s, an example of which bore the reverse inscription: H.D. GERDTS / BROKER & / COIN DEALER / 240 / GREENWICH ST. NY.[4] The same reverse was muled with an reverse with the inscription MONEY MAKES THE MARE GO. The dies were cut and tokens struck by William H. Bridgens.

By 1879 Gerdts lived in Hoboken, NJ. On December 16-19 of that year Woodward sold certain of his coins as part of a sale titled *W. Elliot Woodward's Twenty-Fifth Sale of Coins and Medals, Fractional Currency, Etc. Gerdts - Pecker - Mason - Truesdel Collections.* Woodward reported that many of Gerdts' coins had been stolen recently.

**Gill** [Whitmore sale.]

No information located.

**Glover, John R.** [Bogert sale.]

John R. Glover, who lived in Brooklyn, was proposed as a corresponding member by Augustus B. Sage and joined the American Numismatic Society on January 27, 1859.

**Graham, J. Lorimer, Jr.** [Bogert and Foskett sales.]

On September 12, 1857, the passenger steamer *S.S. Central America,* enroute from Panama to New York City, sunk in a hurricane off the coast of North Carolina. Captain William Lewis Herndon and about 435 others went down with the ship. Among those rescued was John Lorimer Graham, Jr., a numismatist of some renown.[5] On March 31, 1859, Graham was elected to life membership in the American Numismatic Society. In May 1867 in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* Sage recalled: "The sale, in 1860, of a silver medal of the wreck of the *Central America* to Mr. J. Lorimer Graham, Jr., was my first acquaintance with that gentleman. Mr. Graham was one of the fortunate survivors of that ill-fated vessel. Mr. Graham had then, and I believe possesses now, a cabinet that, in intrinsic worth alone, is one of the most valuable in the country."

The 1861 city directory included a listing for John Lorimer Graham, lawyer, at 51 Liberty Street.

On May 16, 1876, notice of his death was read at the meeting of the New York Numismatic and Archaeological Society.

**Gray** [Foskett sale.]

No information located.

**Groh, Edward** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

Edward Groh, prominent collector of the era, is discussed in Chapter 7.

**J.H.H.** [Bogert sale.]

John H. Hickcox, Albany, NY, numismatist and author, is a possibility. Hickcox's somewhat checkered career is discussed in Chapter 2.

**S.H.** [Bogert sale.]

A candidate may be Samuel Heaton, who was named a corresponding member of the American Numismatic Society on July 16, 1867. He lived in Plattskill, NY.

**Hammersley** [Bogert sale.]

Also spelled Hammodsley in named catalogues. No information located.

**Harrison** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

A likely candidate is A.J. Harrison, a numismatist whose coins were auctioned on June 9, 1863, by Bangs, Merwin & Co. Attinelli reported that 358 lots fetched a total of $251.80. An addendum listing with coins from other owner(s) comprised 28 lots with a realization of $20.46.[6]

**Hart, Henry O.** [Foskett and Whitmore sales.]

Henry O. Hart on March 8, 1858, was one of five signatories who invited collectors to meet at the home of Sage to establish what became the American Numismatic Society. If he ever joined the Society which he helped form, the record does not survive in Society archives today.

A less likely possibility for "Hart" as entered in the records is Charles Henry Hart, member of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, and author of "A Historical Sketch of

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[1] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 18.

[2] Cf. George F. Kolbe, mail bid sale of October 11, 1997, Lot 132.

[3] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 89.

[4] Reverse dies combined with Gerdts' store card die include Fuld No. 1137: THE WASHINGTON TOKEN / 1863; and Fuld No. 1243: MONEY MAKES THE MARE GO. Each was struck in various metals. The Washington token is also known struck over a copper-nickel cent and a Liberty Seated dime.

[5] Most modern (1980s and 1990s) accounts of the *Central America* have overlooked this numismatist. However, he is mentioned (but not with a numismatic connection) by Normand E. Klare, *The Final Voyage of the Central America 1857,* pp. 213-214, as being a "political and personal friend" of President James Buchanan. Although no account is given of Graham's experience aboard the ship, it is stated that on October 19, 1857, Graham petitioned President Buchanan to give an award to Captain Hiram Burt of the brig *Marine,* who assisted in the rescue of passengers.

[6] Years later in the 1870s, T. Harrison Garrett, of Baltimore, MD, bid under the name of "Harrison." However, in 1859 he was still in high school and had not yet collected his first coin (which would happen circa 1865 when he was a student at Princeton).

the National Medals, Issued Pursuant to Resolution of Congress, 1776-1815."[1]

**Hartman.** [Whitmore sale.]

Possibilities include Herman *Hartmann,* partner in Smith & Hartmann, New York City diesinkers of the 1850s and 1860s (successors to Bale & Smith); and, less likely, J. Hartman, who years later in 1881 was a St. Louis, MO, collector.

**Hasty** [Foskett sale.]

Spelled "Hastie" in one catalogue. No information located.

**Hawley** [Bogert and Foskett sales.]

No information located.

**Hewitt** [Whitmore sale.]

A possibility is Robert Hewitt, Jr., whose coins were auctioned on March 19, 1862, at Bangs, Merwin & Co. In 1864 he was a founder and leading light of the short-lived New York Numismatic Society, a group established following several years of inactivity of the erstwhile American Numismatic Society. Hewitt was active for many years, and in 1909 was co-founder with Charles Augustus de Kay of the Circle of Friends of the Medallion.

Another possibility is Alfred Hewitt. Items from his collection were auctioned on January 18, 1860, at Bangs, Merwin & Co.

**Hill, Ezra** [Foskett and Whitmore sales.]

Together with John K. Curtis, Ezra Hill was one of two recognized New York City coin dealers who were active buyers in Sage's sales. Information about Hill appears in Chapter 3.

**Hodge, J. Ledyard** [Whitmore sale.]

Hodge, a Philadelphia numismatist, is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

**Holcomb** [Whitmore sale]:

Also listed as Holcombs. No information located.

**Hutchinson** [Whitmore sale]:

Sometimes listed as Hutchins, which may be an abbreviation. No information located.

**James** [Bogert sale]:

Quite possibly F.H. James, M.D., who began collecting in the late 1850s, who ordered Proof coins from the Mint beginning in 1858, and who for a long period of years practiced medicine in Lancaster, NY.

On September 14, 1866, he joined the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. In the *American Journal of Numismatics,* December 1868, J.N.T. Levick called the James collection one of the best in the country. In 1875 he was one of 140 listed individual subscribers to S.S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America.*

In October 1893, the *American Journal of Numismatics* reported that in August 1893 Dr. James had made a gift to the Buffalo Historical Society of "an extensive and valuable collection of coins, medals and tokens, which have been arranged for exhibition in three large and handsome cases, and a full descriptive catalogue of their contents has been prepared by Dr. James and his assistants, which will greatly aid the study of the pieces. Among them are upwards of 2,000 'politicals,' campaign medals, and the like, from the days of Jackson, including, perhaps, 500 Lincoln medals, many of the latter not being political; commemorative medals of various persons and events, English trade tokens, French historicals, papal medals, Proof sets of all U.S. coins since 1858, complete sets of all the minor coinages, the 'Feuchtwangers,' of which there is nearly or quite a complete set, sutlers' checks, 'encased currency' of the Civil War, and many others."

**Jaudon, Frank** [Bogert and Foskett sales.]

Frank Jaudon joined the American Numismatic Society, January 20, 1859. Later resigned. One of eight or nine numismatists honored in Sage's 1859 Numismatic Gallery token set; No. 6 in the set. Biographical notes are given in Chapter 11.

**Jenks, William J.** [Whitmore sale.]

William J. Jenks was a prominent Philadelphia collector for many years, and his name appeared on several sale catalogues of the 1870s and 1880s. U.S. large cents were his prime specialty. In February 1869 he was one of 48 numismatists illustrated on a sheet titled "Mason's Photographic Gallery of Coin Collectors of the United States, No. 1," published in *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine.*

**Jewett** [Foskett sale.]

"Jewett," also spelled "Jewitt" in named catalogues, may be Col. Ezekiel Jewett, who began collecting coins in 1826.[2] On January 24-28, 1879, his collection was auctioned by Edward D. Cogan, by which time, Jewett, formerly of Utica, NY, had lived abroad for many years. The sale is said to have contained the largest group of medals ever sold in America. The catalogue of 143 pages described 3,114 numbered lots.

**King** [Whitmore sale.]

A possibility is William King, whose collection was auctioned by Bangs, Merwin & Co., March 7-8, 1861.

Another candidate is John King, whose collection was scheduled to be auctioned on January 5, 1864, by Leonard & Co., Boston, but was withdrawn prior to the event.[3] King made at least two trips to Holland where he obtained medals relating to the American Revolution, these medals being generally unknown to American collectors before that time.[4] While there, as later related by W.E. Woodward, King "found no less than 15 specimens [of the 1778-9 Rhode Island medal] in various metals, three of which Mr. McCoy purchased, and the rest came into my hands...."[5]).

**F.C.L.** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Lane** [Whitmore sale.]

No information located.

**Lawrence, Theophilus W.** [Bogert and Foskett sales.]

Theophilus W. Lawrence, a Brooklyn dealer in rare books, attended the formative meeting of the American Numismatic Society at the home of Augustus B. Sage, New York City, March 15, 1858.[6] On April 6, 1858, he became a founding member, but

[1] *American Journal of Numismatics,* June 1867.
[2] *American Journal of Numismatics,* January 1876.
[3] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, p. 34.
[4] Cf. W. Elliot Woodward's Ely Collection sale, January 8-10, 1884, above Lot 1505.
[5] *American Journal of Numismatics,* October 1867.
[6] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958,* p. 11, was not aware of his presence; apparently, Adelson did not study Edward Groh's notebook recording this event, or else forgot what he had read.

records were lost, and he was not recognized as such until years later.[1] He served as treasurer of the Society from April 13 to November 3, 1858.

**Lawson** [Foskett and Whitmore sales.]

Lawson is also abbreviated as "Law" in some priced catalogue entries. No information located contemporary with the late 1850s or the 1860s. William Lawson (Salem, NJ) and J.A. Lawson (Albany, NY) were active 22 years later in 1881.

**Leveridge** [Foskett sale.]

Possibly C.A. Leveridge, whose holdings appeared in several sales in 1873-1874. An auction bearing his name, held in the sale room of Bangs, Merwin & Co., January 28, 1873, was the first coin auction of that calendar year. Apparently, most pieces were of very low quality and brought little if any more than face value.[2] Confirming that Leveridge must have had a lot of junk, a subsequent offering in the same venue, September 22, 1873, was catalogued as "coins which a few months ago had a small value." His name is also associated with a sale held by Bangs, Merwin & Co., on November 6-7, 1873, which brought $181.23. Apparently, the offering was poorly catalogued.[3] Further, his name appeared on a catalogue of the same seller, February 11, 1874.

The 1861 city directory included a listing for C.A. Leveridge at 18 Liberty Street.

**Levick, Joseph N.T.** [Whitmore sale.]

Biographical notes concerning Levick will be found in Chapter 7.

**Lewis, Winslow, M.D.** [Bogert sale.]

Dr. Winslow Lewis was one of eight or nine numismatists honored in Sage's 1859 Numismatic Gallery token set; No. 5 in the set. His biography is given in Chapter 11.

**Mace** [Foskett sale.]

No information located.

**Mack** [Bogert sale.]

Possibly an abbreviation for Mortimer L. Mackenzie; otherwise No information located.

**Matthews** [Foskett sale.]

No information located.

**McDermott** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Mellis** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Mickley, Joseph J.** [Bogert sale.]

The life of Mickley, one of America's best known collectors, is discussed in Chapter 4.

**Miller** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Morse, Charles H.** [Bogert sale.]

Items from the collection of Charles H. Morse were auctioned as early as 1856.[4] Information about Morse is in Chapter 3.

**Moses, S. Gerard** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

S. Gerard Moses joined the American Numismatic Society, January 6, 1859, but later resigned.

Clipping from a New York paper, May 1859:

"Rare coins. S. Gerard Moses announces that there will be sold at public auction, during the month of May next, a collection of American coins and tokens surpassing in number, condition, and rarity any ever offered at public sale in this city. The following pieces belong to the collection: Upwards of 15 varieties of Washington pattern pieces including the Washington quarter eagle, gold; the U.S.A. or thirteen bar cent; the dollar of 1794; half dollars, the three varieties, 1794, 1796, 1815; full sets of dimes, half dimes, cents, and half cents; a very full and complete assortment of colonial coins; and over 300 American tokens."

The editor of the *American Journal of Numismatics* later commented that this sale had not been reported in the literature.[5]

**Nesbit** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Nichols, Major Charles Porter** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

Maj. C.P. Nichols (as he was generally listed in print) was one of the most eminent American numismatists of the 1850s, a distinction which continued for many years thereafter.

Charles Porter Nichols was born in Oxford, MA, in 1822, the son of Charles P. and Irene Hartwell Nichols, a family of old New England tradition. At an early age he left home and went to work on the railroad, a vocation which he followed for more than 40 years. For much of his railroad career he was paymaster for the line that employed him. For a time he lived in Buffalo, NY, but he spent most of his later life in Springfield, MA.

In 1858 he bought an 1804 Class II silver $1 from an employee of the Mint, a situation mentioned in the May 1868 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics:* "It is perhaps not generally known that in 1858 certain dollars of 1804, re-struck from the original dies, without collars, and therefore having plain edges, found their way out of the Mint. Major Nichols, of Springfield, had one of these at the cost of $75 and Mr. Cogan had one, but both were on solicitation returned to their source." The seller was none other than Philadelphia dealer William K. Idler, who around this time offered one to W.E. Woodward as well.[6]

On June 13, 1867, Nichols was elected a corresponding member of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society. By this time he was well known for his collection of tokens, medals, store cards, and political memorabilia. In the August 1868 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics* he described certain varieties of tokens struck in Springfield by James A. Bolen. In the December 1868 number of the same publication, J.N.T. Levick called the Nichols collection of coins and tokens one of the best in the

[1] Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society 1858-1958*, p. 311.
[2] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 64.
[3] *American Journal of Numismatics*, July 1874.
[4] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics*, 1876, p. 84, citing a W. Elliot Woodward listing published in 1864, and further commenting: "Not having seen a copy of it, can give no further information."
[5] *American Journal of Numismatics*, April 1880; reprinted an advertisement, undated, but presumed to have been from many years earlier.
[6] *American Journal of Numismatics*, April 1902.

country. An 1871 account noted that he was the owner of "the first U.S. five dollar note," No. 1, Series A."[1]

In July 1872, Ebenezer L. Mason, Jr., the peripatetic Philadelphia dealer, took a swing through New England and included a visit to Nichols on his itinerary.[2] Upon returning home, he published a synopsis of the Nichols cabinet.[3]

On April 19, 1904, Lyman H. Low auctioned certain of Nichols' coins, followed by a sale of his material by Geoffrey Charlton Adams on September 27, 1905. Nichols died on November 12, 1905, of Bright's disease culminating in heart failure, at his residence in Springfield.

**Oliver, James** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

James Oliver was an active numismatist by the time he was in his twenties. Born in Montreal, Canada, he lived most of his life in New York City. Oliver was present at the inception of the American Numismatic Society, signing the March 8, 1858, letter inviting collectors to hold a meeting, attending the first get-together on March 15, and joining on the first official day of membership applications, April 6. Years later he was the recording secretary of the group.

On June 3-5, 1868, many of his coins crossed the auction block at Bangs, Merwin & Co. E.L. Mason, Jr., the Philadelphia dealer who did not recognize his own numerous faults but quickly criticized those he perceived in others, stated that the catalogue was laden with mistakes.[4] On October 27, 1890, Oliver died in New York City. Coins from his estate were auctioned on April 23, 1893, and May 3, 1893, by the New York Coin & Stamp Co.

**Paddock, F.A.** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

Active during the decade, he was an observer at the Flandin sale in 1855. The 1861 city directory included listings for Francis A. Paddock, a broker at 83 Wall Street, home in North Orange (NJ); and Franklin A. Paddock, lawyer at 80 Nassau Street, home at 141 Ninth Street.

**Page (or Paige)** [Bogert sale.]

In 1875, Hollis Page, of Boston, was one of 140 listed individual subscribers to S.S. Crosby's *Early Coins of America*.

Mrs. Judge Paige bought the 1778 NON DEPENDENS STATUS copper in Woodward's sale of the Finotti Collection in 1862.

**Paine** [Foskett and Whitmore sales.]

Candidates include:

George T. Paine, a Providence, RI, collector, was active in the 1860s and widely mentioned in numismatic accounts.

Nathaniel Paine was the author of a study of the early paper money of Massachusetts published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for March 16, 1866.[5]

**Palmer** [Whitmore sale.]

No information located.

**Phillips** [Foskett sale.]

Several individuals surnamed Phillips were active in numismatics in the 1860s and 1870s and perhaps before. Among the candidates for being a client of Sage is Henry Phillips, Jr., of Philadelphia. In 1863 his *Catalogue of the New Jersey Bills of Credit, comprising their amounts, denominations, and The Names of the Persons Appointed to Sign Them, from 1723 to 1786,* was published in Philadelphia, and numerous other of his works could be mentioned as well, including his 1867 pamphlet, "Pleasures of Numismatic Science."

**Pink** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Post** [Foskett sale.]

No information located.

**Quackenbush** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

No information located.

**S.B.S.** [Bogert sale.]

Also listed as S.B. No information located. S.B. Schieffelin is a remote possibility.

**W.W.S.** [Bogert sale.]

The same buyer was listed as N.D.W. in another catalogue. No information located.

**Sackett** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Sage, Augustus B.** [Bogert, Foskett, and Whitmore sales.]

Buyer at his sales for his own account and in course of execution of commissions for his clients.

**Schieffelin, S.B.** [Bogert sale.]

S.B. Schieffelin was one of the most prominent collectors from at least the late 1850s through the late 1870s. At one time many of his gems in the ancient coin series were displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on 14th Street, New York City. Later, many of his pieces were catalogued by David U. Proskey and auctioned on March 3-8, 1878, by J.W. Scott.[6]

**Smith** [Foskett sale.]

Possibly "Smith" is W.H. Smith, who joined the American Numismatic Society, January 20, 1859, but later resigned.

Another possibility is Henry A. Smith, a Pawtucket, RI, collector of tokens and other items, whose collection was auctioned at Bangs, Merwin & Co., March 24-26, 1863.

Several other numismatists surnamed Smith could also be cited.

**Stevenson, William G.** [Bogert, Foskett and Whitmore sales.]

William G. Stevenson lived at 230 West 30th Street, New York City. He joined the American Numismatic Society, March 17, 1859, but later resigned. In May 1860 certain of his coins were auctioned by Bangs, Merwin & Co.

**Stuart, Robert L.** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

Robert L. Stuart joined the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society as a life member, March 25, 1869. In 1881 he lived at 154 5th Avenue, New York City, NY.

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[1] *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* December 1871.

[2] Earlier on the same trip, Mason was the guest of collector L.J. Parsons in his New Haven, CT, home. Mason became violently ill and accused Mrs. Parsons of serving him some contaminated water; *he considered suing her,* but thought better of the idea and dropped it.

[3] *Mason's Coin Collectors' Magazine,* October 1872.

[4] *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine,* January 1872 (which was several years after the sale had taken place).

[5] *American Journal of Numismatics,* October 1870.

[6] Notice of his earlier display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art appeared in *The Coin Collector's Journal,* April 1879, p. 62.

**M.T.** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**N.T.** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Thatcher** [Bogert sale.]

In 1858 a Mr. Thatcher of Philadelphia is said to have been a buyer of a plain-edge 1804 Class II silver dollar, having acquired same from dealer William K. Idler.[1]

**Thompson** [Bogert sale.]

There are numerous possibilities for the identification of Mr. Thompson including brothers Samuel Clark Thompson and Frederick Ferris Thompson. The Thompsons in 1858 were in the currency and specie exchange business, and probably also dealt in a few coins, at 2 Wall Street, New York City.

Another candidate is William P. Thompson, of Buffalo, NY, who on July 18, 1859, wrote to the American Numismatic Society to request a copy of its Constitution and By Laws.

**Vail, John Cooper** [Bogert sale.]

John Cooper Vail was an early numismatic acquaintance of Sage. Biographical notes are given in Chapter 3.

**N.D.W.** [Bogert sale.]

No information located.

**Walch** [Bogert sale.]

Possibly "Walch" is Thomas *Walsh,* who was a consignor to the Bangs, Merwin & Co. sale of June 21 and 23, 1859 (featuring the coins of John K. Curtis).[2]

**Ward** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

A candidate is H. Ward, whose collection was auctioned by Bangs, Merwin & Co., December 21, 1864.

**Watson** [Bogert sale.]

One candidate is Loring Watson, whose collection was bought *en bloc* by W.E. Woodward and auctioned on March 20, 1865. Later, Watson was prominent in the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society and served as corresponding secretary from March 24, 1870, to March 27, 1873, among other accomplishments.

Another possibility is Thomas D. Watson, whose collection was bought intact by Edward D. Cogan and auctioned by him in June 1860.

**Westbank** [Bogert sale.]

Spelling uncertain. No information located.

**White** [Bogert sale.]

There are numerous candidates, including New Boston, CT, attorney and miser Aaron White, but none has been identified as having an auction presence in New York City in the late 1850s.

**Whitney** [Foskett sale.]

No information located.

**Williams** [Bogert and Whitmore sales.]

No information located (although there are numerous Williamses with numismatic connections either in later eras or in places distant from New York City). For example, the coins of George Williams were auctioned in Boston by G.W. Beckford & Co., July 27, 1864.

**Wilson** [Addenda to Foskett sale.]

No information located concerning a Wilson active in New York City in 1859. There are numerous later Wilsons in the annals of American numismatics, among whom are Thomas Wilson, of Manchester, NH, who was elected to membership in the Boston Numismatic Society on November 6, 1873. There is also the possibility that Wilson may have been a bidder name used by Dr. Montroville Wilson Dickeson.

**Wright** [Whitmore sale.]

A candidate, although perhaps disqualified by his distant location from New York City, is J.A. Wright, whose collection was auctioned by William Harvey Strobridge, December 28-29, 1863, in the sale room of Bangs, Merwin & Co. Wright was an ex-governor of Indiana.

## A POINT TO CONSIDER

There is always the possibility that certain of the aforementioned unidentified names and initials of buyers in Sage's sales may have been pseudonyms. Relevant in this context is a commentary in the *American Journal of Numismatics,* June 1866, concerning W. Elliot Woodward's April 24-27, 1866, sale of the Francis S. Hoffman Collection:

> A fashion prevails of buying under fictitious names, though many of these names are well-known in the auction room and to other buyers, but as gentlemen purchase in this way, it may be improper to publish what they choose to conceal under various names. Most of the old buyers were represented, and under the name of *Franklin* the writer recognizes, as a very liberal and discriminating buyer, a young gentleman of New York, who has been much interested in Greek, Roman, and English coins, but who has only recently turned his attention to the American coinage.

Then followed a comment which certainly would make numismatic researchers scratch their heads if, today, they came across a catalogue of a certain Boston sale in which someone had jotted down the names of "buyers":

> The practice of using fictitious names gave rise to quite an amusing circumstance. A little sale took place one evening in Boston, at which a few gentlemen were present who, for the time, assumed all the names in the country prominently connected with numismatic science, and when a few named catalogues were sent out, those who received them were astonished to find that in addition to the usual Boston company, Messrs. Mickley, Jenks, Ely, Zanoni, Jewett, Cohen, Cogan, Strobridge, and a host of others were all brought together....[3]

Moreover, it is worthwhile to repeat Édouard Frossard's comment in the May 1882 issue of *Numisma* concerning the bidding activities of Charles I. Bushnell years earlier: "He bought secretly and generally through others under assumed names." It does not strain credulity to suggest that at Sage's sales Bushnell and others could have bid under their own names and, at the same time, under one or more assumed designations.

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[1] *Mason's Monthly Illustrated Coin Collector's Magazine,* May 1885. However, E.L. Mason, Jr., was hardly an authority on what happened with 1804-dated silver dollars in 1858.

[2] Attinelli, *Numisgraphics,* 1876, pp. 14-15.

[3] Attinelli, p. 43, identifies the December 23, 1865, Conant & Sherburne sale of the S.H. Chadbourne *et al.* collections in Boston as having been "got up for fun alone," with the bidders assuming "the names of the leading numismatists of the country."

# APPENDIX II

# *Medals of Others Sold by Sage*

*(Summer and Autumn 1858) also Related Field and Sumter Medals (1858 and 1861)*

## WASHINGTON AND FRANKLIN MEDALS

By mid-July 1858, as evidenced by a gift of specimens to the American Numismatic Society on July 13, Augustus B. Sage had published medals bearing the portraits of Washington and, separately, Franklin. It is highly likely that additional such medals were distributed by dealers other than Sage or by the die sinker. In addition, Sage also marketed at least two varieties of mulings and may have been responsible for having had them struck.

The dies were made by Robert Lovett, Sr., of New York City, father of George H. Lovett, in whose shop the elder Lovett worked. It is probable that additional specimens were struck and additional mulings made in later years, and that these later pieces had nothing to do with Sage.

Sage's Catalogue No. 1, prepared in the waning days of 1858 and dated February 1859, included these fixed-price offerings under the heading "American Medals:"

[Inventory no.] 128. Washington, Rev. House of Temperance, *fine*. $1.00.

Rev. awarded to, *fine*. $1.00.

Rev. head of Franklin, *fine*. $1.00.

129. Franklin, Rev. awarded to, *fine*. $1.00.

130. "Awarded to," Rev. House of Temperance. $1.00.

The 1859 Henry Bogert auction catalogue, prepared soon after Sage finished his fixed-price Catalogue No. 1, included these listings, one of which identifies Sage (A.B.S.) as the publisher:

Lot 764: Washington Temperance Society; *obv.*, Bust of Washington; *rev.*, House of Temperance. Bronze, very fine. Size 12.[1] [Realized 75¢.]

Lot 765: Mechanic's Literary Association, Rochester, N.Y. Bust of Franklin; *rev.*, AWARDED TO. Bronze; very fine. Size 12. [Realized 62¢.]

Lot 766: Mules of the above two medals, a complete set of four; but five sets struck. Pub. At $4.00 by A.B.S.; fine. 4 [pieces]. [Realized $1.00 per medal, for a total of $4.00.]

Sage's June 1859 fixed-price catalogue included these items:

216. [bronze] Washington Temp. Society. *Rev.* House of Temperance. *Rare*. $1.00.

219. [bronze] Franklin. Rochester Mec. Assoc. *Size* 12. $1.00.

225. [bronze] MULE. *Obv.* House of Temperance; *rev.* Awarded to. *Very Rare. Size* 12. $1.00.

Sage's 1859 Henry Whitmore auction catalogue included these listings:

Lot 109: Benjamin Franklin. Mec. Literary Association, Rochester. *Rev.* Awarded to. *Fine. Size* 12. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 111: Washington. *Rev.* House of Temperance. *Fine. Size* 12. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 112: " *Rev.* Head of Franklin. *Fine.* [Realized 62¢.]

Lot 113: " *Rev.* Awarded to. *Fine.* [Realized 37¢.]

Lot 114: " *Rev.* " ". *Fine.* [Realized 37¢.]

The following relevant Washington and Franklin medals have been described in the literature as having been connected to Sage and include those listed by Sage in his auction catalogues.

## WASHINGTON / HOUSE OF TEMPERANCE MEDAL

**History:** The temperance movement, which had as its basis the abstinence from alcoholic beverages, dates back to early colonial days.[2] In 1639 the settlers in Massachusetts passed a law restraining intemperate drinking, and around the same time similar legislation was enacted in Connecticut. In 1774 the first Continental Congress recommended that the states "pass laws the most effectual for putting an immediate stop to the pernicious practice of distilling, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived if not quickly prevented." This was to no meaningful avail, as drinking alcohol continued to be widespread. During the American Revolution, both American patriots and British occupation troops regularly drank beer, ale, and other spirits, and in councils of ranking officers, toasts were often proposed long into the night. There are records of Ethan Allen being a sot on many occasions, while General Washington is said to have been able to participate in 31 toasts of Madeira wine one evening without showing signs of tipsiness.

The first temperance *society* of note was founded in 1789 in Litchfield, Connecticut, by about 200 farmers who "determined not to use any distilled liquors in doing their farm work the ensuing season." Certain religious groups, Methodists prominent among them, decried the use of alcohol as a detriment to health-

[1] On the Mionnet scale; later variously cited (cf. Woodward and other nineteenth-century sale catalogues; Rulau-Fuld, etc.) as 26 on the American Scale (of 1/16ths of an inch) or 42 mm.

[2] Sources include *The American Cyclopedia*, D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1876, Vol. XV, pp. 815-819; Henry William Blair, *The Temperance Movement: Or, the Conflict Between Man and Alcohol*, Boston, William E. Smythe Co., 1888, pp. 435-436, 492, and 535; also various accounts of the Revolutionary War and George Washington, among other texts.

ful and correct living. Dr. Benjamin Rush, the entrepreneurial and outspoken Philadelphia physician who figured in the history of the early Mint, was a particularly prominent advocate of temperance.[1]

The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was organized in 1813 and in 1833 changed its name to the Massachusetts Temperance Society. The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was founded in Boston in 1826, changing its name to the American Temperance Union in 1836; its organ, *Journal of the American Temperance Union,* was published in New York City. By 1831 there were 19 state societies and at least 2,200 local branches promoting temperance. The New York State Temperance Society was founded on April 2, 1829, and continued its activity for many years. In the late 1830s and 1840s the movement became particularly intense, and various states and counties enacted legislation either restricting the consumption of alcohol or providing for local option concerning it. About 1842 two secret temperance societies were formed in New York, the Rechabites and Sons of Temperance, later followed by such groups as the Cadets of Temperance, Daughters of Temperance, Good Samaritans, Daughters of Samaria, Knights Templar, and Social Circle.[2]

Important to the present text, in early 1840 a group of six bibulous men met at Chase's Tavern in Baltimore and organized for the purpose of "social tippling." Apparently, the tippling was more than some really wished, and on April 2, one of the members was encouraged to attend a temperance lecture elsewhere in the city, and report what he heard. On April 5, the group discussed temperance, agreed that it was a sound practice, and each man signed a pledge of total abstinence. The former drinking club was henceforth renamed the Washingtonian (*sic*) Temperance Society. Success was theirs, and on the Society's first anniversary a thousand members marched in its celebration parade. At the time the group was also known as the Washington Society and the Washington Temperance Society. Eventually, this became known as the Washingtonian movement and is said to have had 600,000 adherents, some 450,000 of whom reformed only temporarily, then regressed to spirituous liquor. Temperance historian Henry William Blair commented (in 1888):

> "The Washingtonian movement swept over the country some fifty years ago, like a tidal wave from the sea of life. That movement was moral suasion in its most powerful manifestation. The great wave subsided, and the enemy came in once more like a flood of fire, and there be those who believe that the last state was worse than the first. Was, then, the Washingtonian movement wrong? No, verily, but it was incomplete. The tremendous public opinion which the discussion evoked should have been crystallized into the enduring forms of state and national law. The triumph then would have been complete and the work secure."

Among numerous other societies, the Sons of Temperance, organized on September 29, 1842, rose to a membership of 230,000 at its peak in 1850. Certain of these societies were memorialized on tokens and medals during the nineteenth century, and a representative collection of them would encompass dozens of specimens.

W.S. Baker, *Medallic Portraits of Washington* 1885, p. 139, attributes these medals to Robert Lovett, Sr. This is echoed by the similarly-titled *Medallic Portraits of Washington,* Rulau-Fuld, p. 148, "Dies engraved by Robert Lovett, Sr., of New York City, father of the three talented brothers Robert Lovett, Jr., George Hampden Lovett, and John D. Lovett."

**OBVERSE design:** Undraped bust of Washington facing right, WASHINGTON TEMPERANCE SOCIETY inscription left, below, and to the right, with the bottom of each letter near the rim. Below bust is LOVETT NY in widely spaced letters without punctuation.

**REVERSE design:** Interior scene of domestic tranquillity in an alcohol-free home. Mother and father are seated at a round table upon which are teacups, a dish of fruit, and a plate. The husband, with shelves of books in the background, is reading, while his wife is tending to their young daughter who is standing. The carpet or floor design shows flowers. A curtained window is in the background. The inscription HOUSE OF / TEMPERANCE is in two lines below.

**Baker-329. Copper. Plain edge:** Size 26 on the American scale, or about 42 mm. Rulau-Fuld (1985): 75 to 199 are known. Specimen presented by Sage to the American Numismatic Society, July 13, 1858. A specimen was offered as Lot 397 in Edward D. Cogan's sale of October 18-19, 1860. The Garrett Collection, 1981, offered an example as Lot 1856.

**Baker-329A. Brass. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 75 to 199 are known.

**Baker-329B. White metal. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 75 to 199 are known. Specimen presented by Sage to the American Numismatic Society, July 13, 1858. A specimen was offered as Lot 398 in Edward D. Cogan's sale of October 18-19, 1860.

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[1] Rush had been a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Among his ideas in the medical field was that Negroes had dark skin because of exposure to sun in the tropics, citing as evidence a black man who had spent some time in New England and who, so it was said, had become lighter. In 1795 he was offered the position of director of the Philadelphia Mint, but declined due to the pressures and profitability of his medical practice. When his then-friend Elias Boudinot became Mint director in the same year, Rush lent him some textbooks and other files on chemical and metallurgical subjects. In 1797 Rush became treasurer of the Mint, following the death of Nicholas Way, who had succumbed to yellow fever. Apparently, at one time Rush had attended a dying man who was a relative of both Rush and Mint Director Elias Boudinot, and who had stipulated in his will that a large sum of money be given to Boudinot. After consulting with Rush, the will was changed to give the funds to Rush, thus precipitating ill feeling between the two men. In time, Rush and Boudinot became bitter enemies. Much more could be said about Rush's connections with the Mint.

[2] J.H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York,* 1860, p. 147.

**Commentary:** This Washington obverse die was also combined with a reverse with an oak wreath, clasped hands at the wreath opening, and the inscription in seven lines: WE AGREE TO ABSTAIN FROM ALL INTOXICATING LIQUORS EXCEPT FOR MEDICAL PURPOSES AND RELIGIOUS ORDINANCES. Around is the inscription: TEMPERANCE DECLARATION / TEMPERANCE IS THE FOUNTAIN OF HEALTH. Rulau-Fuld (1985) list this in copper (Baker-328), bronze (B-328A), and brass (B-328C), noting that each variety has an estimated population of 75 to 199 and that the pieces were struck in the 1840s.[1] The Bushnell Collection, 1882, Lot 1414, included a trio of strikings in copper, brass, and tin. It is not known if the Baker-328 combination was distributed by Augustus B. Sage.

## FRANKLIN MECHANICS LITERARY ASSOCIATION MEDAL

**OBVERSE design:** Bust of Franklin facing left, MECHANICS' LITERARY ASSOCIATION around border to left, above, and right; ROCHESTER below. R. LOVETT N.Y. below.

**REVERSE design:** Wreath of oak and palm leaves enclosing the inscription AWARDED TO, with space to be hand-engraved as individual medals were awarded. Die by Robert Lovett, Sr., father of George H. Lovett. Described by Phil W. Greenslet, *The Medals of Franklin,* as his no. GM-69; also Fuld FR.M.ME.3.

**Copper:** Size 26 on the American scale, or about 42 mm. Specimen presented by Sage to the American Numismatic Society, July 13, 1858. An example was offered as Lot 308 in Edward D. Cogan's sale of October 18-19, 1860. Another specimen appeared as Lot 1558 in W.E. Woodward's sale of the Finotti Collection, November 11-14, 1862, and realized 75¢. Lot 386 in W.E. Woodward's sale of his own collection, October 13-18, 1884, realized 50¢. Phil Greenslet, 1983, rarity estimate: 31 to 75 known in bronze.

Examples exist from a late state of the obverse die showing extensive raised rust spots; the reverse die being only lightly rusted. On such pieces the signature of the engraver is irregular, with the R. and O being indistinct.

### MULING:

**Washington / AWARDED TO.**

**OBVERSE design:** Bust of Washington, WASHINGTON TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

**REVERSE design:** Inscription AWARDED TO, with space to be hand-engraved, this being the reverse intended for the Mechanics' Literary Association, Rochester.

**Baker-356. Copper. Plain edge:** Size 26 on the American scale, or about 42 mm. Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known. A specimen was offered as Lot 399 in Edward D. Cogan's sale of October 18-19, 1860. Probably one of four varieties included in Sage's 1859 auction of the Bogert Collection as part of Lot 766 described as "Mules of the above two medals, a complete set of four; but five sets struck. Pub. At $4.00 by A.B.S.; fine. 4 [pieces]."

**Baker-356A. Bronze. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known.

**Baker-356B. White metal. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known. A specimen was offered as Lot 400 in Edward D. Cogan's sale of October 18-19, 1860.

### MULING:

**Franklin / House of Temperance.**

**OBVERSE design:** Bust of Franklin facing left, MECHANICS' LITERARY ASSOCIATION, ROCHESTER.

**REVERSE design:** Inscription relating to House of Temperance, this being the die intended to be used with a George Washington obverse.

Described by Phil W. Greenslet, *The Medals of Franklin,* as his no. GM-68; also Fuld FR.M.ME.2.

**Copper:** Size 26 on the American scale, or about 42 mm. Lot 386 in W.E. Woodward's sale of his own collection, October 13-18, 1884, realized 30¢. Probably one of four varieties included in Sage's 1859 auction of the Bogert Collection as part of Lot 766 described as "Mules of the above two medals, a complete set of four; but five sets struck. Pub. At $4.00 by A.B.S.; fine. 4 [pieces]."

Phil Greenslet, 1983, rarity estimate: 31 to 75 known in bronze.

### MULING:

**Washington / Franklin obverses.** Combination of the two preceding obverse dies, Washington and Franklin. Rulau-Fuld (1985): "Robert Lovett, Sr., of New York created this illogical muling." It is not known if this muling is related to Augustus B. Sage.

**FIRST SIDE design:** Undraped bust of Washington facing right, WASHINGTON TEMPERANCE SOCIETY inscription left, below, and to the right, with the bottom of each letter near the rim. LOVETT NY below bust.

**SECOND SIDE design:** Bust of Franklin facing left, MECHANICS' LITERARY ASSOCIATION, ROCHESTER.

Described by Phil W. Greenslet, *The Medals of Franklin,* as his no. GM-67; also Fuld FR.M.ME.1.

**Baker-341. Copper. Plain edge:** Size 26 on the American scale, or about 42 mm. Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known. A specimen was offered as Lot 401 in Edward D. Cogan's sale of October 18-19, 1860. Probably one of four varieties included in Sage's 1859 auction of the Bogert Collection as part of Lot 766 described as "Mules of the above two medals, a complete set of four; but five sets struck. Pub. At $4.00 by A.B.S.; fine. 4 [pieces]." Phil Greenslet, 1983, rarity estimate: 11 to 15 known.

**Baker-341A. Bronze. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): 10 to 19 known. Phil Greenslet, 1983, rarity estimate: 16 to 30 known.

**Baker-341B. White metal. Plain edge:** Rulau-Fuld (1985): About four or five known. A specimen was offered as Lot 402 in

[1] In a letter to the author, June 17, 1997, George J. Fuld revised the issue era to the 1850s.

Edward D. Cogan's sale of October 18-19, 1860. An example was in the Garrett Collection, 1981, Lot 1860, pedigreed to T. Harrison Garrett's purchase of the piece at Haseltine's 70th Sale, Lot 395. Phil Greenslet, 1983, rarity estimate: three or four known.

### MULING:

**Washington / Franklin reverses.** Combination of the two reverse dies intended for the Washington Temperance Society and Mechanics' Literary Association medals.

**FIRST SIDE design:** Inscription and motif relating to House of Temperance, this being the die intended to be used with a George Washington obverse.

**SECOND SIDE design:** Inscription AWARDED TO, with space to be hand-engraved, this being the reverse intended for the Mechanics' Literary Association, Rochester.

**Copper. Plain edge:** Size 26 on the American scale, or about 42 mm. Probably one of four varieties included in Sage's 1859 auction of the Bogert Collection as part of Lot 766 described as "Mules of the above two medals, a complete set of four; but five sets struck. Pub. At $4.00 by A.B.S.; fine. 4 [pieces]." An example of this muling was offered for $1 in Sage's June 1859 fixed-price list, there called "very rare."

## CYRUS W. FIELD MEDALS BY OTHERS

### Tiffany's Field Medal

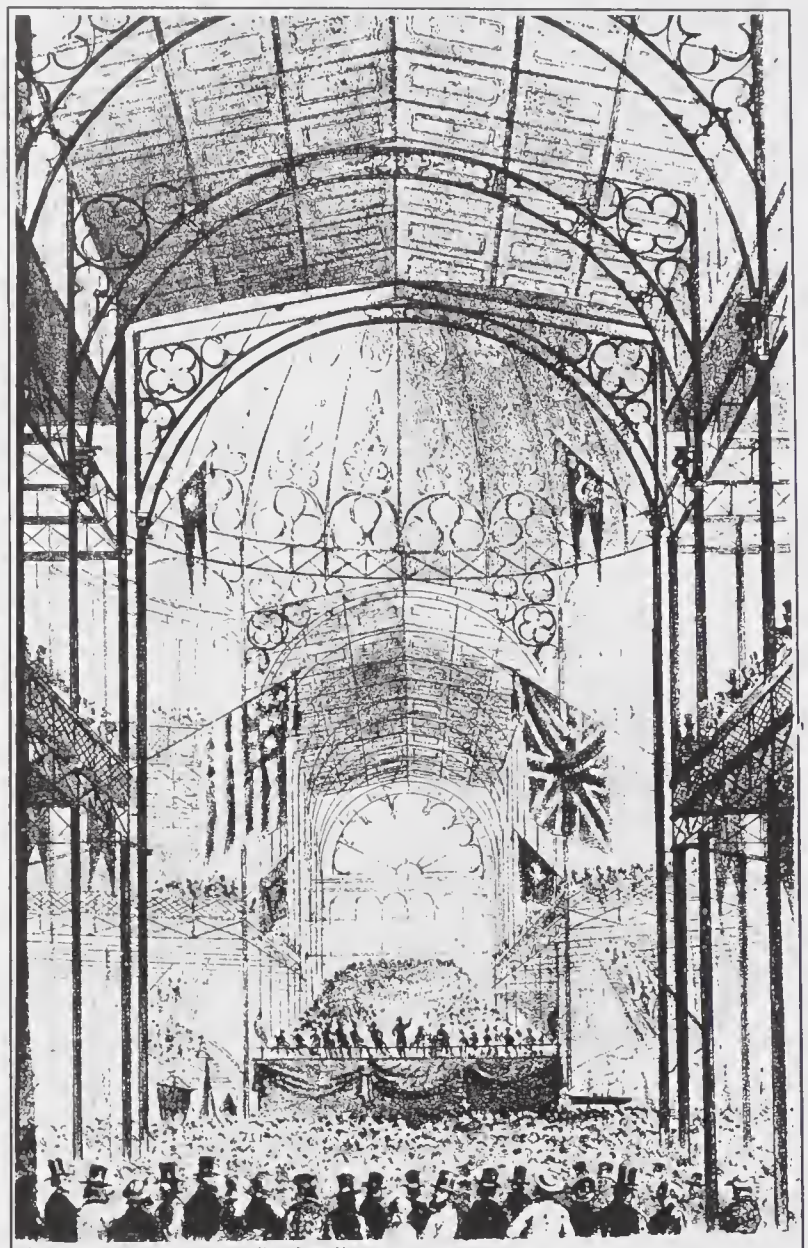
In connection Cyrus W. Field's laying of the Atlantic cable in 1858 (of which a medal from dies by Lovett, published by Augustus B. Sage, is discussed in Chapter 8) two sizes and versions of a medal were commissioned by the New York City Chamber of Commerce and some of Field's friends, and struck by Tiffany & Co.

An account in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* May 14, 1859, p. 359, noted that accounts had been squared (at long last) with Tiffany & Co. for gold boxes and medals, and the Joint Committee of the Common Council of New York had them in its possession. Engraved gold boxes were ready for presentation to Field, Captain Preedy (of the *Agamemnon*), Captain Hudson (of the *Niagara*), and Mr. Everett, the engineer. In addition, medals were "intended for Captain Dayman of the English vessel *Gorgon,* Captain Aldham of the *Valorous,* and Mr. Woodhouse, the English engineer." These medals, apparently individually hand-engraved (not struck from dies), were of special design, three inches in diameter, "surrounded by coils of cable, which answer the purpose of raised edges. Each medal weighs six ounces and is valued at three hundred dollars."[1]

The same periodical, issue of July 2, 1859, gave information concerning different style medals, these being struck from dies, noting that nine gold medals of the "first class" (five ounces; two and three-quarters inches diameter) and "about 50" of the "second class gold medals (three ounces; two and one-half inches in diameter) had been struck.

The medals were described:

The obverse face [of the first-class medal] in ordinary bas relief shows a representation of the globe, supported by Columbia and Britannia, and surmounted by a delicately executed figure of Peace, whose extended arms are presenting to each nation's genius an olive crown. Columbia is an Indian girl, bearing a well-filled quiver upon her back, on her head a feathery crown, the diadem of an aboriginal queen, in her left hand an olive branch, and her right grasping an end of the cable, which, after surrounding the globe, is held in a similar manner by Britannia. The genius of Great Britain is a classical conception, leaning upon the glove, with her face turned toward her western sister. At the side of Columbia is an eagle, and at the side of Britannia a lion. Below the artist has sculptured the seal of the Chamber of Commerce, supported by the arms of the United States and Great Britain.



**The interior of the Crystal Palace on September 1, 1858, during the grand reception for Cyrus W. Field. (*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* 1861). Medals published by Augustus B. Sage (see Chapter 8) were available by the time of this event, but the more highly publicized medals by Tiffany and by the U.S. Congress were not distributed until much later.**

Upon the reverse face of the medal the artist has achieved a triumph in the admirable representation of the joining of the cable in mid-ocean. In the foreground are excellent delineations of the *Niagara* and *Agamemnon,* while the *Gorgon* and *Valorous* are to be seen in the distance. Below and above the sculpture the words of presentation are inscribed in raised letters upon the burnished

[1] These special medals and gold boxes were illustrated in *Leslie's,* August 17, 1859, p. 170.

**Token produced by G. Stokes, dealer in fine clothing located at 607 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Shown here actual size and enlarged, this token was more "three-dimensional" than most as it was made from a section of the Atlantic Cable (as shown on the reverse).**

plain surface. [Above the words is a blank space for individual names to be engraved.]

The smaller medal...bears on the obverse side a globe, but in this instance the sphere is supported by figures of Science and Navigation.... A dove hovers over the globe, bearing an olive branch in her beak. Navigation is symbolized by a background sculptured with ships, anchors, and sextant; and Science has a similarly appropriate surrounding. As in the larger medal, the seal of the Chamber of Commerce, between the arms of the countries is to be seen below. The reverse side is in all respects identical with that on the larger medal.

A later numismatic description of the second-class medal, 59.2 mm., follows:[1]

> Obverse with large globe of the world showing the Atlantic Ocean and flanking continents, the figure of a seaman standing to the left (representing America) and an allegorical goddess to the right (representing Great Britain). Three seals or medalets are shown at the bottom, and TIFFANY & CO. is at the border.
>
> The reverse shows the mid-ocean rendezvous of the American steamer *Niagara* and the British ship *Agamemnon*. Above is the inscription: FROM THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE / AND CITIZENS OF NEW YORK. At the lower reverse is the inscription: COMMEMORATIVE OF THE PART TAKEN / BY HIM / IN LAYING THE / FIRST / TELEGRAPHIC CABLE / BETWEEN / EUROPE AND AMERICA, IN AUGUST, A.D. 1858. The "HIM" part of the inscription refers to any one of various names later hand-engraved on presentation copies of the medal; one known piece being inscribed to William George Buehler (3rd assistant engineer aboard the *Niagara*) and another to a British sailor on the *Agamemnon*.

*Leslie's*, July 9, 1859, included a list of the recipients. The nine men honored with the large first-class medals included William

[1] Description adapted from that given by Joseph Levine, Presidential Coin and Antique Co., Inc., Auction 58, July 29, 1995, Lot 424, a gold impression; description of variant obverse from the same firm, Auction 38, May 18, 1985, Lot 349, a copper striking. Also see New Netherlands Coin Co.'s mail bid sale of March 27, 1973, Lot 1, a gold impression engraved for presentation to *Henry A. Moriarty, Master, R.N.*, there illustrated and noted as, "First we have seen; necessarily extremely rare, as presentation in gold would have been limited to Field himself, the two ships' masters, the British chief engineer, and possibly one or two political prime movers of the project." The cataloguer was not aware it was a second-class medal of which dozens had been struck (Field received the much rarer first-class medal). Another second-class medal was offered by Stack's in 1997, a specimen that had been presented to Bancroft Gherardi, a lieutenant in the United States Navy.

L. Hudson (captain, U.S. Navy), George W. Preedy (captain, Royal Navy); W.C. Aldham (captain, Royal Navy), Joseph Dayman (commander, Royal Navy), Cyrus W. Field, William E. Everett (of the U.S. Navy), Otrody H. Berryman (of the U.S. Navy), William Henry Woodhouse (civil engineer), and Henry C. Otter (captain, Royal Navy). The recipients of the second-class medals were listed in paragraphs by ship name.

Tiffany was involved in other ways, and purchased from Cyrus W. Field about 20 miles of cable length for use in the making of souvenirs.[1]

### The Congressional Medal for Field

On March 2, 1867, Congress voted to award Field a gold medal. Dies were prepared at the Philadelphia Mint using the newly-acquired Hill reducing machine to prepare the hubs. Designed by William Barber, the medal measured 103 mm. However, due to bureaucratic red tape, the gold striking intended for Field was lost for several years! Finally, it came to light in spring 1874 when, inadvertently, it was located and sent to the Philadelphia Mint to be melted! Field learned of the finding of his overdue award, personally paid the gold bullion value to rescue it, and, in effect awarded himself the medal.[2]

## SUMTER MEDALS BY OTHERS

Somewhat after the fact, on June 6, 1861, the Chamber of Commerce of New York[3] commissioned a series of medals "of appropriate character, to be presented to Major Anderson, and to each officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier engaged in the defense of Fort Sumter." Lossing described these medals (irrelevant to Sage, but included here as a follow-up to Sage's medal activity) as follows:

> The first, for presentation to Major Anderson, was six inches in diameter, bearing, on one side, a medallion portrait of the commander, and on the other the Genius or Guardian Spirit of America rising from Fort Sumter, with the American flag in the left hand, and the flaming torch of war in the right. The idea symbolized was the loyal spirit of the country, calling upon all patriots to arouse and resent the insult to the flag and the sovereignty of the Republic, by the attack on the fort. On the portrait side were the words: ROBERT ANDERSON / 1861. On the other side were the words: "The Chamber of Commerce, New York, honors the Defender of Fort Sumter—the patriot, the hero, and the man."[4]
>
> The second class, for presentation to the officers, was of the same design, but only four inches in diameter. The same words surround the portrait. On the other side the words: "The Chamber of Commerce, New York, honors the Defenders of Fort Sumter—first to withstand treason."[5]
>
> The third class, three and one-half inches in diameter, bore on one side the medallion portrait of Major Anderson, and on the other, Peter Hart[6] raising the Stars and Stripes on the burning fort. The inscription on this was precisely the same as on the second class.[7]
>
> The fourth class, for the common soldiers, was two inches in diameter, and the same as the third in design and inscription.[8]

With the exception of the medal awarded to Anderson, all made at the time were struck in bronze.[9] The dies were by Charles Müller, a New York City sculptor, who with several assistants took five months to complete the work. In the following year, 1862, Müller issued a two-page flyer describing these medals (and also an issue for Fort Pickens), and offering them for general sale.[10]

---

[1] In *Harper's Weekly,* September 8, 1858, p. 575, Field advertised that he had sold surplus authentic cable only to Tiffany, and that anyone else stating the ownership of same would be offering cable that had not actually been carried at sea. *Harper's Weekly,* issues of August 14, 21, and 28, 1858, carried many articles and illustrations of the cable laying, ceremonies, ships, etc., as well as advertisements for related items including an "Atlantic Cable perfume," engravings of Field, a book, and a souvenir supplementary edition of *Harper's Weekly.* At first Tiffany advertised mounted specimens of four-inch lengths of the cable, but the promotion seemed to have been unprofitable, no doubt due to the later news events concerning the failure of the cable. Pieces of the cable later were used by others, including as part of a very curious and quite rare store card issued in Philadelphia by Granville Stokes (listed as Miller PA-500 in white metal [but probably copper-nickel], as 500A in copper; these pieces are also listed as Rulau Pa-Ph-380 and Pa-Ph-381). Stokes, who was at 607 Chestnut Street in 1858, was a purveyor of FINE CLOTHING, per the inscription on the token.

[2] The story of the 1867 medal is told by R.W. Julian in *Medals of the United States Mint: The First Century 1792-1892,* pp. 206-207, there listed as No. PE-10.

[3] Founded in 1768 and granted a patent of incorporation on March 13, 1770, the Chamber of Commerce increased its activities substantially in the 1850s, during which decade it opened a large library and suite of meeting rooms for its members and took a greater part in civic activities, including the presentation of documents, gifts, and medals to recipients deemed worthy.

[4] This large-diameter medal is believed to have been made only in electrotype format, not struck from dies (cf. H. Joseph Levine, letter, June 12, 1997).

[5] Dreyfuss 5922: "Among the list of officers serving under Anderson was Captain Abner Doubleday and a first lieutenant named Jefferson C. Davis." In addition to nine pieces struck for the officers, a 10th was made for Anderson.

[6] Hart was aide-de-camp to Major Anderson, not a combatant, who "with the assistance of Lyman, a mason from Baltimore, fastened the fragment of the staff there, and left the soiled banner flying defiantly, while shot and shell were filling the air like hail" (Lossing, *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America,* Vol. I, p. 326).

[7] Dreyfuss 5593: "Total mintage in this size...22 pieces."

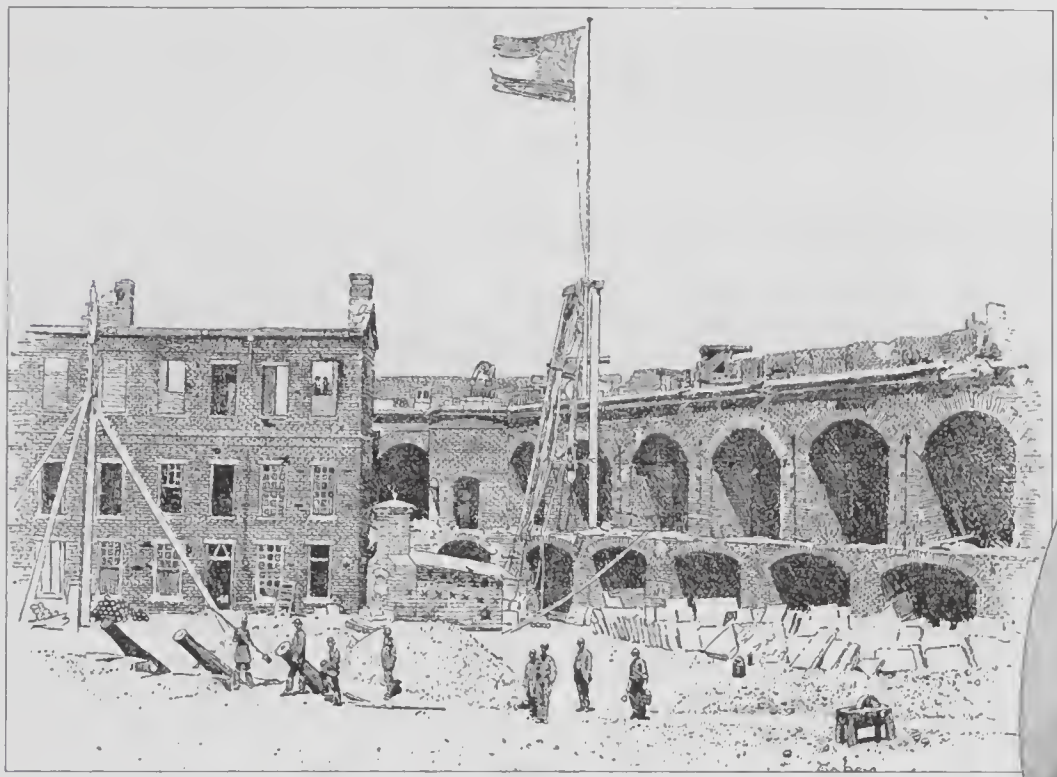
[8] Dreyfuss 5594: "One of 51 struck, the number corresponding to the number of privates under Major Anderson's command."

[9] As separately noted, H. Joseph Levine suggests that the medal given to Anderson was probably an electrotype, not a struck piece. Impressions in other metal(s) were made later; cf. Lot 5591, Dreyfuss Collection sale, 1986, in copper, said to be unique. This catalogue, a joint effort of Auctions by Bowers and Merena and Presidential Coin and Antique, Co., included this commentary about Anderson: "Major Robert Anderson graduated from West Point in 1825 and thereafter served in the 'Black Hawk War' of 1832, the Seminole War, and the Mexican-American War, where he was wounded at Molino del Rey. On November 20, 1860, he assumed command of the forces in Charleston harbor. Evacuating Fort Moultrie on December 26, Major Anderson led his 83 men to Fort Sumter where he was besieged by Confederate troops for the next three and one-half months. On April 13 he evacuated the fort.... In May 1861 he was appointed a brigadier general and later breveted major general. Born near Louisville, KY, in 1805, he died in Nice, France, in 1871."

[10] Cf. Attinelli, p. 88.

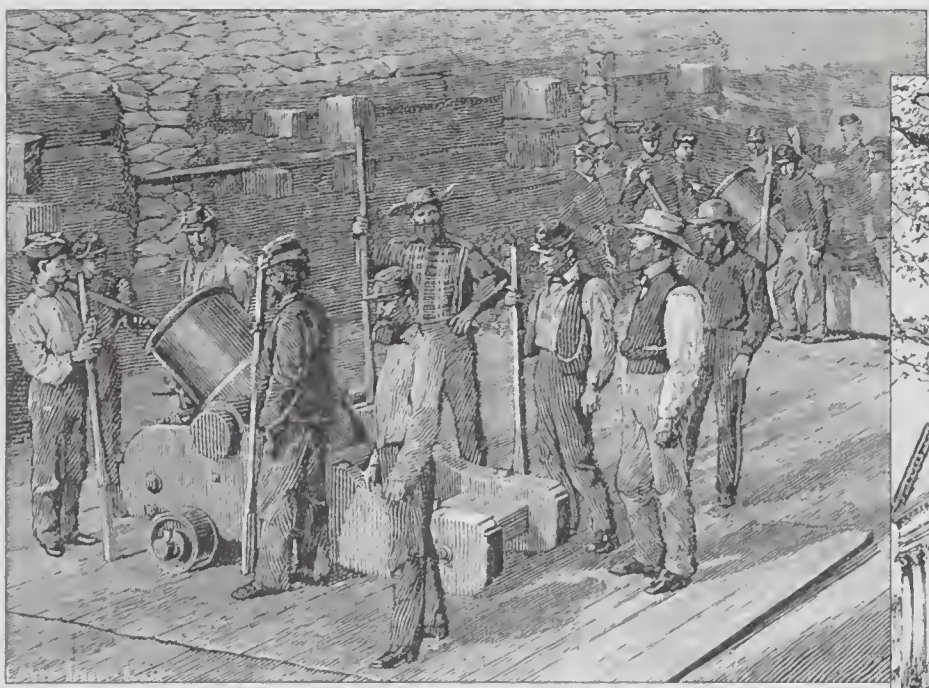
# SCENES FROM FORT SUMTER AND THE CIVIL WAR

From *The Century Company's War Book: Battles and Leaders of the Civil War,* Volume One.

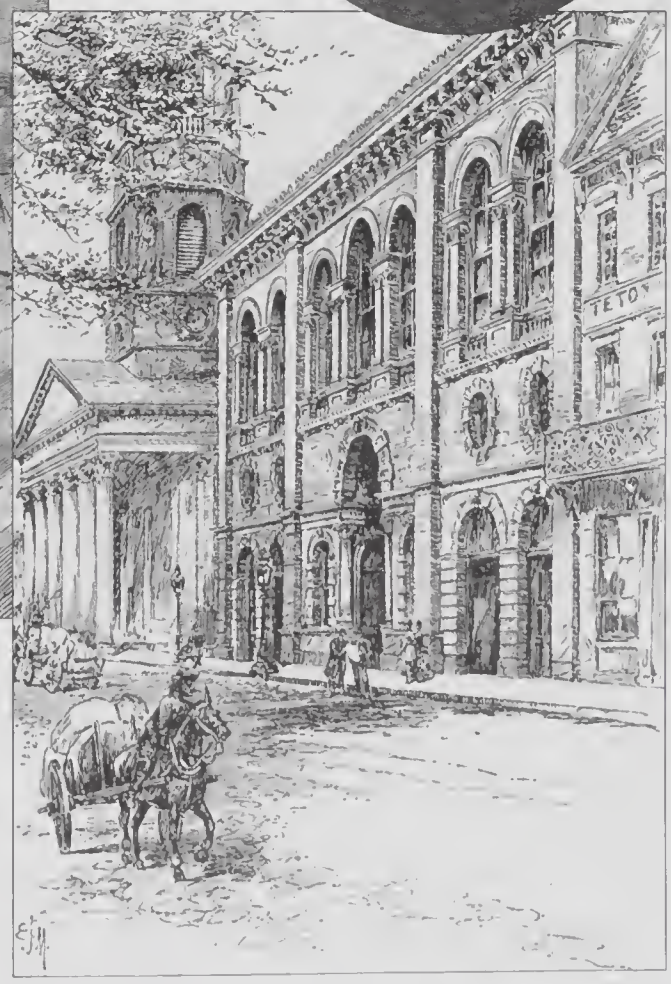


Interior of Sumter after the surrender, showing the 8-inch columbiads planted as mortars, and the Confederate flag flying from the derrick by which the guns were raised to the upper tier.

General Pierre G.T. Beauregard.



Confederate mortar-battery on Morris Island, commanded by Lieutenant C.R. Holmes.



Secession Hall, Charleston, scene of the passage of the ordinance of secession.

# APPENDIX III

# *Sage's Tokens in the Aftermarket*

## SAGE-IANA: SELECTED AUCTION APPEARANCES AND CITATIONS

Tokens and medals relating to Sage began to appear on the auction market soon after their issue. More often than not, such pieces were grouped into lots, and little was given in the way of description, except for the metal of striking. Die characteristics and the style of edge (plain or reeded) were often overlooked. The terms "tin" and "white metal" were interchangeable. There is always the possibility that a token described as "silver" might have been silver-plated copper, brass, or white metal; several such instances have been observed among tokens in collections today. Further, certain items attributed to Sage, but in actuality having no connection with him, have appeared in various catalogues and are sometimes seen today; an example is a white metal token by Joseph C. Merriam, with Washington's portrait on one side and Edward Everett's on the other (Baker-214), described as an "unpublished store card of A.B. Sage & Co."; such incorrect listings are not cited below.

Emphasis in the following quoted material is on listings of Sage's store cards, Odds and Ends, Historical Tokens, Numismatic Gallery, and Masonic Medalets series. By studying selected citations it is possible to come to some conclusions involving the rarity, metal types, mulings, and dates of appearance of the various series. It seems abundantly obvious that Sage's tokens were offered here and there, as they could be found, and rarely in complete runs or sets. This would seem to indicate that such pieces were originally sold on a piecemeal basis for the most part.

On the other hand, restruck medals of William Henry Harrison, numerous in catalogue citations, are not emphasized here, nor are Cyrus W. Field, Washington Temperance Society, or Franklin (Mechanics' Literary Association, Rochester) medals, although selected citations for each are given. Nor are non-Sage mulings of Lovett's Washington-related dies emphasized. However, an exception is made in citations from W. Elliot Woodward's 1864 sale of the Levick, Emery, Ilsley, and Abbey collections, this being one of the most extensive early presentations of such items.

In addition, selected citations are given for auction appearances of Sage's printed catalogues published in 1859, a very small sampling from numerous offerings in the catalogues of W. Elliot Woodward (in particular; at an early time he was enlightened on the subject of numismatic literature) and others. James Ross Snowden's 1861 book on Washington pieces is also cited as is W.S. Baker's 1885 work.

Unfortunately, the new generation of cataloguers achieving prominence—and W. Elliot Woodward, the Chapman brothers, Ed. Frossard, J.W. Haseltine, J.W. Scott, Harlan P. Smith, William H. Strobridge, *et al.* were all active 1860 and later—for the most part knew little about Sage. Thus, there is a notable lack of anecdotes and personal reminiscences concerning him in later auction catalogues.

The *original* Sage copper tokens, when seen today, are apt to be in what would be called Proof-50 to Proof-60 grade today, indicating that in their time they were kept loosely in cabinets, mixed with other coins and tokens, and probably handled and *enjoyed* by their owners. Flawless Proof strikings are in the distinct minority. On the other hand, restrikes of Sage's tokens (copper with reeded edge, brass, white metal, and silver) are apt to be in higher grades.

Selected examples of Sage-related listings:[1]

## CURTIS' FIXED-PRICE CATALOGUE (1859)

In 1859, John K. Curtis, 83 Bleecker Street "5 doors west of Broadway," New York City, published a 42-page (plus covers) catalogue of coins, tokens, medals, engravings, and other items for sale, this being an expanded version of his 18-page autumn 1858 catalogue.

Listed under "American Medals and Medalets" were many of Sage's tokens and related Sage items, each with an expanded description and with typography that included the use of italic[2] as well as regular type. The listings were arranged randomly. Most probably, Curtis bought these pieces wholesale from his friend Sage so as to be able to offer most of them at the same retail prices charged by Sage:

> Washington Temperance Society, rev. *House of Temperance,* size 14. $1.00.
>
> William Henry Harrison, Bust, rev. *Harrison Jubilee, Bunker Hill, Sept.* 10, 1840, tin, size 14. $1.25.
>
> Washington's Head-quarters at *Valley Forge,* copper, size 10. 25¢.
>
> Do. Do. At *Tappan,* rev. Liberty Tree, copper, size 10. 25¢.

[1] Not cited are numerous nineteenth and twentieth century listings of stray pieces, or listings which are not specific enough to permit attribution today, or were otherwise considered insignificant or redundant to the acquisition of knowledge.

[2] Italic type was used erratically, sometimes with part of a date or inscription in this style with the remainder in regular type.

Richmond Hill House, N.Y., *Washington's Head-quarters, May* 1776, copper, size 10. 25¢.

The Home of Washington, Mount Vernon, rev. *The Women of America, Noble Preservers of our Fathers' Home,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

The Old Provoost, N.Y., rev. *A British Prison during the Revolution,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

The Old Hasbrook (Hasbrouck) House, Newburgh, N.Y., Washington's Head-quarters, 1782-3, copper, size 10. 25¢.

Crystal Palace Burning. Built 1853, Burned 1858, copper, size 10. 35¢.[1]

Old City Hall, in Wall Street, N.Y., erected in 1700, Demolished 1812, rev. *A British Prison, &c.,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

Old Sugar House, Liberty Street, N.Y. Founded 1689, Demolished 1840, rev. *A British Prison, &c.,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

Faneuil Hall, Boston, rev. *The Cradle of American Liberty,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

Winslow Lewis, M.D., of Boston, P.G.M., &c.,[2] copper, size 10. 25¢.

Jeremiah Colburn, of Boston, a Great Numismatist, copper, copper, size 10. 25¢.

Henry Bogert, of New York, *A Noted Numismatist,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

Charles J. [*sic*] Bushnell, of New York, *The Great Numismatist.* 25¢.

The Charter Oak, rev. *The First Meeting House erected in Hartford,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

Paul Morphy, *The American Chess King,* copper, size 10. 25¢.

Sir Henry Clinton's House, *No.* 1 *Broadway, N.Y.,* rev. *The Headquarters of Genl. Putnam, &c.* copper, size 10. 25¢.

The Old Swamp Church, N.Y., *Erected* 1767, copper, size 10. 25¢.

Carpenter's Hall, Phil., rev. *The Assembling Place of the First Continental Congress, Sept. 5th,* 1774. Copper, size 10. 25¢.

The Old Jersey Prison Ship. *A British Prison during the Revolution.* Copper, size 10. 25¢.

State House, Philadelphia, rev. *The Patriot's Rendezvous in* '76. Copper, size 10. 25¢.

## CURTIS SALE (JUNE 1859)

On June 21-23, 1859, a "Large and Very Choice Collection of Coins, Tokens and Medals" crossed the block at Bangs, Merwin & Co., 13 Park Row, New York City. The offering was noted as being "the finest collection ever offered in New York" and had been consigned by John K. Curtis, although his name did not appear. Likely, Curtis did the cataloguing as well (note, for example, the style used to describe the Bushnell token). These Sage-related items were included:

Lot 492: Franklin, Mechanics Literary Ass'n., Rochester. Size 13.

Lot 502: Washington Temperance Society. Rev. Family Worship, House of Temperance. Size 13.

Lot 204 [in the addenda; under the heading, "American Store Cards, &c."]: The Great Numismatist, Bushnell.

## WHITMORE COLLECTION (NOVEMBER 1859)

Sage's own catalogue of the Henry Whitmore Collection, November 2-3, 1859, offered at auction several of his own tokens:

Lot 435: Charles J. [*sic*] Bushnell. A.B. Sage's Gallery. No. 1. [Realized 15¢ to Hutchinson.]

Lot 436: Bogert, Colburn & Lewis. Bronzed. Very Fine. 3 pieces. [Realized 17½¢ per token to Curtis.]

Lot 439: A.B. Sage's Historical Tokens. A complete set, beautifully bronzed. 16 pieces. [Realized 15¢ per token to Hutchinson.]

Lot 440: A.B. Sage's Masonic Medalet.[3] Bronzed. Fine. [Realized 35¢ to Hart.]

The Historical Tokens series per this listing probably included the "BRISON" and "RENDESVOUS" error dies in addition to 14 regular dies. Similar 16-piece offerings are subsequently quoted in other sales.

## LEVICK COLLECTION (DECEMBER 1859)

Edward D. Cogan's catalogue of the Joseph N.T. Levick Collection, December 19-20, 1859, represents another very early auction offering of Sage-related items:[4]

Lot 327: Head of Washington to left, PATER PATRIÆ; *rev.* good for one chance in raffle, for numismatic books, at A.B. Sage & Co., N.Y., Nov. 1859. Copper. *Size* 13. [Realized 80¢ to Hildebran.]

Lot 531: Cyrus W. Field; *rev.* PRESENTED TO CYRUS W. FIELD BY A FEW OF HIS FRIENDS IN NEW YORK, &c., AUG'T 5th, 1858. *Size* 32. [Realized $2.38 to King.]

Lot 910: Sage & Co., A.B., Dealers in Coins, N.Y. white metal. *Size* 12. [Realized 5¢ to Coffin.]

## GROH COLLECTION (FEBRUARY 1860)

Selections from the cabinet of Edward Groh were sold at auction, February 28-29, 1860, by Bangs, Merwin & Co., 13 Park Row, New York City, shortly before the auction firm moved to new quarters in the Irving Buildings, 594 and 596 Broadway. Sage-related items included the following:

Lot 506: A.B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery, complete, all fine, 12 [pieces].

Lot 507: A.B. Sage's Historical Tokens, complete, all fine, some rare, of which the dies are broken. 16 [pieces].

Lot 508: Ditto. Odds and Ends, complete, 4 [pieces].

Lot 528: Head of Washington; rev. Good for one Chance in Raffle for Numismatic Books, at A.B. Sage and Co., N.Y., copper, very fine, size 4½.[5]

---

[1] An advance over the regular 25¢ retail price; perhaps this variety had become scarce.

[2] The notation "P.G.M." (possibly for Past Grand Master, a Masonic designation) was added by Curtis and does not appear on the token; similarly, certain subsequent comments as "a noted numismatist" and "a great numismatist" are not on the tokens.

[3] Significantly, "Masonic Medalet" is singular. Perhaps this is verification that only one variety was issued (which explains why only No. 1 in the contemplated Masonic Medalets series is known today).

[4] Information from two copies, one a printed post-sale catalogue with prices, the other a copy named and priced by hand, in the Joel J. Orosz library; interestingly, the prices do not always agree between the copies (however, they do agree for the several lots cited here). These items were gathered by Levick prior to his move in late 1859 from Philadelphia (where Cogan lived at the time) to New York City.

[5] Measurements in the Groh catalogue were on the Mionnet Scale.

Lot 644: A.B. Sage & Co. rev. George Washington, tin, very fine. Size 3.

The preceding entries raise some interesting questions. Sage's Numismatic Gallery is said to be complete with *12* pieces, presumably all different. Did it include the Chilton token (No. 4)? In any event, it was probably a mixture of copper and white metal strikings.

## WOODWARD'S SALE (JUNE 1860)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of June 27-28, 1860, which does not bear Woodward's name on the cover, was conducted by Leonard & Co., 45 and 47 Tremont Street, Boston. The cataloguing was very basic and the arrangement of the lots was erratic, scarcely a harbinger of the fine style that was to characterize Woodward's later productions.[1] This single lot referred to Sage:

Lot 267. Sages Historical Medals. 20 pieces.[2]

## COGAN'S SALE (OCTOBER 1860)

On October 18-19, 1860, Edward D. Cogan, 48 North 10th Street, Philadelphia, conducted an auction at his store. William C. Cook called the sale. Offered were many different Washington pieces including these related to Sage:[3]

Lot 482: "The Old Hasbrook House;" rev. "Washington's Headquarters," &c. Copper. [Size] 29.

Lot 483: "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge;" rev. a Rattlesnake, &c. Copper. [Size] 29.

Lot 484: "Richmond Hill House;" rev. "Washington's Headquarters;" &c. Copper. [Size] 29.

Lot 485: "Washington's Headquarters at Tappan;" rev. "Liberty Tree." Copper. [Size] 29.

Lot 486: "The Home of Washington;" rev. "The Women of America," &c. Copper. [Size] 29.

## SNOWDEN'S BOOK (1861)

The following Sage-related tokens were described by James Ross Snowden in his book, *The Medallic Memorials of Washington in the Mint of the United States,* Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1861. This was the first reference book published on Washington items. Many of Snowden's descriptions were copied by Baker in 1885 and by later students of the series. No doubt the inclusion of certain Sage tokens in Snowden's 1861 book served to increase numismatic interest in them. The numbers are those assigned by Snowden.

66. SIEGE OF BOSTON.—*Obverse.* An equestrian figure of Washington, upon an eminence. In the background appears the City of Boston, in the front of which are the American batteries and encampment. *Legend.* GEO. WASHINGTON 1776. *Reverse.* SIEGE OF BOSTON 1775-6 inscribed between branches of laurel. Above is a drum, two standards, and a stack of muskets. Beneath is inscribed, LOVETT'S SERIES NO. 2. PHILADA. *Size* 20. [This is cited to give Snowden's description of the obverse die that was muled with certain Sage dies.]

84. No. 7 of SAGE'S SERIES.—*Obverse.* A representation of Mount Vernon. Beneath are the initials G.H.L. *Legend.* THE HOME OF WASHINGTON. MOUNT VERNON. *Reverse.* THE WOMEN OF AMERICA, NOBLE PRESERVERS OF OUR FATHER'S HOME [shaped dash with pointed ends] No. 7, AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS enclosed in a circle of stars. *Size* 19.

85. No. 8 of SAGE'S SERIES.—*Obverse.* A representation of the old Hasbrook house. Beneath are the initials G.H.L. *Legend.* THE OLD HASBROOK HOUSE, NEWBURG, N.Y. *Reverse.* WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS, 1782-3. Surmounted by a liberty-cap and staff, and thirteen stars, inclosed between two branches of palm, crossed. Beneath is inscribed No. 8, AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. *Size* 19.

86. No. 9 of SAGE'S SERIES.—*Obverse.* A representation of Richmond Hill house. *Legend.* RICHMOND HILL HOUSE, N.Y. ERECTED 1760. *Reverse.* WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS, MAY, 1776. Surmounted by a pair of scales, and inclosed between branches of laurel. Beneath, No. 9, AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. *Size* 19.

87. No. 10 of SAGE'S SERIES.—*Obverse.* A representation of the house at Tappan. *Legend.* WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT TAPPAN. *Reverse.* A liberty tree. Above is inscribed, LIBERTY TREE. Beneath is the inscription, No. 10, AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. *Size* 19.

88. No. 11 of SAGE'S SERIES.—*Obverse.* The house at Valley Forge. *Legend.* WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE. *Reverse.* A coiled serpent. Above is inscribed, DON'T TREAD ON ME, I HAVE DANGEROUS FANGS. Beneath are eight stars in a line, and the inscription, No. 11, AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS. *Size* 19.

110. *Obverse.* Bust of Washington, enveloped in a Roman mantle, and facing to the right. Beneath are two palm branches, crossed. *Legend.* GEORGE WASHINGTON. *Reverse.* Business card of "A.B. Sage & Co., Coin dealers, N.Y." *Size* 10.

## CURTIS' FIXED-PRICE CATALOGUE (1862)

In 1862, John K. Curtis, 83 Bleecker Street and also 882 Broadway, New York City, issued an extensive catalogue of priced coins, tokens, and medals for sale. The following Sage-related items were included. Significantly, there were no mulings or off-metal strikings, nor was Numismatic Gallery No. 4 (Chilton) present. Copper medalets (as Curtis called them in his heading) delineated included these:

1058 The Old Provost , rev. 'A British Prison during the Revolution.' 25¢.

1059 City Hall, Wall Street, N.Y., 'Erected in 1700, Demolished 1812,' rev. same inscription as the last, differently executed. 25¢.

1060 Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., rev. 'The Cradle of American Liberty' 25¢.

1061 Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, Penn., rev. 'The Assembling Place of the First Congress, Sept. 5th, 1774' 25¢.

1062 The Old Jersey, rev. 'A British Prison during the Revolution.' 25¢.

1063 State House, Philadelphia, rev. 'The Patriots' Rendezvous in '76.' 25¢.

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[1] Woodward's sale of October 23-24, 1860, did not bear his name on the cover either. Again, the venue was Leonard & Co. The cataloguing was much improved over his earlier effort. The sale is not cited here as there were no Sage-related items in it.

[2] Apparently, a mixed lot, or a set plus duplicates.

[3] Several Franklin and Washington Temperance Society medals were also included, but are not cited here.

1064 The Home of Washington, Mount Vernon, rev. 'The Women of America, Noble Preservers of our Father's Home.' 25¢.

1065 The Old Hasbrook House, Newburgh, N.Y., rev. 'Washington's Headquarters, 1782-83.' 25¢.

1066 Richmond Hill House, Erected 1760, rev. 'Washington's Headquarters, May, 1776.' 25¢.

1067 Washington's Headquarters at Tappan, rev. 'A Liberty Tree'. 25¢.

1068 Do. do. at Valley Forge, rev. A Coiled Snake, 'Don't tread on me, I have dangerous fangs.' 25¢.

1069 Sir Henry Clinton's House, No. 1 Broadway, N.Y., rev. 'The Headquarters of Gen'l Putnam and Sir H. Clinton.' 25¢.

1070 The Old Swamp Church, Erected 1767, rev. 'Attended by the Hessians during the Revolution.' 25¢.

1071 First Meeting-House erected in Hartford, rev. The Charter Oak. 25¢.

1072 The Crystal Palace Burning, Built 1853, Burnt, 1858, rev. 'All is Vanity.' 35¢

1073 Old Sugar-House, Liberty st., N.Y., Founded 1689, Demolished 1840, rev. 'A British Prison,' &c. 25¢.

1074 Paul Morphy, The American Chess King. 25¢.

1075 Old Masonic Hall, Broadway, N.Y., Erected 1827, Demolished 1856, rev. A Masonic Altar, 'Youth, Manhood and Old Age.' 25¢.

1076 Charles I. Bushnell of New York, Numismatist. 25¢.

1077 Henry Bogert. do [ditto] do do. 25¢.

1078 Jeremiah Colburn, of Boston, do. 25¢.

1079 Winslow Lewis, M.D., an Esteemed Free Mason.[1] 25¢.

1080 Frank Jaudon of New York, Numismatist. 25¢.

1081 Wm. H. Chesley, of Brooklyn, do. 25¢.

1082 H.N. Rust of Connecticut, do. 25¢.

1083 R.I. Dodge of Cincinnati,[2] do. 25¢.[3]

1205 [Size] 10.[4] 'Bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12th and 13th, 1861,' rev. 'Fort Sumter was Evacuated, &c.' Brass and Copper, each, 35¢. [Not Sage-related,[5] but included to illustrate the setting in which Sage's Sumter medals were offered; see items 1235-1236 below.]

1206 [Size] 11. do do in Bronze. 50¢. [Not Sage-related.]

1207 [Size] 11. do do in White metal. 10¢ [Not Sage-related.]

1235 [Size] 19. View of Fort Sumter, April 12th and 13th 1861, rev. Wreath, &c. 'To Major Robert Anderson U.S.A., from the Citizens of New York City as a slight Tribute to his Patriotism,' &c. White Metal. $1.50 [This is the medal struck by George H. Lovett and marketed by Sage.]

1236 [Size] 19. do do. In Bronze. $3.00.

1359 [Size] 4. 'George Washington and Wreath,' A.B. Sage & Co. $1.00.

## BANGS, MERWIN SALE (MARCH 1862)

*Catalogue of Coins, Medals, and Continental Money.* Owner's name not stated. Under this title various items were sold by Bangs, Merwin & Co., 594 and 596 Broadway, March 19-20, 1862. Included were the following Sage-related items:

Lot 101: Washington; rev. card of A.B. Sage & Co., 1859. Tin, size 10.[6]

Lot 439: Sage, A.B. & Co., reverse, Washington, 1859. Tin.

On the back of this catalogue appeared an advertisement by George H. Lovett, 131 Fulton Street, stating:

> Will be issued about May next: a New Series of Washington Medals, to number 10 pieces, each to have on the obverse a military bust of Washington, and on the reverse, correct views of six principal headquarters during the Revolution. Ten sets in silver (all of which are spoken for) and a limited number of sets in copper will be struck; the dies will then be destroyed and placed on view in the publisher's office, for the satisfaction of purchasers.... Price in copper, $2.50 per set. Price in copper bronzed, $3.50 per set.

Certain of these reverse dies were similar in concept to those Lovett had made as obverses for Sage, but the arrangement was different (these are mentioned here as peripheral information and do not relate to Sage mulings). One can read between the lines of Lovett's advertisement and sense that collectors were wary of dies being kept on hand for future use.

## WIGGIN COLLECTION (MARCH 1862)

On March 25-26, 1862, Edward D. Cogan, the Philadelphia dealer, conducted an auction at his store. Many pieces had been collected by John Kimball Wiggin, a Boston numismatist who seems to have had a particularly strong desire for Sage's pieces. William C. Cook called the sale. The catalogue included descriptions that were much more detailed than the typical listings of the era. Further, the lots were distributed among several different buyers,[7] indicating a wide interest in Sage's tokens at the time:[8]

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[1] The comment, "an Esteemed Free Mason," is probably gratuitous by Curtis; known examples of this token have no such inscription. Similarly, the attributions of certain of these to the geographical locations of the numismatists pictured—Brooklyn, New York, Connecticut, etc.—represents his added commentary not related on the tokens.

[2] Robert J. (not Robert I.) Dodge was from New York City, not Cincinnati.

[3] At the conclusion of the foregoing token listing sequence, Curtis inserted this comment: Any of the above *in bronze,* each 35¢. This would seem to indicate that Curtis offered copper strikings of the preceding for 25¢ and bronze for 35¢. However, today there is no known differentiation between the two metals insofar as Sage pieces are concerned. However, note in the citations from the Wiggin Collection, March 1862, given below, cataloguer Edward D. Cogan's descriptions for lots 247-249 use "copper" as well as "bronzed." In the field of medals, *bronzed* refers to a piece that was struck on a copper planchet using a process involving bronzing powder, imparting a rich reddish brown or chestnut colored surface; this is a different situation from a medal being struck in bronze alloy, which involves no special process. It is not known today whether any of Sage's medals were originally produced with the bronzing powder process, but it seems unlikely, despite catalogue notations.

[4] Mionnet Scale.

[5] Dies by George H. Lovett; reverse with toothed border and stylistic appearance similar to Sage's 1860 store card. The obverse of this small Lovett medal shows a different view of the fort under bombardment, but is quite well detailed.

[6] American Scale (devised in 1858) expressed in 1/16th of an inch.

[7] From a post-sale catalogue with printed prices, plus buyers' names added by hand in ink, in the library of Karl Moulton.

[8] As is true of certain other listings, punctuation was erratic; thus we have Sages without an apostrophe, Patriot's with an apostrophe in the wrong place (in any event, Sage's medal was also incorrect and had no apostrophe at all), irregular capitalization, etc.

Lot 233: [Under Sages, Historical Tokens] No. 1, "The Old Provost [*sic*], N.Y.," rev. A British Brison during the Revolution, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 25¢ to Chubbuck.]

Lot 234: Obverse same as above, rev. a British Prison instead of Brison, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 25¢ to Chubbuck.]

Lot 235: No. 2. City Hall, Wall St., N.Y., rev. same as above,[1] copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 25¢ to Johnson.]

Lot 236: No. 4, Carpenter's Hall, Phila., rev. A Snake - United or Die; the assembling place of the first Continental Congress, Sept. 5th, 1774, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 50¢ to Betts.]

Lot 237: No. 6, State House, Phila., rev. The Patriot's Rendezvous in '76, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 25¢ to Chubbuck.]

Lot 238: No. 8, The Old Hasbrook House, Newburg, N.Y., rev. Washington's Head Quarters, 1782-3, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 20¢ to Chubbuck.]

Lot 239: No. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y., rev. Washington's Head Quarters, May, 1776, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 30¢ to Levitt; spelling unclear.]

Lot 240: No. 10: Washington's Head Quarters, at Tappan, rev. Liberty Tree, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 30¢ to Johnson.]

Lot 241: No. 11, Washington's Head Quarters, at Valley Forge, rev. Don't tread on me, I have dangerous Fangs, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 40¢ to Parker.]

Lot 242: No. 13, The Old Swamp Church, rev. Attended by the Hessians during the Revolution, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 60¢ to Bright.]

Lot 243: No. 14. The Charter Oak, rev. First Meeting-house erected in Hartford, copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 40¢ to Bright.]

Lot 244: [Under Sages, Odds and Ends] No. 1, Crystal Palace rev. All is variety [*sic; vanity* was intended], copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 25¢ to Satterlee.]

Lot 245: No. 2, Old Sugar House, Liberty St., N.Y., copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 20¢ to Satterlee.]

Lot 246: [Under Sages, Numismatic Tokens] No. 1, Charles I. Bushnell; bronzed, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 20¢ to Chambers.]

Lot 247: No. 2, Henry Bogert; bronzed, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 23¢ to Chambers.]

Lot 248: No. 3. Jereh [*sic*] Colburn; copper, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 23¢ to Chambers.]

Lot 249: No. 5, Winslow Lewis, M.D.; bronzed, fine, [size] 19. [Realized 23¢ to Chambers.]

## COOK COLLECTION (JULY 1862)

On July 30, 1862, an offering titled *Choice and Valuable Collection of Coins, Medals, Autographs, etc., American and Foreign, from the Cabinet of Henry Cook, Coin Dealer, 74 Friend Street, Boston,* crossed the block at the auction room of David F. Gilroy & Co., 53 and 55 Tremont Street, Boston, MA. The pieces, belonging to one of America's pioneer professional numismatists, included these items related to Sage:

Lot 320: [Obverse: Washington on horseback, facing left.] *rev.*, City Hall, Wall St., N.Y. Mule piece; copper, and very rare. [Size] 20. [Realized 20¢.]

Lot 323: The Home of Washington, Mount Vernon; *rev.*, "The women of America," &c. Copper; fine and rare. [Size] 19. [Realized 80¢.]

## FINOTTI COLLECTION (NOVEMBER 1862)

On November 11-14, 1862, W. Elliot Woodward, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, sold at auction coins from the Rev. Joseph M. Finotti Collection, which he had purchased *en bloc*. The venue was Bangs, Merwin & Co. The catalogue contains an extensive offering of Washington tokens including productions by George H. Lovett and Robert Lovett, Jr., but little in the way of irrelevant mulings. Items relating to Sage included the following:

Lot 662: Sage's Historical Tokens, seven pieces, all very fine, copper, [size] 20. [Realized 12½¢ per token.]

Lot 663: Sage's Odds and Ends, 3 pieces, copper, [size] 20. [Realized 15¢ per token.]

Lot 1558: Bust of Franklin, to the left, "Mechanics' Literary Association, Rochester," Very fine, [size] 26. [Realized 75¢.]

Lot 1766: "The home of Washington;" rev. "The Women of America," copper, Proof, [size] 19. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 1767: "The Old Hasbrook House;" rev. "Head Quarters," &c., copper, Proof, [size] 19. [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 1768: "Richmond Hill House;" rev. "Head Quarters," &c., copper, Proof, [size] 19. [Realized 75¢.]

Lot 1769: "Washington's Head Quarters at Tappan;" rev. Liberty Tree, copper, Proof, [size] 19. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 1770: "Washington's Head Quarters at Valley Forge;" rev. a Rattle Snake, "Don't tread on me," copper, Proof, [size] 19. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 1804: "George Washington," bust to the right; rev. card of A.B. Sage, &c., tin, rare, [size] 10. [Realized $1.25, a remarkable price.]

## BRIDGENS-RELATED COLLECTION (JANUARY 1863)

This sale, at Bangs, Merwin & Co., January 29, 1863, does not bear Bridgens' name on the cover, but includes two of his advertisements. Some historians believe that at least some of the lots belonged to William Henry Bridgens, a diesinker who produced several varieties of medals during the 1850s and 1860, from his shop at 189 William Street in lower New York City. Today, Bridgens is best remembered for his illustrious series of cent-size Civil War tokens featuring various motifs including Diedrich Knickerbocker, an eagle on a globe, George McClellan, and the charming and curious design with an eagle holding a cigar in its beak (produced as a storecard for Skidmore's Hotel in Seneca Falls, NY). Sage-related items in the sale included these, one a very early appearance of a brass restrike:

Lot 692: Sage's Historical Token. Old Swamp Ch. Cop. Size 21.

Lot 693: do do City Hall, N.Y. cop. Size 21.

Lot 694: do do do. Brass. Size 21.

Lot 695: do do State House, Phil., copper. Size 21.

Lot 696: Chas. J. [*sic*] Bushnell, Sage Numismatic Gallery, copper. Size 21.

## SMITH COLLECTION (MARCH 1863)

On March 24-26, 1863, William Harvey Strobridge auctioned the Henry A. Smith Collection in New York City. Sage items included these:

[1] Apparently, Cogan referred to the inscriptions being somewhat similar; however, No. 2 was from a different die.

Lot 884: Sage, A.B. & Co., Dealers in Coins; rev. "Sir Henry Clinton House;" in copper, brass, and tin; 3 pieces; and rev. "City Hall, on Hall [*sic*] St., erected in 1700;" also in tin, 1 piece; making 4 pieces, 1 *very* rare.

Lot 1160: Sage's series, from 1 to 14, containing three British prisons during the Revolution; the Cradle of Lib. F. Hall;[1] the assembling place of the first Congress, Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia; the old State House, Philadelphia, the Patriot's rendezvous in '76; the home of Washington, Mount Vernon; the Headquarters of Wash., namely, the old Hasbrook House, Richmond Hill House, headquarters at Tappan, and at Valley Forge; the Sir Henry Clinton House; the old Swamp Church, and the first meeting house erected in Hartford; making 14 pieces, all splendid proofs; a most desirable set, and very difficult to obtain; 14 pieces.

Lot 1161: Seven varieties of Sage's series, including the burning of the Crystal Palace, the Sugar House, Liberty St., Masonic Hall, Broadway, and Paul Morphy beaten [*sic!*] at Chess, etc., splendid proofs; 7 pieces.

## LEAVITT COLLECTION (SEPTEMBER 1863)

On September 15-17, 1863, Edward D. Cogan conducted the sale of J.P. Leavitt's coins, replete with many tokens and store cards. Sage items included these:

Lot 906: Sage's Historical Tokens, from No. 1 to 14, except No. 13. Copper. 13 pieces. [Size] 20.

Lot 907: Sage's Odds and Ends, No. 1 and 3. Copper. 2 pieces. [Size] 20.

## WOODWARD'S SALE (OCTOBER 1863)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of October 20-24, 1863, held by Messrs. Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York City, included these Sage-related lots:

Lot 1795: Bombardment of Fort Sumter; rev. historical inscription, copper, proof, [size] 22. [Realized 20¢.]

Lot 1813: Sage's Historical Tokens, 12 pieces, all very fine, copper, [size] 20. [35¢ each.]

Lot 1814: Sage's Odds and Ends, 3 pieces, all very fine, copper, [size] 20. [35¢ each.]

Lot 1815: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, nine pieces, one very rare,[2] copper, all fine, [size] 20. [20¢ each.]

Lot 1816: Sage's Masonic Medalet, Old Masonic Hall, Broadway, copper, proof, scarce, [size] 20. [25¢.[

Lot 1817: City Hall, Wall Street, New York, copper, proof, [size] 20. [15¢.]

## LILLIENDAHL COLLECTION (DECEMBER 1863)

William Harvey Strobridge's sale of the William Lilliendahl Collection, December 15-17, 1863, included 1,388 lots in the regular offering plus 75 addenda and was one of the most important American coin sales held up to this time, a worthy follow-up to Strobridge's presentation of Lilliendahl coins the year before, May 26-28, 1862. The 1863 event included these Sage items:

Lot 1020: Twelve varieties of Sage's series of Historical Tokens and Odds and Ends, all fine proofs; size 20. [Realized 12½¢ per token to Charles Porter Nichols.]

Lot 1021: Nos. 1 and 2 of Sage's Numismatic Gallery, with busts of Chas. I. Bushnell and Henry Bogert; fine proofs; size 20. [Realized 12½¢ per token to Nichols.]

## WOODWARD'S SALE (DECEMBER 1863)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of December 23, 1863, featured items selected from his stock. The venue was the sale rooms of Francis J. Sheldon, 36 North Main Street, Providence, Rhode Island. The following referred to Sage:

Lot 306: [Under "Miscellaneous American Medals and Medalets"] Busts of C.I. Bushnell, Henry Bogert, J. Colburn, W.H. Chesley, and R.J. Dodge. Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Five pieces. [Realized 90¢ for the group.]

Lot 310: Sage's historical series. Six pieces; fine; several very scarce. [Realized 90¢ for the group.]

Lot 389: [Under "Washington Pieces"] Washington's Headquarters. May, 1776. Richmond Hill House. New York; copper. [Realized 20¢.]

## MCCOY COLLECTION (MAY 1864)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the John F. McCoy Collection, May 17-21, 1864, was held by J.E. Cooley, George A. Leavitt auctioneer. The venue was the Trade Sales Rooms, 498 Broadway, New York City. Sage items included these:

Lot 1530: A set of Sage's Historical Tokens, sixteen varieties, all splendid bronze proofs; complete sets of these tokens in such beautiful condition are now very rare, [size] 21. [Realized 35¢ per token.]

Lot 1531: A set of Sage's Odds and Ends, four pieces, fine bronze proofs, rare, [size] 21. [Realized 35¢ per token.]

Lot 1532: A set of Sage's Numismatic Gallery, nine pieces, all fine bronze proofs, scarce, [size] 22.[3] [Realized 70¢ per token.]

Lot 1533: Sage's Masonic Medalet, "Old Masonic Hall, Broadway;" bronze, proof, rare, [size] 22. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 1534: Three of Sage's Numismatic Gallery, Nos. 7, 8, 9; tin, proofs; rare, [size] 22. [Realized 25¢ per token.]

Lot 2049: [Under "American Medals, Silver"] Representation of the Bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12, 13, 1861; rev. "To Maj. Robert Anderson, U.S.A., from the citizens of New York, as a slight tribute to his patriotism;" splendid proof, the first impression from the dies, as shown by the number on the edge. Unique in this metal, [size] 46. [Realized $16.00.]

Lot 2050: [Under "American Medals, Silver"] Head of Cyrus W. Field; rev. "Presented to Cyrus W. Field, by a few of his friends in New York," &c.; splendid Proof, almost unique in silver, [size] 34. [Realized $7.50.]

Lot 2114 [Under "American Medals, Bronze"[ Lovett's Medal of Cyrus W. Field, obv. bust; rev. NIL DESPERANDUM, PERSEVERANTIA VINCIT; fine proof, [size] 34. [Realized $1.00.]

Lot 2115: Another fine proof from the same dies; the rev. being doubly struck, presents a most curious appearance, unique, [size] 34. [Realized 87¢.]

Lot 2651: [Under "Washington Pieces"] Head to right. Sage's small card, tin, proof, scarce [size] 10. [Realized 10¢.]

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[1] One wonders how many readers of this catalogue knew that "F. Hall" referred to Faneuil Hall.

[2] Element of mystery here; could it have been the rarest-of-the-rare Chilton token?

[3] One cannot help but wonder if the Chilton token, No. 4, was included, or was the "set" made by including only eight different obverses muled with nine reverses?

Lot 2799: [Under "Auction Catalogues", 1859] Henry Bogert's Col., N.Y. Feb. 28-March 5, p. and n. [priced and named], rare. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2899: Addenda to above, with printed prices, scarce. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2803: J.D. Foskett's Col, N.Y., June 7, p. and n., scarce. [Realized 45¢.]

Lot 2808: Henry Whitmore's Col, N.Y., Nov. 2, 3, p. and n., scarce. [Realized 12¢.]

Lot 2935: [Under "Private Sale Catalogues"] A.B. Sage & Co., N.Y., Feb., 1859, illustrated, very rare. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2936: " " June, 1859, scarce.

Lot 2972: [Under "Circulars, &c."] A.B. Sage & Co., "50 Cents a box," rare. [Realized 1¢.][1]

## WOODWARD'S SALE (OCTOBER 1864)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the collections of J.N.T. Levick, J. Osborn Emery, F.I. Ilsley, and L.H. Abbey, "all of which have been recently purchased by the present owner, W. Elliot Woodward," was held from October 18 to 22, 1864. The sale was conducted under the auspices of J.E. Cooley, George A. Leavitt auctioneer. The venue was the Trade Sales Rooms, 498 Broadway, New York City.

This extensive offering is exceedingly important in the context of Sage's numismatic history for the mulings it contains and for its attribution of certain of them to J. Osborn Emery, a New York City numismatist who often visited die sinkers and had pieces struck to his order. This practice was not unusual, and J.N.T. Levick and Edward Groh, to mention just two others, did the same thing (but not necessarily with Sage-related tokens):

Lot 862 [Under "William Henry Harrison" tokens and medals] Bust to left, "William Henry Harrison;" rev. Bunker Hill Monument, with eagle hovering above, "Harrison Jubilee, Bunker Hill, Sept. 10, 1840," tin, original, in very good condition, rare, [size] 28.[2] [Realized $1.00.]

Lot 863: Splendid proof impression, in silver, restruck from the original dies of the last medal, very rare, the whole number struck being but eight, [size] 28. [Realized $6.50.]

Lot 864: Same as the last, in copper, brilliant Proof, scarce, [size] 28. [Realized $1.65.]

Lot 865: Same in tin, equally fine and scarce, [size] 28. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 1353: [Under "Miscellaneous American Medalets"] A set of Sage's Historical medalets, complete, from 1 to 14 inclusive, all bronze proofs. Such fine sets are now seldom met with, [size] 21.[3] [Realized 25¢ per token.]

Lot 1354: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, nine pieces, all fine bronze proofs, scarce, [size] 21.[4] [Realized 25¢ per token.]

Lot 1355: Sage's Odds and Ends, three pieces, bronze proofs, scarce, [size] 22.[5] [Realized 25¢ per token.]

Lot 1356: Sage's Masonic Medalet, bronze proof, scarce, [size] 21.[6] [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 1357: "Old Sugar House, Liberty Street, New York;" rev. a different view of the same building; bronze proof, excessively rare, [size] 22. [Realized 60¢.]

Lot 1358: Obv. "Penn's Treaty;" rev. "Sir Henry Clinton's House;" copper proof, extremely rare, [size] 22. [Realized $1.00.]

Lot 1399: "City Hall, Wall Street;" rev. Sage's card; brass proof, [size] 20. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 1892: [Under "American Medals, Bronze"] Bust of Cyrus W. Field; medal presented to him by a few of his friends in New York, in 1858; very fine, [size] 34. [Realized $1.12.]

Lot 2282: [Under "Washington Pieces"; this lot being prefaced by this comment: "The 66 lots following constitute a series struck by Mr. Emery for his private collection, from a set of dies owned by him, but now destroyed; they are all of extreme rarity. I am at this moment unable to say whether more than two sets exist, but am positive the number does not exceed five. They are all brilliant proofs, size 21, and as the degree of rarity is sufficiently indicated by the statement here made, only the shortest possible description will be given of each. They were very highly prized by their former owner, and would certainly be an ornament to any collection"] Head within a wreath;[7] rev. "Mount Vernon, the home of Washington;" copper. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2283: Same in brass. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2284: Same in tin. [Realized 45¢.]

Lot 2288: Obv. Same [Washington head within wreath]; rev. house, "Washington's Headquarters at Tappan;" copper. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 2289: Same in brass. [Realized 85¢.]

Lot 2290: Same in tin. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 2291: Obv. Same [Washington head within wreath]; rev. building, "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge;" copper. [Realized 70¢.]

Lot 2292: Same in brass. [Realized 55¢.]

Lot 2293: Same in tin [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 2294: Obv. [Washington head within wreath]; rev. "The Old Hasbrook House, Newburgh [*sic;* actually spelled as Newburg on the token], N.Y." copper. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 2295: Same in brass. [Realized 55¢.]

Lot 2296: Same in tin. [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 2297: Washington on horseback, "General [*sic;* actually GEN. on the medal] George Washington, 1776;" rev. same as the last, copper. [Realized 45¢.]

Lot 2298: Same in brass. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 2299: Same in tin. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2300: Obv. same [Washington on horseback; GEN. WASHINGTON]; rev. a pine tree, "Liberty Tree," copper. [Realized 35¢.]

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[1] The nature of this circular is not known to the author.

[2] This is an early, original impression of a medal that was later restruck and offered by Sage, later by Woodward, and possibly by others. Sizes are expressed in the American Scale (in 1/16ths of an inch).

[3] Apparently a set of 14 different subjects, without die varieties. Note that by 1864 such sets were considered to be scarce.

[4] Could this set have included the elusive No. 4 depicting Chilton?

[5] Note the comment that these three tokens were scarce. The size is given as 22, but the diameter is the same as the other Sage tokens offered earlier as size 21. Woodward's measurements were very casual, and over a period of time, inconsistent. Most original Sage tokens measured 30.8 mm, with the closest American Scale equivalent being size 19 (30.2 mm), and the next being size 20 (31.7 mm.).

[6] This listing would seem to indicate that Woodward knew of only one variety of Masonic Medalet issued by Sage; consistent with what is believed today.

[7] This obverse is otherwise associated with George H. Lovett's "Star Medal" series.

Lot 2301: Same in brass. [Realized 45¢.]

Lot 2302: Same in tin. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2303: Obv. same [Washington on horseback; GEN. WASHINGTON]; rev. view of the old building, "Washington's Headquarters at Tappan;" copper. [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 2304: Same in brass. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 2305: Same in tin. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2306: Obv. same [Washington on horseback; GEN. WASHINGTON]; rev. "The Home of Washington, Mount Vernon;" copper. [Realized 32¢.]

Lot 2307: Same in brass. [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 2308: Same in tin. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2309: Obv. same [Washington on horseback; GEN. WASHINGTON]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge;" copper. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2310: Same in brass. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2311: Same in tin. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2315: Obv. "The Home of Washington at Mount Vernon;" view of the building; rev. "The Women of America, noble preservers of our Father's home;" copper.[1] [Apparently withdrawn from the sale, or missing.]

Lot 2316: Same in brass. [Apparently withdrawn from the sale, or missing.]

Lot 2317: Same in tin. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 2318: Obv. Same [Mount Vernon]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge;" copper. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2319: Same in brass. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2320: Same in tin. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2321: Obv. [Mount Vernon]; rev. "The Old Hasbrook House;" copper. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2322: Same in brass. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2323: Same in tin. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2324: Obv. [Mount Vernon]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Tappan;" copper. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2325: Same in brass. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2326: Same in tin. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2327: "The Old Hasbrook House, Newburgh [*sic*], N.Y.;" rev. "Washington's Headquarters, 1782-3;" copper.[2] [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2328: Same in brass. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2329: Same in tin. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2330: Obv. same [Old Hasbrook House]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Tappan;" copper. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2331: Same in brass. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2332: Same in tin. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2333: Obv. [Old Hasbrook House]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge;" copper. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2334: Same in brass. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2335: Same in tin. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2336: View of Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge; rev. at Tappan; copper. Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2337: Same in brass. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2338: Same in tin. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2339: A rattlesnake coiled, "Don't tread on me, I have dangerous fangs;" rev. "Headquarters at Valley Forge;" copper.[3] [Realized 45¢.]

Lot 2340: Same in brass. [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 2341: Same in tin. [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 2342: Obv. a pine tree; rev. view of Headquarters at Tappan; copper.[4] [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2343: Same in brass. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2344: Same in tin. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2409: [Prefaced by: "The following medals, 42 in number, splendid proofs in silver, are all *unique,* having been struck for the private collection of Mr. Emery, who owned the dies. *The dies are now destroyed.* They constitute a beautiful and very interesting set. The whole series will be offered in one lot at a starting bid of $175. If this sum is not offered for the lot they will be sold separately." [The opening bid was not met.] Obv. Head within a wreath; rev. "The home of Washington, Mount Vernon," [size] 21. [Realized $3.25.][5]

Lot 2410: Obv. same [Washington head within wreath]; rev. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan," [size] 21. [Realized $4.00.]

Lot 2411: Obv. same [Washington head within wreath]; rev. "The Old Hasbrook House, Newburgh [*sic*], N.Y.;" [size] 21. [Realized $4.00.]

Lot 2412: Obv. same [Washington head within wreath]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge;" [size] 21. [Realized $3.87.]

Lot 2415: Obv. Geo. Washington on horseback, "General [*sic;* GEN. GEORGE was on the medal] Washington, 1776;" rev. "Mount Vernon, the Home of Washington;" [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2416: Obv. same [Washington on horseback, GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON]; rev. Washington Headquarters at Newburgh [*sic*], [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2417: Obv. [as preceding]; rev. old building at Valley Forge; [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2418: Obv. [as preceding]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Tappan;" [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2419: Obv. [as preceding]; rev. "Liberty Tree," [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2420: The home of Washington at Mount Vernon; rev. his Headquarters at Valley Forge, [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2421: Obv. same [Mount Vernon]; rev. "The Old Hasbrook House," [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2422: Obv. same [Mount Vernon]; rev. "The Women of America," &c. [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2423: Obv. same [Mount Vernon]; rev. "Headquarters at Tappan," [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2424: Old Hasbrook House at Newburgh; rev. "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge," [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2425: Obv. same [Mount Vernon]; rev. "Headquarters at Tappan," [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2426: Obv. same [Mount Vernon]; rev. "Washington's Headquarters, 1782-3," [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2427: "Washington's Headquarters at Tappan;" rev. "Liberty Tree," [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2428: "Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge;" rev. at Tappan, [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

Lot 2429: Obv. same; rev. rattlesnake coiled, "Don't tread on me," &c., [size] 21. [Realized $3.62.]

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[1] Sage's Historical Token No. 7; regular striking (not a muling).

[2] This is Historical Token No. 8, regular issue (not a muling).

[3] Historical Token No. 11, regular striking (not a muling).

[4] This is Historical Token No. 10, regular striking (not a muling), with the Liberty Tree reverse.

[5] Also see the account of Woodward's sale of March 1880, described below, which seems to have more of these "unique" pieces!

Lot 2452: Obv. Equestrian figure, Washington before Boston; rev. "The Home of Washington at Mount Vernon;" tin proof, extremely rare, perhaps unique, [size] 22. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 2453: Obv. same; rev. "City Hall, Wall Street, New York; brass proof, as rare as the last, [size] 22. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 2494: Head to left, "Pater Patriæ;" rev. card of A.B. Sage; copper proof, [size] 13. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 2495: Same as the last, in tin, proof, [size] 13. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 2496: Obv. same; rev. "Sage's Numismatic Raffle;" copper proof, scarce, [size] 13. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 2606: Bust within a wreath; rev. card of A.B. Sage & Co.; tin, fine, [size] 10. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 2607: Obv. same; rev. plain; tin, rare, [size] 10.[1] [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 2654: "The Home of Washington;" rev. "The Women of America;" bronze, fine, [size] 10. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 2842: [Under "Coin Catalogues," 1859] A.B. Sage private sale, illustrated; very rare. [size] 10. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 2843: H. Bogert's collection, New York, Feb. 28, Mar. 5, p. and n.,[2] rare. [size] 10. [Realized 85¢.]

Lot 2844: Addenda to Bogert's sale, with printed prices, scarce. [size] 10. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2845: A.B. Sage private sale, June, priced. [size] 10. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2846: J.D. Foskett's collection, New York, June 7, priced, scarce. [size] 10. [Realized $1.00.]

Lot 2848: Henry Whitmore's collection, New York, Nov. 2-3, p. and n., scarce. [size] 10. [Realized 12¢.]

## WOODWARD'S SALE (MARCH 1865)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of selections from the Bache, Bertsch, Lightbody, Lilliendahl, Vinton, and Watson collections purchased by W. Elliot Woodward was held from March 20 to 25, 1865. The sale was conducted by J.E. Cooley at the Trade Sales Rooms, 498 Broadway, New York City. Sage-related items included:

Lot 2477: A set of Sage's Historical Tokens, lacking No. 4, 13 pieces in all, all very fine.[3] [Realized 3¢ per token to W.H. Strobridge.]

Lot 2478: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, 6 pieces, copper, all very fine. [Realized 10¢ per token to Miller.]

Lot 2504: Medal of the City Hall, Wall Street, N.Y.; copper proof. [Realized 10¢ to Glover.]

Lot 3401: Washington on horseback; rev. "The old Hasbrook House at Newburg;" copper proof, very rare, [size] 21. [Realized 15¢ to Roberts.]

Lot 3402: Same, brass proof, equally rare, [size] 21. [Realized 15¢ to Roberts.]

Lot 3403: Same, in tin, proof, [size] 21. [Realized 12¢ to Sampson.]

Lot 3410: Washington on horseback;[4] rev. "The home of Washington, Mt. [*sic*] Vernon;" copper proof, rare, [size] 21. [Realized 25¢ to John McCoy.]

Lot 3411: Same, in brass, equally fine and rare, [size] 21. [Realized 20¢ to Bailey.]

Lot 3412: Same, in tin, proof, [size] 21. [Realized 15¢ to Bailey.]

Lot 3413: "The home of Washington, Mt. [*sic*] Vernon;" rev. "The Women of America, noble preservers of our Father's home;" copper, proof, [size] 20. [Realized 15¢ to Roberts.]

Lot 3414: "Washington headquarters at Valley Forge;" rev. a rattlesnake, "Don't tread on me;" copper, proof, [size] 20. [Realized 15¢ to Roberts.]

Lot 3415: "Washington's headquarters at Tappan;" rev. "Liberty tree;" copper, proof, [size] 20. [Realized 15¢ to Roberts.]

Lot 3416: "Richmond Hill house, New York," Washington headquarters; copper, proof, [size] 20. [Realized 50¢ to Hannah.]

Lot 3611: Five of Sage's tokens; all proofs and different, copper, [size] 22. [Realized 12¢ per token to Bailey.]

Lot 3722: [Under "Coin Catalogues, &c."] H. Bogert's collection, New York, Feb. 28, March 5., p. and n., rare. [Realized 25¢ to Hart.]

Lot 3723: Same, unpriced. [Realized 5¢ to Strobridge.]

Lot 3724: Addenda to above, with printed prices, scarce. [Realized 15¢ to Bailey.]

Lot 3725: A.B. Sage, private sale, June, priced. [Realized 10¢ to McCoy.]

Lot 3726: J.B. Foskett's sale, June 7, priced. [Realized 10¢ to Bailey.]

Lot 3728: Henry Whitmore's collection, Nov. 2-3, priced, n., scarce. [Realized 10¢ to McCoy.]

## LEVICK COLLECTION (APRIL 1865)

Edward D. Cogan's sale at Bangs, Merwin & Co. of the J.N.T. Levick Collection (one of the multiple collections he consigned to auction over the years), April 27-29, 1865, included these items, among which were some that would prove to be rarities:[5]

Lot 290: Sage's Odds and Ends, "No. 1," "No. 3," 2 pieces. [Size] 20.

Lot 291: Sage's Odds and Ends, No. 2, the two varieties, cop[per]. [Size] 20.

Lot 292: Sage's Historicals, No. 1, 2 varieties, cop. [Size] 20.

Lot 293: Sage's Historicals, Nos. 2 and 4, 2 pieces, cop. [Size] 20.

Lot 293-1/2: Sage's Historicals, No. 6, in two varieties, cop., 2 pieces. [Size] 20.

Lot 294: " " No. 12, cop. [Size] 20.

Lot 295: " " No. 12, rev. Penn's Treaty with the red men, cop. [Size] 20.

Lot 296: " Gallery of Numismatologists, &c., &c., No. 3, cop. [Size] 20.

Lot 297: " " " " No. 5, 2 varieties. [Size] 20.

Lot 298: " " " " No. 6, 2 varieties. [Size] 20.

Lot 690: Sage, Lovett, mule. Obv. Same as above [which was Lot 689, described as: "G.H.L., Geo. Wash., born, died,

[1] This token is not necessarily related to Sage, but is cited here in the context of the preceding lot.

[2] Priced and named.

[3] Inasmuch as Woodward owned the coins in the sale, this would indicate that he did not have a stock of Sage tokens on hand from which to fill the missing gap.

[4] There were two "Washington on horseback" designs by Lovett, one including the inscription GEO: WASHINGTON, *horse facing left,* and the other GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, *horse facing right;* thus this and the next two listings cannot be attributed with certainty today.

[5] The title page noted: "Mr. Edward Cogan, having supervision of the collection, will be happy to give all information desired," and "Orders will be executed through the auctioneers, Mr. Cogan, Mr. Woodward, and Mr. Strobridge."

&c., rev. Mon. at Balt., cop., v.f. size 13], rev. Sage's rafle [*sic*] die of Wash., cop., thick, v.f. [Size] 13.[1]

Lot 994: Sage & Co., N.Y. 1860, rev. City Hall. Wall St., set, pr'fs. (3).

Lot 995: Sage & Co., N.Y. 1860, rev. Clinton's house, c[opper] and b[rass], pr'fs. (2).

Lot 996: Sage & Co., Circulating Library, 1860, "Pater Patriæ," b[rass], un[circulated].

Lot 997: Sage & Co., Geo. Wash., "1859," size 10, tin, v.f.

## WOODWARD'S SALE (DECEMBER 1865)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of selections from the Bache, Bertsch, Colburn, Emery, Finotti, Ilsley, Levick, Lilliendahl, Lightbody, McCoy, Semple, Shurtleff and other collections purchased by W. Elliot Woodward was held for several days beginning on December 19, 1865. The sale was conducted by George A. Leavitt at the Trade Sale Rooms of E. Cooley, 498 Broadway, New York City. Notably, there are more pieces (but not specifically identified as such) from the cabinet of J. Osborn Emery, he of irrelevant Sage muling fame. In any event, the number of Sage items was small in comparison to those from the Emery holding auctioned by Woodward in 1864:

Lot 1396: Sage's Historical Tokens, all different; copper, proof, fourteen pieces, [size] 20.

Lot 1397: Sage's numismatic gallery,[2] Messrs. Bogert, Colburn, Jaudon, and Chesley; copper, proofs, four pieces, [size] 20.

Lot 2118: A complete set of Sage's Historical Tokens; fourteen pieces, all beautiful bronze proofs, size 21.[3]

Lot 2119: Sage's Numismatic Gallery; six pieces, all very fine, size 21.

Lot 2120: Sage's Numismatic Gallery; number eight, H.N. Rust; fine proof, tin, rare in this metal, size 21.

Lot 2121: Sage's Medal of the Old Sugar House, New York; proof, size 21.

Lot 2206: Washington on horseback; rev. "The home of Washington, Mount Vernon;" copper, proof, rare, [size] 21.

Lot 2207: Same; in brass, proof, [size] 21.

Lot 2208: Same; in tin, equally rare, [size] 21.

[Then follow lots 2209-2217, mulings with the same obverse combined with the Old Hasbrook House, Tappan, and Valley Forge, copper, brass and tin.]

Lot 2305: Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge; rev. rattlesnake; copper, proof, [size] 21.

Lot 2332: Bust to left, "Pater Patriæ;" rev. A.B. Sage & Co., Circulating Library, tin, proof, [size] 14.

## CHAMBERS COLLECTION (FEBRUARY 1866)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Robert B. Chambers Collection was conducted from February 27 to March 1, 1866, at the Trade Sale Rooms of J.E. Cooley, 498 Broadway, New York City. The auctioneer was George A. Leavitt. The following was among several items related to Sage:

Lot 1323: [Under "Store Cards, &c."] Sage, A.B.; rev. view of the City Hall. Tin, proof, scarce. [Realized 3¢.]

## HOFFMAN COLLECTION (APRIL 1866)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Francis S. Hoffman Collection was conducted from April 24 to 27, 1866, at the Book Trade-Sale Rooms of Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co., 498 Broadway, New York City. The auctioneer was George A. Leavitt. Sage-related items included:

Lot 1261: Sage's Numismatic Gallery—17 pieces, all fine proofs, three of which are seldom found.[4] [Realized 10¢ per token.]

Lot 1973: Sage, A.B. & Co.; rev. City Hall, Brass, proof, rare. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 1974: Sage, A.B. & Co.; rev. Sir Henry Clinton's house. Brass, proof, rare. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 1975: Sage, A.B. & Co.; like last; tin, proof, rare. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 1976: Sage, A.B. & Co.; rev. City Hall; tin, proof, rare. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 2185: Head-quarters at Valley Forge; rev. a rattlesnake, I HAVE DANGEROUS FANGS; brass, proof, rare, [size] 21. [Realized 8¢.]

Lot 2186: Same, tin, proof, rare, [size] 21. [Realized 8¢.]

Lot 2187: Head-quarters at Tappan; rev. liberty tree; brass, proof, [size] 21. [Realized 8¢.]

Lot 2188: Mount Vernon; rev. THE WOMEN OF AMERICA, &c.; brass, proof, [size] 21. [Realized 8¢.]

## BOGERT COLLECTION (APRIL 1867)

On April 24-26, 1867, Edward D. Cogan conducted a sale at Bangs, Merwin & Co. Featured were items from the collections of Joseph Zanoni and Henry Bogert. The introduction commented, in part: "...my friend Mr. Bogert put the Collection in my hands, leaving me to do entirely what I thought right in cataloguing them."

The Bogert coins and other items were not specifically identified as to ownership, but were mixed with the Zanoni material and, possibly, other consignments as well. No indication was given concerning Bogert's one-time connection with Augustus B. Sage. The only Sage-related pieces were mixed with other items:

Lot 1060: Two Franklin Cents,[5] and Sage's small Washington Medalet, fair. 3 [pieces]. [Realized 12¢ per item to James Muhlenberg Bailey.]

Lot 1064: Barnum's Museum, Bombardment of Fort Sumter, and Pioneer Base Ball Club; in white metal, all fine. 3 [pieces]. [Realized 10¢ per item to Elisha Y. Ten Eyck.]

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[1] This muling proved to be exceedingly rare and was not cited by later students of Washington tokens and medals. The Baltimore Monument die, not relevant to Sage, but mentioned in passing above, is described by Rulau-Fuld, p. 142.

[2] In this description "numismatic gallery" is not capitalized. In other listings, sometimes sizes and metals were given, other times they were not. As did others past and present, Woodward apparently rushed the production of his catalogues, and within a given issue many inconsistencies can be found.

[3] A comparison of this description with Lot 1396, both containing similar pieces, reveals that "copper" and "bronze" were used interchangeably by Woodward as were sizes 20 and 21.

[4] Probably, this lot consisted of 14 copper pieces and three scarcer white metal impressions.

[5] 1787 Fugio cents.

## BRECHEMIN COLLECTION (JUNE 1867)

The sale of the estate collection of Louis Brechemin was catalogued by Charles K. Warner and held on June 5-7, 1867, at the auction rooms of Davis & Harvey, 421 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. The following related to Sage:

Lot 28: 8 of Sage's Numismatic Gallery Medals, Copper. All fine.

## MICKLEY COLLECTION (OCTOBER 1867)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Joseph J. Mickley Collection was conducted from October 28 to November 2, 1867, at the Book Trade-Sale Rooms of Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co., 498 Broadway, New York City. Mickley, America's pre-eminent numismatist, had recently suffered a robbery of much of his material and called upon W. Elliot Woodward to come from Roxbury, Massachusetts, to Philadelphia and purchase the remainder of his cabinet, after which Mickley went on an extended tour of Europe. Sage-related items included:

Lot 2728: Sage's Historical Tokens, a set of 14 pieces, all splendid proofs, in copper, [size] 20. [Realized $3.00 for the set to Beach.]

Lot 2729: Sage's Odds and Ends, a set of three, all splendid proofs, in copper, [size] 20. [Realized 5¢ per token to Beach.]

Lot 2730: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, 2 pieces, copper, proof, [size] 20. [Realized 10¢ each to Beach.]

## CAUFFMAN COLLECTION (MAY 1871)

Edward D. Cogan's sale of the Emil Cauffman Collection, May 3-4, 1871, at Bangs, Merwin & Co., included these items of types once distributed by Sage:

Lot 480: "Washington Temperance Society;" bust looking right; rev. A student reading, it may be presumed, to his wife and little child; in the Exergue, "House of Temperance." Very fine. [Size] 26. [Realized 80¢.]

Lot 481: Another. Rev. "Awarded to." Very fine. [Size] 26. [Realized 25¢.]

## WOOD COLLECTION (MAY 1873)

Edward D. Cogan's sale of the Isaac Francis Wood Collection, May 19-21, 1873, at Bangs, Merwin & Co., included the following related to Sage:[1]

Lot 565: A full set of Sage's Historical Tokens, from No. 1 to 14, all in copper. Making, including a variety, No. 1 a British Brison instead of Prison, 15 pieces. Fine. [Size] 20.

Lot 566: Sage's No. 1, Old Masonic Hall. Copper, fine. [Size] 20.

Lot 567: Sage's No. 1 and 2 from Odds and Ends. Crystal Palace burning and Old Sugar-House. Fine. [Size] 20.

Lot 568: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Six pieces, all different heads. Copper. Fine. [Size] 20.

Lot 569: Do. Paul Morphy, the American Chess King. Copper. Fine. [Size] 22 [*sic*].

Lot 570: Do. Numismatic Gallery. Four pieces, all different on white metal, scarce. [Size] 20.

Lot 571: "City Hall, Wall Street, N.Y.;" rev. "Faneuil, Boston, Mass." In *silver,* very rare. [Size] 20.

Lot 572: Same in white metal. [Size] 20.

Lot 573: "Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, Penn." Rev. "The Old Jersey." *Silver,* very rare. [Size] 20.

Lot 574: Another in copper. [Size] 20.

Lot 575: "Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass." Rev. "The Old Jersey." White metal. [Size] 20.

Lot 576: Same in copper. [Size] 20.

Lot 618: Washington Head Quarters at Newburg. In copper, brass, and white metal. Emory's[2] dies. [Size] 20.

Lot 619: Same at Tappan. The same three metals. [Size] 20.

Lot 631: Pater Patriæ. Head to left. Rev. Sage's Card in copper, brass and white metal. [Size] 14.

Lot 632: Same head. Sage's Raffle Card. Copper. [Size] 14.

Lot 1597: Lovett's Washington on horseback. Reverse of City Hall, Wall Street, Brass. Scarce. [Size] 20.

## WOODWARD'S SALE (FEBRUARY 1874)

W. Elliot Woodward's Eighteenth Sale, February 23-26, 1874, was catalogued by his friend and colleague, William Harvey Strobridge. The event took place at Clinton Hall, New York City, under the auspices of the Messrs. Leavitt, auctioneers. Sage-related items included:[3]

Lot 1214: Equestrian medal. In foreground, Washington galloping, cap in hand; in distance, tents; rev. "The Home of Washington, Mount Vernon." Fine proof, bronze. Rare. Size 20. [Realized $1.80 to Holland.]

Lot 1215: Same; rev. headquarters at Tappan. Fine proof, tin. [Realized $1.00 to Mapleton.]

Lot 1216: Same; rev. Old Hasbrook House, Newburg, N.Y. Fine proof, tin. [Realized $1.00 to Mapleton.]

Lot 1285: Henry Bogert; rev. A.B. Sage Numismatic gallery. Copper. Proof. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Haseltine.]

Lot 1286: Jeremiah Colburn; same rev. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Haseltine on commission from Perkins.]

Lot 1287: Frank Jaudon; same rev. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Haseltine on commission from Perkins.]

Lot 1288: William H. Chesley; same rev. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Haseltine on commission from Perkins.]

Lot 1289: Paul Morphy; rev. record as chess-player. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Haseltine.]

Lot 1290: The Old Provost [*sic*], N.Y.; rev. "A British Prison," etc. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Holland.]

Lot 1291: State House, Philadelphia; rev. Patriots rendezvous in '76. Size 20. [Realized 15¢ to Wiswall.]

Lot 1292: Old Sugar House, Liberty street; rev. "A British Prison," etc. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Holland.]

Lot 1293: Richmond Hill House. Washington's Head Quarters, May, 1776. Size 20. [Realized 15¢ to Wiswall.]

Lot 1294: The Old Swamp Church; rev. attended by the Hessians during the Rev. Size 20. [Realized 50¢ to Zabriskie.]

Lot 1295: City Hall, Wall Street, N.Y., a "British Prison," etc. Size 20. [Realized 25¢ to Holland.]

## GAY COLLECTION (APRIL 1875)

From April 28 through May 1, 1875, the collection of Joseph E. Gay of New York City, "with several others of less extent, besides contributions from a number of gentlemen whose collec-

[1] This was in the era before Wood himself restruck certain pieces relating to Sage. See 1894 Wood sale citations.

[2] Apparently a reference to S. Benton *Emery.*

[3] From named and priced catalogue used by John W. Haseltine to execute bids for his clients; John W. Adams library.

tions in certain departments have become inconveniently large," crossed the auction block in the rooms of George A. Leavitt & Co., Clinton Hall, Astor Place and 8th Street, New York City. The cataloguer was William H. Strobridge, who dated his introduction April 15, 1875, perhaps an indication both of the speed in which printers turned out simple (without illustrations) catalogues in those days, and the limited circulation of them. Certainly, a bidder at a distance would have had little time to have considered the possibilities of the sale. Relevant to Sage, these were offered:

Lot 1073: Sage's Historical Tokens; fine proof impressions in copper; Nos. 1, 2, 6, 10, 13, and 14. 6 pieces.

Lot 1074: - "Odds and ends;" Nos. 1, 2, and 3; same style. 3 pieces.

Lot 1075: - "Numismatic Gallery;" "Odds and Ends," etc.; same style and condition. 4 pieces.

## WHITE COLLECTION (APRIL 1876)

Edward D. Cogan's sale of the Lewis White Collection, April 17-18, 1876, included these two items:

Lot 712: Sumter Medal, April 12 and 13, 1861. On the Obverse, Representation of the Taking of the Fort. Rev. "To Maj. Robert Anderson, U.S.A.," &c. *Very* rare in silver. [Size] 44.

Lot 714: [Under heading "Silver Medals"] New York Crystal Palace Medal. Building on Fire. Rev. "Destroyed by Fire October 5, 1858, in 40 minutes." Rare. [Size] 32.[1]

## CENTENNIAL SALE PART IV (JULY 1876)

John W. Haseltine's 1776 Centennial Coin and Curiosity Sale, Part IV, the Collection of Francis Lepere of St. Louis, July 17-18, 1876, included these:

Lot 323: A.B. Sage & Co.; obv., Sir Henry Clinton's house; copper; very fine; [size] 20.

Lot 813: Paul Morphy; Sage's Odds and Ends, No. 3; fine; [size] 20.

Lot 825: Sage's Historical Tokens; Nos. 1, 3, 11, 12; very fine; 4 pieces; [size] 20.

Lot 826: Sage's Historical Tokens; No. 12; very fine.

Lot 827: Sage's Numismatic Gallery; Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 5 (different), 6, 7, 8, 9; very fine; 9 pieces; [size] 20.[2]

Lot 993: [as part of an offering under heading of "White Metal Medals"] Sage's Numismatic Gallery; Nos. 7, 8 & 9; Chesley, Rust & Dodge; fine, 3 pieces; [size] 20.

## COGAN'S SALE (DECEMBER 1876)

Edward D. Cogan's sale of December 18-19, 1876, included this Sage item, one of the more common of Sage's tokens, but tokens were never Cogan's cataloguing forte:

Lot 555: "The Old Provost, N.Y." Building. Rev. "A British Brison during the Revolution." No. 1 of Sage's Historical Tokens, and very scarce. [Size] 20. [Realized 45¢.]

## *NUMISMA* (JULY 1877)

Édouard Frossard's house organ, *Numisma,* published at Irvington, NY, offered these items at fixed prices in the July 1877 issue:

State House, Phila; Sage No. 6, bronze, v. fine $0.20.

Old Sugar House, Liberty St., Sage No. 1. v. fine $0.20.

## IDELL COLLECTION (JANUARY 1878)

The collection of C.W. Idell was catalogued by Emmanuel J. Attinelli and sold at auction at Messrs. Bangs & Co., January 8-9, 1878. Sage-related pieces included:

Lot 475: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, Nos. 1 to 9 in cop[per]. Nos. 7, 8, 9 in tin proofs. 12 pcs.[3]

Lot 476: Sage's Historical Tokens, No. 1 to 14 inclus., cop. proofs. 14 pcs.

Lot 477: Sage's Odds and Ends. No. 1, 2, 3, cop. proofs. 3 pcs.

## STROBRIDGE SALE (JUNE 1878)

The sale catalogued by T.R. Strobridge and held by Messrs. Leavitt, New York City, June 17-19, 1878, included this:

Lot 328: Sage's Historical Tokens, No. 4, 6, and 14, Numismatic Gallery 3, and Odds and Ends 3, and three of Lovett's Series.[4] Fine proofs, copper. 10 pieces.

## CLEMENS COLLECTION (OCTOBER 1878)

Edward D. Cogan's sale of the James B. Clemens Collection, October 22-25, 1878, included these Sage-related items:

Lot 1011: Nine of Sage's Historical Cards. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, and 15.[5] Fine. Copper. [Size] 20.

Lot 1012: Twelve of Sage's Numismatic Gallery Cards, nine very fine. Copper. [Size] 20.

Lot 1013: Paul Morphy, the great Chess player. Very fine. Copper. [Size] 21 [*sic.*]

## CHADBOURNE AND HOLLAND COLLECTIONS (NOVEMBER 1878)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Chadbourne Collection of tokens and store cards (sold with the collection of Henry W. Holland, whose name was on the title page), Messrs. Bangs & Co., New York City, November 11-16, 1878, included these:

Lot 1777: Medal presented to Cyrus W. Field, by his friends in New York, for his perseverance in laying the Atlantic Cable, in 1858, silver proof, scarce, [size] 32. [Realized $2.]

Lot 1824: View of Mount Vernon, rev. view of the old Hasbrook House and Newburg, tin, fine, [size] 20. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 1899: Bust to left, "Pater Patriæ," rev. wreath, rev. Sage's raffle ticket, copper proof, [size] 14. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 1900: Obverse, same, rev., Sage's circulating library card, copper proof, [size] 14. [Realized 18¢.]

Lot 1939: Washington on horseback; "Geo. Washington, 1776;" rev. Mount Vernon; tin, proof, [size] 20. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 2248: Sage, A.B., & Co. dealers in coins, N.Y., 1860; obv., view of City Hall; copper, Proof. [Size] 20. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 2249: Same in tin. Proof. [Realized 12¢.]

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[1] This is a non-Sage-related medal by Robert Lovett, Jr., of Philadelphia.

[2] This offering lacks the Chilton token, No. 4, a variety that was to prove particularly elusive to later collectors as well.

[3] This listing seems to indicate that the No. 4 token (Chilton) was included; alternatively, there may have been mulings among the No. 5 or No. 6 issues, thus creating a total of nine copper pieces. This is the only rare coin sale known to have been catalogued by Attinelli.

[4] The "Lovett's Series" pieces may not have been related to Sage.

[5] A typographical error? No. 15 is not otherwise known; the highest number is 14.

Lot 2250: Same reverse; obv., Sir Henry Clinton's house; copper, very fine, [size] 20. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 2251: Same in brass; Proof. [Realized 12¢.]

Lot 2252: Same in tin; very fine. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 2253: Sage's raffle ticket; bust of Washington; copper, very fine, [size] 13. [Realized 12¢.]

Lot 2254: Sage's library ticket; head of Washington; brass Proof, [size] 13. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 2255: Same in tin; very fine. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 2886: Carpenter's Hall, Phila; rev., "First Continental Congress," a snake cut in pieces; "United or die;" silver proof, scarce, [size] 20. [Realized 55¢.]

Lot 2900: Sage's Historical Tokens, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 [2 varieties[1]], 12, 13, 14, fourteen pieces, all fine, several proofs, copper, [size] 19. [Realized 25¢ per token.]

Lot 2901: Sage's Historical Token No. 1, rev., a British *Brison;* copper proof, scarce, [size] 19. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2902: Sage's Odds and Ends; Nos. 1, 2 [2 varieties], 2, copper, all fine, [size] 19. [Realized 7¢ per token.]

Lot 2903: Sage's Numismatic Gallery; busts of Bushnell, Bogart [*sic*], Colburn, Lewis, Jaudon, Chesley [2 varieties], Rust, and Dodge; 9 pieces, nearly all proofs, copper, [size] 19. [Realized 6¢ per token.]

Lot 2904: Sage's medal of Paul Morphy; copper proof, [size] 19. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 3554: New York Crystal Palace; "Destroyed by fire," etc.; tin, fine, [size] 32. [Realized 55¢][2]

Lot 3357: Faneuil Hall, Boston; rev., Carpenter's Hall, Phila.; silver proof, scarce, [size] 20. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 3559: Faneuil Hall; rev. The Old Jersey; silver proof; scarce, [size] 20. [Realized 60¢.]

Lot 3383: Old Masonic Hall, Broadway; copper, proof, [size] 19. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 4686: Sage, A.B. & Co. Obv., City Hall, N.Y., copper, proof, [size] 21. [Realized 2¢.]

## SCHIEFFELIN COLLECTION (MARCH 1879)

Catalogued by Scott & Co., the collection of S.B. Schieffelin was auctioned by Messrs. Leavitt at Clinton Hall, New York City, March 3-8, 1879. The catalogue included these:

Lot 376: Cyrus W. Field, 1858. Bust to right within oak wreath. By Lovett. Rev. Inscription. Published by Sage. Very fine. Bronze. Size 14.

Lot 2976: Catalogue of coins for sale by Augustus B. Sage, plate.[3]

Lot 2977: 1859, Feb. 28th, Henry Bogart [*sic*]. Rare.

Lot 2978: Addenda to last, partly priced, rare.

## WILDER COLLECTION (MAY 1879)

John W. Haseltine's catalogue of the Lyman Wilder, Esq.,[4] Collection, was held by the Philadelphia dealer in New York City at Messrs. Bangs & Co., May 21-24, 1879. Included:

Lot 808: Henry Bogert; Numismatic Gallery, No. 2; copper, [size] 20.

Lot 810: Penn's Treaty, John Allen, Crystal Palace on fire, Peale Museum, and New England Historical Society medals; copper and brass; 6 pieces, [size] 20.[5]

## WOODWARD'S SALE (DECEMBER 1879)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Gerdts, Pecker, Mason, and Truesdel Collections was held at Bangs & Co., New York City, December 16-19, 1879. These items related to Sage:

Lot 1451: Sage's Masonic Medalet No. 1.; copper, proof. [Size] 20. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 2405: [Under "Store Cards"] Sage, A.B. & Co. A set.[6] Various metals and reverses, all very fine. 6 pieces. [Size] 21. [Realized 6¢ per token.]

Lot 2406: Sage, A.B. & Co. Head of Washington. Copper and tin, very fine. 2 pieces. [Size] 14. [Realized 15¢ per token.]

## EMERY, TAYLOR & LOOMIS COLLECTIONS (MARCH 1880)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Emery, Taylor & Loomis Collections was held on March 9-12,1880, at Messrs. Bangs & Co., New York City. Emery was none other than J. Osborn Emery, selections from whose collection had been sold by Woodward in October 1864. Certain of the Sage-related silver tokens described there as *unique,* and sold to various buyers, seem to have duplicates in the present 1880 sale.

Lot 1111: [Under "Washington Pieces," prefaced by this: "The forty-three medals next following, Nos. 1111 to 1153 inclusive, are one and all positively unique in silver, as I am assured by Mr. Emery, who received a guarantee from the maker that no more had been or ever should be struck; in addition to this many of them cannot be struck as the dies are scattered or destroyed."] Washington on horseback;[7] rev. Headquarters at Tappan. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1112: Obverse same; rev. Headquarters at Valley Forge. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1113: Obverse same; rev. The Old Hasbrook House; die broken. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1114: Obverse same; rev. "Washington" surrounded by rays, stars and scrollwork. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.[8]

Lot 1115: Obverse same; rev. Mount Vernon. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.

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[1] Perhaps one was a muling or an off-metal restrike; only one original variety in copper is known.

[2] This medal, size 32 (in 16ths of an inch) may have been sold by Sage; it is different from the same subject in the Odds and Ends series (of smaller diameter).

[3] An early recognition of the unusual aspect of Sage's catalogue having a plate.

[4] Wilder, a wealthy manufacturer of agricultural machines, collected many things including coins, mineral specimens, and antiques. He built an octagonal museum next to his home in Hoosick Falls, NY, to house his treasures (the structure, converted to another use, stands today). His interest in astronomy is footnoted earlier in Chapter 1.

[5] The Crystal Palace medal was probably from Sage's Odds and Ends series. The correct spelling should have been John Allan (prominent early collector) for another medal; other medals are not related to Sage unless the Penn's Treaty was a rare Sage muling.

[6] This does not seem to be a set of anything; rather, it seems to be a miscellaneous group.

[7] Probably George H. Lovett's GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776 obverse die; this is the standard obverse for the piece subsequently offered in the present sale as Lot 1114.

[8] This token is not related to Sage but, instead, is one of George H. Lovett's series, obverse and reverse; however, it is cited here as it is part of a mostly-Sage listing.

Lot 1116: Obverse same; rev. Head of Washington within a wreath. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.[1]

Lot 1117: Obverse same; rev. a pine tree. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1118: Head within a wreath;[2] rev. Headquarters at Tappan. Silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1119: Obverse same; rev. Headquarters at Valley Forge; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1120: Obverse same; rev. The Old Hasbrook House; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1121: Obverse same; rev. House at Mount Vernon; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1122: Headquarters at Valley Forge; rev., Headquarters at Newburgh; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1123: Obverse same; rev., Headquarters at Tappan; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1124: House at Mount Vernon; rev. Headquarters at Valley Forge; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1125: The Old Hasbrook House at Newburgh; rev. Headquarters at Tappan; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1126: Obverse same; rev. "Washington's Headquarters, 1782, 83."; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1127: The Women of America, noble preservers of our father's home; rev. Mount Vernon;[3] silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1128: Mount Vernon; rev. Headquarters at Tappan; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1129: Obverse same; rev., The Old Hasbrook House; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1130: Liberty tree; rev. Headquarters at Tappan; silver, proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 1131: A rattlesnake coiled. "Don't tread on me"; rev., Headquarters at Valley Forge; silver, proof. [Size] 20.[4]

## CARTER COLLECTION (MARCH 1880)

The sale of the Samuel Carter Collection at Messrs. Bangs & Co., March 22-25, 1880, included many tokens and medals of which these related to Sage:

Lot 1451: Sages Numismatic Gallery; Nos., 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, cop; 8 pcs.; size 20. [Realized 5¢ per token.]

Lot 1452: — Nos. 2, 3, 5; fine; 3 pcs.; size 20. [Realized 2¢ per token.]

Lot 1453: — Frank Jaudon; fine, size 20. [Realized 2¢.]

Lot 1476: Sages State House, Phila.; rev., wreath; THE PATRIOTS RENDEZVOUS IN '76; copper and brass; *proofs;* 2 pcs.; size 20. [Realized 8¢ each.]

Lot 1477: Old Sugar House, Liberty St., N.Y. "Founded 1639, Demolished 1840;" copper, fine, size 20. [Realized 11¢.]

Lot 1478: Same; rev., "A British prison during the Revolution;" fine; size 10. [Realized 15¢]

Lot 1495: Old Masonic Hall, Broadway, N.Y., bronze, *proof;* size 20. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 1563: Washington Temperance Society Medal; rev., interior view; man and woman seated at a table; bronze; *proof;* size 27. [Realized 10¢.]

## DURAND COLLECTION (JULY 1880)

The sale of the Charles A. Durand Collection, catalogued by H.P. Smith and H.G. Sampson, sold on July 29, 1880, at Messrs. Bangs & Co., New York, included these items:

Lot 51: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9. Copper. Proofs. 6 pieces. [Size] 19.

Lot 52. Sage's Masonic Medalets. No. 1. Copper. Very fine. [Size] 19.

Lot 53: Sage's Odds and Ends. Nos. 1, 2, 3. Copper. Very fine and proof. 3 pieces. [Size] 19.

Lot 55: Washington's Headquarters, Tappan. Copper. Proof. [Size]`20.

Lot 56: Sage's Historical Tokens. From No. 1 to 14. All were struck proofs. Copper. Scarce as a complete set. Copper. [Size] 20.

## HARZFELD'S 14TH SALE (OCTOBER 1880)

The Fourteenth Sale, October 29, 1880, held by Philadelphia numismatist S.K. Harzfeld, was conducted in New York City by Messrs. Bangs & Co. at 739 and 741 Broadway.

Lot 696: Old Masonic Hall, New York. 4 varieties. Proofs. Very rare as a set. 4 pieces.

## JENKS COLLECTION (JANUARY 1881)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the William J. Jenks Collection, held at Messrs. Bangs & Co., New York City, January 10-13, 1881, included this incompletely described piece from Sage's Numismatic Gallery:

Lot 1544. H.N. Rust. Bust; rev., Inscrip.; bronze, proof. [Size] 20. [Realized 10¢.]

## MARVIN COLLECTION (JUNE 1881)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the William T.R. Marvin collection of Masonic medals and other properties, held at Messrs. Bangs & Co., New York City, June 21, 1881, included:

Lot 48: [Under "Masonic Medals"] Old Masonic Hall, N.Y.; rev., on a mosaic pavement an altar, etc., Youth, Manhood, and Old Age; silver, proof, only 10 struck. [Marvin reference number] 36. [Size] 20. [Realized $2.80.]

## STAEBLEIN COLLECTION (JANUARY 1882)

John W. Haseltine's sale of the Staeblein Collection, Philadelphia, January 26-27, 1882, included these:

Lot 235: Sage's Historical Tokens; different headquarters of Washington; copper; very fine; 4 pieces; size 20 [in 16ths of an inch].

Lot 236: The same; Valley Forge; rev., the old Hasbrook House; brass, very fine, rare mule.[5]

Lot 237: Same obverse; rev., headquarters at Tappan; white metal Proof; very thick planchet; reeded edge; rare mule.[6]

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[1] Muling not related to Sage.

[2] Known today as George H. Lovett's Star Medal obverse.

[3] A transposition of the descriptions of the obverse and reverse. Woodward shows little familiarity with the Sage connection and, in fact, doesn't mention Sage at all in this section.

[4] This is the last lot in the silver series that utilizes at least one die related to Sage.

[5] This muling has no inscription relating to Sage and is more properly a part of the outside mulings made by George H. Lovett.

[6] This muling has no inscription relating to Sage and is more properly a part of the outside mulings made by George H. Lovett.

## BUSHNELL COLLECTION (JUNE 1882)

The estate collection of Charles I. Bushnell was catalogued by brothers S. Hudson Chapman and Henry Chapman and offered for auction at Messrs. Bangs & Co., June 20-24, 1882. Presented in a handsomely illustrated catalogue, the cabinet might have been an especially rich source for information about Sage, in view of Bushnell having been Sage's mentor in the early days. However, although unusual effort was displayed by the cataloguers to give historical information about colonial coins, very early medals, and rare examples of federal coinage, tokens were given second shrift, no doubt a reasonable decision in view of their generally low values. It should be said that the terse descriptions given by the Chapmans were not necessarily different from the style employed by their competitors. However, in light of the connection with Sage, a relationship possibly not known by the Chapmans, much could have been said.

The following items are related to Sage:

Lot 409: [Under "American Medals"] Bust to right of Cyrus W. Field. Rev. Ins. Silver. Proof. Rare. [Size] 32. [Realized $1.70.]

Lot 410: Same. Bronze. Proof. [Size] 32. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 411: Same. Tin. Proof. [Size] 32. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 412: Same obv. Rev. without date. Silver. Proof. Rare. [Size] 32. [Realized $1.75.]

Lot 413: Same. Bronze. Proof. Very Fine. [Size 32] [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 414: Same. Tin. Proof. [Size] 32. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 419: The Crystal Palace, N.Y., in flames. Rev. Ins. Bronze. Very fine. [Size] 33.[1] [Realized 35¢.]

Lot 459: "Sage's Historical Tokens." Obv. Some noted building. Rev. History. No. 1 to 14. Copper Proof. Rare as a set. [Size 20] 15 pieces.[2] [Realized 12½¢ per token.]

Lot 460: Duplicate numbers. Copper. Proofs. 12 pieces. [Realized 7¢ per token.]

Lot 461: Mules of above. Copper, brass, tin. Rare lot. Proofs. [Size] 20. 10 pieces. [Realized 8¢ per token.]

Lot 462: No. 1 in silver; weak impression, but very rare. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 463: "Sages Odds and Ends." Copper. Proofs. [Size] 20. 8 pieces.[3] [Realized 8-1/2¢ per token.]

Lot 697: [Under "Medals of Numismatists"] Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Busts of prominent numismatists. Copper Proofs. No. 1 to 9. Rare as a set. [Size] 20. 9 pieces.[4] [Realized 14¢ per token.]

Lot 698: Three in tin. Very rare. 3 pieces. [Realized 3¢ per token.]

Lot 709: [Under "Cards of Coin Dealers"] Sage, A.B. Obv. Views of buildings in N.Y. Proofs. Scarce. 6 pieces.[5] [Realized 8¢ per token.]

Lot 1173: [Under "Masonic Medals"] Old Masonic Hall, N.Y. Copper. Proof. [Size] 20. [Realized 12¢.]

Lot 1414: [Under "Medals of Washington"] Bust to right; Washington Temp. So. Rev. Temperance Declaration, etc. Copper, brass, tin. [size] 27. 3 pieces. [Realized 30¢ per item.]

Lot 1415: Same obv. Rev. House of Temperance. Bronze, brass, tin. [size] 27. 3 pieces. [Realized 30¢ per item.]

Lot 1416: Same obv. Rev. Awarded to. Bronze. Very Fine. [size] 27. [Realized 75¢.]

Lot 1417: Same obv. Rev. Bust of Franklin. Bronze. Very fine. [size] 27. [Realized 75¢.]

Lot 1660: Medal given "to Maj. Robert Anderson, U.S.A. from the citizens of New York City, as a slight tribute to his patriotism;" 'PRUDENS, FIDELIS ET AUDAX. INVICTÆ FIDELITATIS PRAEMIUM.' "G.H. Lovett, N. York, Aug. B. Sage Pub." The whole in a fine oak wreath. Ob. View of Fort Sumter and the engagement. "Sumter April 12 & 13. 1861." Silver. Magnificent Proof. [size] 44. Mr. Bushnell stated to us that this medal was *unique* in this metal. [Realized $8.00.]

Lot 1661: Same. Bronze. [size] 44. Extremely rare. [Realized $1.80.]

Lot 1662: Same. Tin. [size] 44. Extremely rare. [Realized 75¢.]

Lot 1748. [This lot through 1751 listed under Medals Awarded to Naval Officers] Arctic Medal. Arms of New York. Rev. Two men in Arctic costume on an iceberg, etc. Bronze. Solid electrotype. Only issued in this manner. Extremely rare. [Size] 50. [Realized $1.50].

Lot 1749. Arctic Medal. Arms of New York. Tiffany & Co., pubs. Rev. Two men in Arctic costume; steamer in the distance. Silver. V. rare. [Size] 38. [Realized $10.60.].

Lot 1750. Same. Bronze. Very rare. [Size] 38. [Realized $1.10.]

Lot 1751. View of two ships in a field of ice. "Advance, Rescue." G.H. Lovett fec. Rev. "Presented by the British residents of New York, to—— in commemoration of his services, in the American Arctic Expedition sent by Henry Grinnell, Esq., in search of Sir John Franklin, 1851." Silver. Very rare. [Size] 24. [Realized $1.90.].

Lot 2941: [Under "Priced Catalogues of Coin Sales}" 1859. Feby. 28, June 7, May 4. Bogert, Foskett and Bramhall collections; priced and named.[6] [Realized $1.00.]

Lot 2942: 1859-60. Same as above, and one other; partly priced. [Realized 65¢.]

Lot 2948: 1859. Whitmore and Curtis collections; unpriced.[7]

Lot 2963: [Under "Unbound Catalogues; priced and named"] 1859. Foskett coll. 2 pieces. [Realized 10¢ each.]

Lot 2965: 1859. Nov. 2-3. Whitmore coll. Dec. 15 (2).[8] [Realized 12½¢ each.]

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[1] The size indicates that this was not one of Sage's "Odds and Ends" tokens.

[2] This set must have included one additional die variety in addition to the basic 14 subjects.

[3] An unfortunately short description, considering that just four die varieties are known today of the Odds and Ends series. Did this lot include duplicates?

[4] If this offering did, in fact, include nine different portraits, it represents a very unusual instance of a Chilton (No. 4) being in a collection.

[5] How unfortunate it is that the cataloguers were not more specific. Were there more than two different "buildings in N.Y."? What were the metals?

[6] The three catalogues were bound together as a single volume. The Foskett Collection catalogue was Sage's own copy. The Bramhall Collection sale, May 4-5, 1859, at Bangs, Merwin & Co., had no connection to Sage and may have been catalogued by S. Gerard Moses (cf. comment by Charles Davis under Lot 52 of Armand Champa Library, Sale I, 1995; now in the library of Dr. Joel J. Orosz.).

[7] This despite the lot being listed under "Priced Catalogues of Coin Sales." Bound as a single volume. The nature of the "Curtis collection" part of the volume is not known. Dealer John K. Curtis bought various properties and auctioned them through Bangs, Merwin & Co. In 1859 his sales were held on February 28 and on June 21 and 23; notes concerning Curtis are found in Appendix I of the present work.

[8] One Sage catalogue (Foskett) plus two copies of an unnamed December 15, 1859 coin sale, not connected with Sage, containing 459 lots which sold for a total of $77.31.

## WOOD COLLECTION, PART I (JULY 1882)

John W. Haseltine's sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, Part I, July 5-7, 1882, included these, among others:

Lot 134: [Prefaced by the comment, "The following three lots have reeded edges.] Equestrian figure [of Washington] to right. By Geo. H. Lovett. Rev, Headquarters at Valley Forge. Brass proof. [Size] 20.

Lot 135: Same obverse. Rev. Old Harbrook [*sic*] House. Newburg, N.Y. Brass.

Lot 136. Same obverse. Rev, Headquarters at Tappan. Copper proof.

Lot 619: Cyrus W. Field. By G.H. Lovett. Issued by Sage. Reverse, with date. W. metal proof. [Size] 32.

Lot 620: The same as preceding, without date. W. metal proof.

Lot 644: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Portraits of celebrated numismatists. Charles I. Bushnell, Bogert, Colburn, Lewis, etc. Copper Proofs. Scarce. 8 pieces. [Size] 20 [16ths of an inch]. (Mr. Wood says the dies are in the possession of the American Numis. And Arch. Society, and are rusted past redemption.)

Lot 645: Same series as the preceding. Frank Jaudon, with No. 5 reverse. Bronze Rare. [Size 20]. (The Frank Jaudon in the preceding is No. 6.)

Lot 646: Chesley, Rust, and Dodge. White metal. Proof. Rare in this metal. 3 pieces.

Lot 647: Sage's Hist. Tokens. Old Sugar House. The old Provost [*sic*], City Hall, State House; also, Paul Murphy [*sic*], Eleazer Rugg Byrne, and Stephen Girard.[1] Copper Proofs. 7 pieces. [Size] 20.

## WOOD COLLECTION (FEBRUARY 1884)

Édouard Frossard's February 25-29, 1884, sale of the *Large and Valuable Medallic Collection of Isaac F. Wood, A.B., of New York. Part II. Washington Coins and Medals, American Medals,* etc., conducted by Messrs. Bangs & Co., included:

Lot 626: Sage's Historical tokens. No. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Copper; Proof. [Size] 19. 5 pieces.

Lot 627: Duplicates. Bronze, copper and brass; Proof. 8 pieces.

Lot 628: The old Hasbrook house. Rev. The Home of Washington. White metal, thick planchet. Rare combination.[2]

Lot 629: Washington on horseback to right. Rev. Mount Vernon, Headquarters at Valley Forge, Tappan, and Newburg. Copper and brass Proof. [Size] 20. 4 pieces.[3]

And these under the heading, "Aug. B. Sage's Tokens":

Lot 1378: Historical tokens. No. 1 to 14 inclusive. Copper and bronzed. A rare and interesting set. In nearly Proof condition. [Size] 19. 14 pieces.

Lot 1379: Duplicates. Same condition. 12 pieces.

Lot 1380: The Old Jersey. Rev. Faneuil Hall. Silver; Proof. [Size] 19.[4]

Lot 1381: A.B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Nos. 1, 2, and 5. Copper Proof. [Size] 19. 3 pieces.

Lot 1382: Aug. B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. Copper Proof. [Size] 19. 6 pieces.

Lot 1383: Miscellaneous. A.B. Sage & Co's card, etc. Copper and white metal (1). Proof. [Size] 19. 6 pieces.

And, still later in the catalogue:

Lot 1800: Arms supported by a lion and an eagle. HOLLANDSCHE LOGE STAAT VAN NIEW YORK 5787, etc. Rev. Old Masonic Hall, New York. Copper, Proof. [Size] 20. Marvin 709.

## *STEIGERWALT'S COIN JOURNAL* (MARCH 1884)

*Steigerwalt's Coin Journal,* dated March 1884 (published on April 1, 1884), issued by Lancaster, Pennsylvania dealer Charles Steigerwalt, included this fixed-price offering:[5]

Set of Sage's Historical Tokens. The Old Jersey, Old Swamp Church, Carpenter's [*sic*] Hall, etc. Rare as a set. 14 pieces. Copper proofs. $3.00.

## LEVICK COLLECTION (MAY 1884)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the J.N.T. Levick Collection, May 26-29, 1884, through Messrs. Bangs & Co., 739 and 741 Broadway, New York City, included the Sage items listed below. Levick was one of the best-known nineteenth-century numismatists specializing in tokens and medals, particularly store cards.

Lot 364: Sage, A.B.; copper, brass, and tin. [Size] 19. 7 pieces. [Realized 2¢ per token.]

Lot 365: Same. Raffle Tickets, etc.; various metals and sizes, all very nice. 9 pieces. [Realized 3¢ per token.]

Lot 1004: Sage, A.B. & Co., numismatic raffle; rev., Washington; very fine. [size] 14. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 2457: Sage's Tokens and Lovett's Series; the former copper, the latter brass. [Size] 20. 19 pieces. [Realized 2¢ per token.]

## FROSSARD COLLECTION (OCTOBER 1884)

Édouard Frossard's sale of his own cabinet, titled *Catalogue of the Collection of Coins and Medals of Ed. Frossard, of Irvington, N.Y.,* October 2-3, 1884, contained this Sage item:

Lot 191: [Under heading "Miscellaneous American Medals, Silver"] View of the front of a building, OLD MASONIC HALL, BROADWAY, N.Y. Rev. Mosaic pavement with pillars, etc. Nearly proof. Marvin 304, who says but 10 were struck in silver, and that it was issued by the "New York Medal Club" in 1878. [Size] 20.

## WOODWARD COLLECTION (OCTOBER 1884)

W. Elliot Woodward's sale of his own collection, October 13-18, 1884, through Bangs & Co., 739 and 741 Broadway, New York City, included these:

Lot 386: [Under "Franklin Medals"] Bust to left. "Mechanics Literary Association, Rochester"' rev., wreath of oak

[1] The reference should have been to *Eleanor* Rugg Byrne; the Byrne and Girard tokens in this lot have no connection to Sage.
[2] Later non-Sage muling by Lovett.
[3] Later non-Sage mulings by Lovett.
[4] Later non-Sage muling by Lovett.
[5] An identical listing appeared in certain other issues of the 1883-1884 years; either sales were slow or Steigerwalt had multiple sets on hand.

and palm; "Awarded to"; bronze, perfect, [size] 26. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 387: Bust [of Franklin] to left. From the same die as the last; rev. "House of Temperance"; copper, nearly proof. [Size] 26. [Realized 30¢.]

Lot 438: Washington on horseback. In the middle-ground, field with tents, in the back-ground a hill. Rev., view of Mt. Vernon; silver, proof. Extremely rare. [Size] 20. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 439: The same; rev. the old Hasbrook House at Newburgh, N.Y.; silver, proof, like the [specimen] preceding; only two or three struck.[1] [Size] 20. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 440: The same; rev., headquarters at Valley Forge; silver, proof, equally rare. [Size] 20. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 441: The same. Headquarters at Tappan; silver, proof, equally rare. [Size] 20. [Realized 50¢.]

Lot 506: Dr. Winslow Lewis. Bust to left. Sage's Numismatic Gallery, No. 5; copper, fine. [size] 20. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 507: Jeremiah Colburn. Bust to left. Sage's Numismatic Gallery, No. 3; copper, fine. [size] 20. [Realized 25¢.]

Lot 666: Faneuil Hall; rev., "The Cradle of Liberty;" copper, Proof, [size] 20. [Realized 40¢.]

Lot 667: Liberty Tree; rev., Washington's Headquarters at Tappan; silver, perfect, *rare*. [size] 20. [Realized 70¢.]

Lot 668: The same; copper; very fine. [Realized 8¢.]

Lot 689: The Charter Oak, Hartford; rev., the first meeting-house erected in Hartford; copper, very fine. [size] 20. [Realized 15¢.]

Lot 1264: Sage's Historical Tokens. "Odds and Ends." Lovett's Series, etc.; all Proof or fine. 16 pieces. [size] 20. [Realized 3¢ per token.]

Lot 1555: Bogart [*sic*], Henry. Sage's Numismatic Gallery, No. 2; copper, fine. [size] 20. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 1556: Bushnell, Chas. I. Sage's Numismatic Gallery, No. 1; copper, Proof. [size] 20. [Realized 10¢.]

Lot 1574: Chesley, Wm. H. Bust to right. Sage's Numis. Gallery, No. 7; tin, very fine. [size] 20. [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 1726: Rust, Horatio N. Bust facing right; bronze, fine. [size] 20.[2] [Realized 6¢.]

Lot 1733: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Head of Chas. I. Bushnell; copper, Proof. [size] 20.[3] [Realized 5¢.]

Lot 1734: Sage, A.B.; rev., the Clinton House; copper and brass, fine. 2 pieces. [each size] 18. [Realized 3¢ per token.]

Lot 1735: The same. City Hall; tin, Proof. [size] 18. [Realized 3¢.]

Lot 1737: Sage, A.B. & Co. Ticket to Numismatic Raffle; copper and tin, fine. 2 pieces. [each size] 14. [Realized 2¢ per token.]

## ANTHON COLLECTION, PART V (OCTOBER 1884)

The sale at Bangs, Merwin & Co. of Part V of the Dr. Charles E. Anthon Collection, October 20-22, 1884, included several lots relating to Sage, as catalogued by George W. Cogan, son of famous dealer Edward D. Cogan:

Lot 996: A set of Sage's Historical Tokens, except No. 4. Proofs. Scarce. 13 pieces. [Size] 20. [Realized 11¢ per token.]

Lot 997: C.I. Bushnell (2) and Henry Bogert. Sage's Gallery. C[opper] proofs. [Realized 5¢ per token.]

Lot 999: Paul Morphy. The Chess King. C. proof. [Size] 20. [Realized 2¢.]

## BAKER'S BOOK (1885)

In 1885 W[illiam] S[pohn] Baker's book, *Medallic Portraits of Washington,* was published by Robert M. Lindsay, Philadelphia. Citations pertinent to Sage or Sage mulings are given below. Certain descriptions were "borrowed" *verbatim* from James Ross Snowden's 1861 book (see earlier citations).

Baker numbers became popular, and in the over 110 years since they first appeared they have been widely cited in catalogues. In 1965, George J. Fuld prepared an annotated reprint of the Baker work which was issued that year by Krause Publications.[4] Numbers such as 114 are cited today as Baker-114, etc.

114. THE HOME.—*Lovett sc*[5]

*Obverse.*—Equestrian figure in uniform, full face, hat in the right hand held to the rear; on the foreground, cannon balls and the letter L and in the distance a camp. *Legend.* GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776. [Same obverse as No. 98.[6]]

*Reverse.*—A view of the house; beneath the design, G.H.L. *Legend.* THE HOME OF WASHINGTON MOUNT VERNON *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Silver. Copper. Brass. Tin. [and bronze.]

115. THE HOME.—*Lovett sc. second obverse.*

*Obverse.*—Equestrian figure in uniform, on an eminence, head facing. In the distance appears the city of Boston, and to the right a camp; to the left a battery. *Legend.* GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776 [Same obverse as No. 50.[7]]

*Reverse.*—[Same as No. 114.] *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Tin. [and copper.]

116. THE HOME.—*Lovett sc. third obverse.*

*Obverse.*—Head facing the right, in the upper part of the field, between a laurel and palm branch, crossed. [Same obverse as No. 97.[8]]

*Reverse.*—[Same as No. 114.] *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Silver. Copper.

175. VALLEY FORGE.

*Obverse.*—Equestrian figure in uniform, full face, hat in the right hand held to the rear; on the foreground cannon balls, and the letter L and in the distance a camp. *Legend.* GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1776. [Same obverse as No. 98.[9]]

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[1] The truth emerges in bits and pieces. Earlier in his two offerings of tokens from the J. Osborn Emery Collection, Woodward stated that two to five had been made in silver, later stating in the second sale that just one of each had been made. Now we have "two or three" as an estimate.

[2] This description bears no indication of Sage as issuer.

[3] Cataloguing was often erratic; Lot 1733 and Lot 1556, although described slightly differently, were both of the same variety and grade.

[4] The citations given below are from the 1965 work; if the Baker text were annotated today there would be several varieties added, in the nature of metals in addition to those listed; for example, Baker-179, Tappan, is now known to exist in silver in addition to the listed copper. These modern additions by George J. Fuld are given in brackets in quoted text. (George J. Fuld, letter, June 17, 1997).

[5] *sc = sculptit; i.e.,* created the artistic motifs.

[6] Not cited here; it has nothing to do with Sage.

[7] Not cited here; it has nothing to do with Sage.

[8] Not cited here; it has nothing to do with Sage.

[9] Not cited here; it has nothing to do with Sage.

*Reverse.*—A farm-house. *Legend.* WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, AT VALLEY FORGE *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Silver. Copper. Brass. Tin. [and bronze, gilt.]

176. VALLEY FORGE.

*Obverse.*—Equestrian figure in uniform, on an eminence, head facing. In the distance appears the City of Boston, and to the right a camp; to the left a battery. *Legend.* GEO: WASHINGTON. 1776 [Same obverse as No. 50.[1].]

*Reverse.*—[Same as No. 175.] *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Silver. [and bronze.]

177. VALLEY FORGE.

*Obverse.*—Head facing the right, in the upper part of the field, between a laurel and palm branch, crossed. [Same obverse as No. 97.[2].]

*Reverse.*—[Same as No. 175.] *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Copper.

178. TAPPAN.

*Obverse.*—[Same as No. 175.]

*Reverse.*—A farm-house. *Legend.* WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT TAPPAN. *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Silver. Copper. Brass. Tin. [and bronze, gilt.]

179. TAPPAN.

*Obverse.*—[Same as No. 177.]

*Reverse.*—[Same as No. 178.] *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Copper. [and silver.]

180. TAPPAN.—*Erected 1700.*

*Obverse.*—Undraped bust facing the right; on the edge of bust, LOVETT

*Legend.* HISTORICAL & FORESTRY SOCIETY OF ROCKLAND COUNTY * ORGANIZED FEB. 22 1878 [Same bust as No. 136.]

*Reverse.*—A farm-house, in a circle; beneath the design, TAPPAN *Legend.* WASHINGTONS HEADQUARTERS 1780 * ERECTED 1700 *

*Size 22.* Bronze. Tin.

181. NEWBURG.

*Obverse.*—[Same as No. 175.]

*Reverse.*—A farm-house; beneath the design, G.H.L. *Legend.* THE OLD HASBROOK HOUSE NEWBURG, N.Y. *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Silver. Copper. Brass. Tin.

182. NEWBURG.

*Obverse.*—[Same as No. 176.]

*Reverse.*—[Same as No. 181.] *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Copper.

183. NEWBURG.

*Obverse.*—[Same as No. 177.]

*Reverse.*—[Same as No. 181.] *Edge reeded.*

*Size 20.* Copper. [and white metal and silver.]

570. SAGE & CO.

*Obverse.*—Bust draped in a Roman mantle, facing the right, in a half wreath of palm branches. *Legend.* GEORGE WASHINGTON

*Reverse.*—A. B. SAGE & Co DEALERS IN COINS, MEDALS, AUTOGRAPHS & ENGRAVINGS 24 DIVISION St. N. 1859 Y. in nine irregular lines.

*Size 10.* Tin. [and copper.]

571. SAGE & CO.

*Obverse.*—Bust draped in a Roman mantle, facing the left. *Legend.* PATER PATRIÆ [Same obverse as No. 244.]

*Reverse.*—A. B. SAGE & Co's CIRCULATING LIBRARY 24 DIVISION ST. N. Y. TERMS 1 YEAR $2.00 - 6 MONTHS 1.00 - 3 MONTHS .50 1860. in 10 lines, the first three and last one curved.

*Size 13.* Copper. Brass. Tin. [and copper-nickel and silver.]

572. SAGE & CO.

*Obverse.*—[Same as No. 571.]

*Reverse.*—GOOD FOR ONE CHANCE IN RAFFLE, FOR NUMISMATIC BOOKS, AT A. B. SAGE & Co. N. Y. NOV. 1859 in 10 lines, first and last curved.

*Size 13.* Silver. Copper. [and brass and white metal.]

## BURLEIGH COLLECTION (JANUARY 1885)

Harlan P. Smith's offering of the Burleigh Collection, January 15-16, 1885, at Messrs. Bangs & Co., New York City, included:

Lot 673: Sage's Gallery. Bogert, Colburn, Winslow, Dr. Lewis, M.D., Jaudon (revs. No. 5 and 6); all copper; and Chesley, white metal. 6 pieces.[3]

## *COIN COLLECTOR'S JOURNAL* (OCTOBER 1885)

The issue of this date continued a serial article, "Tradesmen's Tokens other than those of the 'Copperhead Series' issued in the State of New York." Described were the following related to Sage:

No. 249. *Sage.*—Obv. "A. B. Sage & Co. / Dealers in / Coins / Medals &Tokens / Books, Stationery, / Engravings & Paintings / Autographs / & / Curiosities. / Circulating Library. / 24 Division St. / New York. / 1860." Rev. "City Hall, Wall St. N.Y." View of the old New York City Hall. In ex., "Erected in 1700 / Demolished / 1812." Size 20. Metals: silver, copper, brass, white metal.

No. 250. *Sage.*—Obv. Same as last. Rev. "Sir Henry Clinton's House, No. 1 Broadway, N.Y." View of the building. (This was the old Washington Hotel of later days, which was removed in 1883, to make room for the present "Washington Building.") Size 20. Metals: silver, copper, brass, white metal.

No. 251. *Sage.*—Obv. "A. B. Sage & Co.'s / Circulating / Library / 24 / Division St. N. Y. / Terms / 1 year $2.00 / 6 months 1.00 / 3 months .50 / 1860." Rev. "Pater Patriæ." Bust of Washington to left. Size 13 1/2. Metals: silver, copper, brass, white metal. Struck upon thick and thin planchets.

No. 252. *Sage.*—Obv. "Good for one Chance / in / RAFFLE, / for / Numismatic / Books, / at / A. B. Sage & Co. / N. Y. / Nov. 1859." Rev. Same as last. Size 13 1/2. Metals: silver, copper, brass, white metal. Struck upon thick and thin planchets.

No. 253. *Sage.*—Obv. "A. B. Sage & Co. / Dealers / in /

[1] Not cited here; it has nothing to do with Sage.

[2] Not cited here; it has nothing to do with Sage.

[3] An unusual offering in that two different reverse styles are described for the Jaudon token (usually such differences were ignored).

Coins, Medals, / Autographs / & / Engravings / 24 Division St. / N. 1859 Y." Rev. "George Washington" Bust to right; below the bust two palm branches crossed. Size 10. Metals: copper, brass, white metal.

## SPANG COLLECTION (JANUARY 1890)

W.E. Woodward's sale of the Norman Spang Collection, January 17, 1890, consisted primarily of archaeological items. However, there were some numismatic lots as well, including the following Sage items:

Lot 1309: A.B. Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Portraits of Bushnell, Bogert, Colburn, Dr. Lewis, Jaudon, Chesley, Rust, Dodge. Copper, all different, nearly proof. 20. 9 pcs.[1] [realized 5¢ per token.]

Lot 1310: A.B. Sage's Historical tokens. Nos. 1 to 14 inclusive. Copper, [realized 6¢ per token.]

Lot 1311: Duplicates of last, Nos. 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; same, Odds and Ends No. 1, 2, 3; same, Masonic medalets, No. 1; same, view of City Hall, NY; rev., card. Copper, uncirculated or nearly proof. 19. 11 pcs. [realized 3-1/2¢ per item.]

## WOOD COLLECTION (JULY 1894)

The Chapman brothers' sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, July 11-12, 1894, offered commentary and tokens significant to the chronicle of Sage, with the first group appearing under its own heading:

### SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS.

Restruck by I.F. Wood. Dies are now destroyed.

144. No. 1. The Old Provoost, N.Y. R. A BRITISH PRISON DURING THE REVOLUTION. Edges milled. Silver, 10 struck! Brass. Copper. Proofs. [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
145. No. 1. Same as last. Seven sets of each metal. 21 pcs.
146. No. 1. Same. Brass, 18; copper, 16. 34 pcs.
147. No. 6. State House, Philadelphia. R. THE PATRIOT'S RENDEZVOUS IN '76. Silver, 10 struck! Brass, copper. Milled edges. Proofs. [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
148. No. 6. Same. Seven sets; 7 of each metal. 21 pcs.
149. No. 6. Same. Brass, 19; copper, 17. Wm. 37. 73 pcs.
150. No. 9. Richmond Hill House. Erected 1860. R. WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, MAY, 1776. Milled edges. Silver, only 10! Brass, copper. Proofs. [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
151. No. 9. Same. Seven sets. 7 of each metal. 21 pcs.
152. No. 9. Same. Brass, 17; copper, 17. 34 pcs.
153. No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House, No. 1 Broadway, N.Y. R. THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENL PUTNAM AND SIR H. CLINTON. Milled edges. Silver; 10 struck! Brass, copper. Proofs, [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
154. No. 12. Same. Eight sets. 8 of each metal. 24 pcs.
155. No. 12. Same. Brass, 17; copper, 15. 32 pcs.
156. No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. R. ATTENDED BY THE HESSIANS DURING THE REVOLUTION. Reeded edges. Silver; only 10 struck! Brass, copper, Proofs, [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
157. No. 13. Same. Six sets. 6 of each metal. 18 pcs.
158. No. 13. Same. Brass, 25; copper, 25. 50 pcs.
159. Original impressions. Nos. 1 to 14 lacking Nos. 10 and 11. Copper. Plain edges. Proofs. 12 pcs.
160. Originals. Duplicates of some of last lot. 10 pcs.
161. Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Bushnell, Bogert, Colburn, Jaudon. Cop. VF. [Size] 20. 4 pcs.

[The following tokens appeared later in the catalogue, under Masonic Medals; attributed to Marvin numbers.]

662. N.Y. Old Masonic Temple. Altar. Silver, only 10 struck. Copper. Brass. M[arvin] 36. [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
663. Same in every particular. 3 pcs.
664. Same in every particular. 5 sets. 15 pcs.
665. Same. Brass 32. Copper 32. 64 pcs.
666. N.Y. New Masonic Temple. R. Emblems. Silver. Brass. Bronze. White metal. White metal, silvered, M 37. [Size] 20. 5 pcs.
667. N.Y. Same. Brass. Unlisted by Marvin in this metal. 2 [Size] 20. 15 pcs.
668. N.Y. New Masonic Temple. Shield shaped. Wm. and Wm., bronzed. M 38. 2 pcs.
669. Same. Wm. 3 pcs.
684. N.Y. Old and New Masonic Halls, N.Y. Silver, *10 struck.* Brass and copper, 50 of each struck. Very rare. M[arvin] 303. [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
685. Duplicate set. Same as last. 3 pcs.
686. Same metals. 4 sets. 12 pcs.
687. Same. Brass 31. Copper 33. 64 pcs.
688. N.Y. Old Masonic Temple. Silver, *10 struck.* Brass and Copper, only 50 of each struck. M[arvin] 304. [Size] 20. 3 pcs.
689. Same in every respect. 3 pcs.
690. Same in every respect. Three sets. 9 pcs.
694. Holland Lodge. R. New Masonic Temple as his No. 37. A mule he does not mention. Copper. [Size] 20.
696. Holland Lodge. Same. Copper. [Size] 20. 13 pieces.
940. [Under "Store Cards" heading] Sage, A.B. & Co. View of Henry Clinton's House. Brass. VF.

## BETTS COLLECTION (JANUARY 1898)

Édouard Frossard's sale of the Benjamin Betts Collection of coins and medals, New York City, January 11-12, 1898, included these items:

Lot 129: Sage, Aug. B. Coins, etc. 24 Division St., 1859-1860. Cards, Raffle, and Gallery Sets (the last incomplete). Æ [copper], B [brass], and W [white metal]. Mostly Unc. [Sizes] 16 to 21. 16 pieces. [Realized 32¢ per medal.]

Lot 130: Another, and different, 1860. Rev. City Hall, Wall St. and Sir Henry Clinton's, No. 1 B'way. Unc. Æ [copper], B [brass], and W [white metal]. [size] 31. [Realized 12¢ per medal.]

## BROWN COLLECTION, PART III (JANUARY 1905)

Lyman H. Low's sale of Part III of the Brown Collection, January 19, 1905, included this under "Surplus from a Dealer's Stock":

Lot 142: Medalets and Historical Tokens. Richmond Hill House, Old Swamp Church, Old Provost [*sic*] House, Old Sugar House, and State House. Sage's series. Copper, brass, and white metal. About perfect. 31 mm. 13 pieces. [Realized 5¢ per piece.]

## ELDER'S SALE (JANUARY 1906)

Thomas L. Elder's Third Public Auction Sale (title of sale) was held in New York City on January 26-27, 1906. This convoluted description was included:

[1] In the absence of listing a Chilton piece it is presumed that there must have been two varieties of the Jaudon token. Woodward lists the pieces

Lot 540: Arnold Numis. Co., Henry Bogert. Copper, brass, and alum. Extremely fine. 3 [pieces].[1]

## ELDER'S SALE (MARCH 1906)

Thomas L. Elder's Fourth Public Auction Sale (title of sale) was held in New York City on March 23-24, 1906. This item was included:

Lot 1309: [Under "Medals and Tokens With Bust of Washington"] A.B. Sage & Co., with bust of Washington. "Good for One chance in Raffle, for Numismatic Books," etc. Copper. Very fine. Rare.

## ZABRISKIE COLLECTION (JUNE 1909)

Henry Chapman's sale of the Capt. Andrew C. Zabriskie Collection, June 3-4, 1909, included one of the finest cabinets of medals to cross the auction block in the first decade of the twentieth century. These entries related to Sage:

Lot 1264: Sage's Numismatic Gallery, Bogert, Bushnell, Chesley, Colburn, Dodge, Jaudon, Lewis, Rust. Copper. Proofs. Rare. [Size] 20. 8 pcs.

Lot 1275: Sage & Co., A.B. Bust of Washington. R. Card of A.B. Sage & Co., N.Y. WM. Rare. [Size] 10.

Lot 1276: Sage & Co., A.B. Bust of Washington l[eft]. R. Card of Sage & Co. Brass. Bronze. Copper. [Size] 12. 3 pcs.

## HUBER AND MORRIS COLLECTIONS (JULY 1912)

Ben G. Green's sale of July 26-27, 1912, the Huber and Morris Collections, held in Chicago, included this:

Lot 1160: Sage's Historical Tokens. Nos. 1 to 14 complete in copper Proofs.[2] No. 2 "odds and ends," No. 11, and Sage's card, last two in brass. Rare as a set. 17 pieces.

## ADAMS BOOK (1920)

Edgar H. Adams' book, *United States Store Cards*, published by Adams and Wayte Raymond in 1920, included these listings for Sage items. The Adams numbers, expressed in terms of NY-749, etc., were later used by Donald M. Miller (1962) in a priced update of the work. The following appear under the title "New York":

749: SAGE, A.B. & CO., DEALER IN COINS, MEDALS & TOKENS, &c. 1860. Rx CITY HALL, WALL ST. N.Y. View of building. Silver.

750: Same. Copper.

751: Same. Brass.

752: Same. White metal.

753: Same obverse as last. Rx SIR HENRY CLINTON'S HOUSE. Silver.

754: Same. Copper.

755: Same. Brass.

756: Same. White metal.

757: SAGE, A.B., & CO. CIRCULATION [*sic*] LIBRARY. 24 DIVISION ST., N.Y. Rx. Bust of Washington, "Pater PATRIAE." Silver.

758: Same. Copper.

759: Same. Brass.

760: Same. White metal.

761: SAGE, A.B., & CO. GOOD FOR ONE CHANCE IN RAFFLE FOR NUMISMATIC BOOKS, NOV. 1859. Rx. Same as last. Silver.

762: Same. Copper.

763: Same. Brass.

764: Same. White metal.

765: Obv. "RAFFLE." Rx "CIRCULATING LIBRARY." Brass.

766: SAGE, A.B. & Co. Size 10. Copper.

767: Same. Brass.

768: Same. White metal.

## GEORGE J. FULD COLLECTION (1950S)

In the 1950s and 1960s, Dr. George J. Fuld collected various Sage tokens. A modern recollection of his activities is given herewith:[3]

When I was collecting I had complete sets of the Historical, Odds & Ends, Numismatic Gallery (without the non-existent No. 4) and Washington pieces. Forgetting odd metals which I'll discuss separately, many mules do occur. I have seen at least one Numismatic Gallery with jumbled obverse and reverse, think it was No. 6, but I am not sure. The Historical Series comes muled with some Washington pieces....

Now, let's discuss odd metals and edges. As far as I know, the original intended metal was always copper with a plain edge.

Apparently, all the Historical Series issues were also struck in very limited quantities with reeded edges, in copper, brass, silver, and white metal. Possibly, most white metal issues also come silvered (done shortly after the time of striking) also. The copper reeded edge pieces are much thicker than the regular issue—maybe 50% thicker. I have never seen a complete set of the odd edges and odd metals. I had about eight or 10 of them, and Max Schwartz around 1950 had, I believe, 15 or so different. I do not recall that any other series except the Historical Tokens come with reeded edges in various metals.

I think there is only one Masonic medal, and it is No. 1.

## N.E.N.A. SALE (OCTOBER 1958)

In *The Numismatist* in May 1958 an announcement marked the birth of Old Colony Coin Auctions, a consortium which proved to be short-lived, consisting of Arthur Conn, the Court Coin Company (Harold E. Whiteneck), and the Copley Coin Company (Maurice Gould). On October 11-12 of the same year the partnership conducted an auction in Worcester, MA, in connection with the New England Numismatic Association's 14th Annual Conference. The following items in that sale, including estimates, related to Sage:

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pieces in order; Chilton would have been listed between Colburn and Lewis if such a token had been present.

[1] The reference is to the Arnold Numismatic Co., of Providence, RI, the issuer of the non-Sage-related brass and aluminum tokens, and to Henry Bogert's token by Sage, No. 2 in Sage's Numismatic Gallery, copper. This, the first Sage item to be listed in any of Elder's auction catalogues, was a rather inauspicious beginning for a man who was to become quite well known in the token field and who by the mid-1920s was the leading publicist for this branch of numismatics.

[2] Green was a very hasty cataloguer, and tokens were not his forte (he often grouped them together in haphazard lots with little description). However, this lot does indicate that it must have been conventional wisdom in 1912 that a "complete set" of the Historical Tokens comprised 14 issues.

[3] George J. Fuld, letter, April 28, 1997, excerpted and lightly edited.

## SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS

These interesting items are half dollar size and of historical interest. They are very difficult to obtain today. All of these pieces came from the George Tilden Collection.[1]

Lot 1022: Sage's Numismatic Gallery #8. H.N. Rust. White metal. Extra rare. $15.00 [prices given are estimates, not realizations.]

Lot 1023: #2 Odds and Ends. Old Sugar House. Uncirculated. $5.00.

Lot 1024: #3 Odds and Ends. Chess King. About Uncirculated. $5.00.

Lot 1025: #1 Historical. Very Fine. $5.00.

Lot 1026: #4 Historical. Uncirculated. $5.00.

Lot 1027: #6 Historical. State House. Philadelphia. About Uncirculated. $5.00.

Lot 1028: #10 Historical. Washington Headquarters. About Uncirculated. $5.00.

Lot 1029: #12 Historical. Bronze. Clinton House. About Uncirculated. $5.00.

Lot 1030: #13 Historical. Brass. Milled edge. Very Rare. Uncirculated. $10.00.

Lot 1031: #13 Historical. Bronze. About Uncirculated. $5.00.

Lot 1032: #14 Charter Oak. Very Fine. $5.00.

Lot 1033: #3 Numismatic Gallery. J. Colburn. Uncirculated. $7.50.

Lot 1034: #5 Numismatic Gallery. Winslow Lewis. Proof. $15.00.

## NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY COLLECTION (OCTOBER 1982)

Bowers and Ruddy Galleries offered items from the New York Public Library Collection on October 30, 1982.[2] Included were these items:

Lot 2905: Maj. Robert Anderson, from the Citizens of New York. Reverse shows a detailed panoramic view of Fort Sumter, above SUMTER, below in exergue, APRIL 12 & 13 / 1861. By G.H. Lovett N. York. Aug. B. Sage Publ. Large 70 mm. white metal silvered. Extremely Fine with just a couple minor edge nicks. Extremely rare. [Realized $121.]

Lot 3058: Five tokens of the coin dealer A.B. Sage. All five tokens are Uncirculated, the first four have a plain edge, while the fifth, Adams-756, is reeded. Adams-751 brass; Adams-752 white metal Brilliant Uncirculated; Adams-754 copper, mostly red Uncirculated; Adams-755 brass; and Adams-756 white metal reeded edge, Brilliant Uncirculated. A most important lot. [Realized $110.]

Lot 3059: Three [tokens of Sage and Sampson; Sampson was also a coin dealer]. Adams-758 Sage. Copper, About Uncirculated with spot; Adams-762A Sage, thick copper, full red Uncirculated; and Adams-773 Sampson, white metal, Brilliant Uncirculated, Centennial marker. [Realized $49.]

## BRAND COLLECTION (JUNE 1984)

Bowers and Merena offered items from the Virgil M. Brand Collection at auction, June 18-19, 1984. Gathered by Brand sometime before 1926, these pieces had passed to his heirs and were consigned by the children of Jane Brand Allen and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. There was one lot featuring Sage pieces, and it was remarkable:

Lot 1301: Group of Aug. B. Sage's Historical Tokens. Contains 11 silver issues (weighing from 172 to 183 grains each) and one brass issue (Sage's No. 13). A.B. Sage was a prolific issuer of tokens of various series. Issuing pieces in the era 1860-1880,[3] Sage found a ready market for several dozen each—or more—of his pieces. The tokens in the present offering depict buildings (mostly) used during the Revolutionary War. Each piece is basically Uncirculated with some handling marks. Engraved by George H. Lovett, the examples are, for the most part, signed by his initials. The group includes: No. 1 The Old Provoost (*sic*) N.Y., British Prison During the Revolution; No 2. City Hall, Wall St., N.Y.; No. 3. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.; No. 4. Carpenters Hall, Philadelphia; No. 5. The Old Jersey (prison ship); No. 6. State House, Philadelphia (with error on reverse, inscribed AUG. B. SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKEN, while on other medals it is plural, TOKENS); No. 7. Mount Vernon; No. 8. The Old Hasbrook (*sic*) House, Newburg (*sic*), N.Y.; No. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y.; No. 10. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan on obverse, Liberty Tree on reverse; No. 11 (brass). The Old Swamp Church; No. 12. Obverse with First Meeting House Erected in Hartford. Reverse with the Charter Oak. An interesting group which offers fascinating viewing "through the looking glass." Total: 12 pieces) [Realized $330.]

## BOYD, BRAND & RYDER COLLECTIONS (MARCH 1990)

Bowers and Merena offered items from the Boyd, Brand & Ryder Collections at auction March 28-31, 1990. Many of these pieces had been consigned by John J. Ford, Jr., and Michael B.

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[1] George L. Tilden of Worcester, MA, collected tokens, Fractional Currency (auctioned by Elmer S. Sears on October 1, 1909), half dimes (auctioned by Thomas L. Elder as part of a sale, June 22-25, 1921), and other items. In later years most of his tokens were acquired by Donald M. Miller of Indiana, PA, who extracted pieces of interest, then disposed of the others, including through a catalogue of Hard Times tokens published in the late 1950s by Kenneth W. Rendell of Medford, MA (who later became eminent in the field of rare autographs and manuscripts). In 1910 Tilden was elected secretary of the American Numismatic Association and subsequently served for one term. He also was business manager of the ANA for a time, and through the 1920s served on committees. In 1932 Tilden, then living in Northboro, MA, was one of several numismatists who sustained losses in the defalcations of Boston dealer William Hesslein.

[2] An interesting footnote to the New York Public Library Collection is that the pieces when delivered to the cataloguer had virtually nothing in the way of accompanying documentation. Later, the writer learned that many items from the Charles Cushing Wright estate holding of medals had been given to the Library in the nineteenth century; with this in mind, any study of Wright must include a detailed review of this offering. Earlier, Thomas L. Elder's sale of December 10, 1913, lots 538-550, included "property of the family of the late C.C. Wright." The most important of these was described as follows: "Lot 550: Set of original dies by C.C. Wright for the great Washington medal, together with two reverses, one the Signing of Declaration of Independence scene, the other 18 lines of American historical data, harbor and other scenes; together with the hub with Washington's head in relief and collar, in all 5 pieces in the original oak boxes used by Mr. Wright with compartments for each section of the die, felt lined. Sold as one lot. The dies in perfect condition."

[3] The cataloguer of this lot (QDB) was as naïve as anyone concerning Sage's life and activity dates; until research was conducted for the present book, no information had ever appeared in any numismatic reference concerning Sage's birth, death, or precise times that he issued tokens and the times that restrikes were made by others. The pieces in the lot described were all restrikes made after 1860.

Zeddies (a nephew of Brand) and traced their pedigrees to the F.C.C. Boyd, Virgil M. Brand, and Hillyer C. Ryder holdings:[1]

Lot 222: Sage's Historical Tokens series. A large offering, average prooflike Uncirculated, containing the following numbers: No. 1. Copper, plain edge • No. 4. Copper, plain edge. • No. 6. Copper, plain edge. • No. 6. White metal, plain edge. • No. 7. Bronze, plain edge. • No. 9. Copper, reeded and plain edge varieties. • 10. Copper, plain edge. • No. 12. Copper, plain edge. • No. 12. Bronze, plain edge. • No. 13. Copper, reeded edge. • No. 13. Copper, plain edge • No. 13. Brass, reeded edge. • No. 13. Bronze, plain edge. • No. 14. Bronze and copper, plain edge. Total: 16 pieces. [Realized $165.]

Lot 223: Sage's Historical Tokens series, a further offering: • No. 1. Copper, plain edge. Uncirculated, prooflike. • No. 4. Copper, plain edge. AU. • No. 10. Copper, plain edge. AU. • No. 13. Copper, reeded edge. Prooflike Uncirculated. • No. 13. Copper, plain edge. Prooflike Uncirculated. • No. 14. Copper, plain edge. Two pieces, each prooflike Uncirculated. Total: 7 pieces. [Realized $49.50.]

Lot 224: Sage's Numismatic Gallery tokens: • No. 1. Charles I. Bushnell. Two pieces, copper and bronze, each prooflike Uncirculated. • No. 2. Henry Bogert. Copper and bronze. The first prooflike Uncirculated, the second AU, cleaned. • No. 3. Jeremiah Colburn. Copper and bronze. Each prooflike Uncirculated • No. 4. Winslow Lewis, M.D. Copper, Prooflike Uncirculated.[2] • No. 5. Frank Jaudon. Copper and bronze, each Uncirculated, one prooflike • No. 6. Frank Jaudon. Copper and bronze. The first prooflike Uncirculated, the second EF • No. 7. William H. Chesley. Copper, prooflike Uncirculated. • No. 7, another. Bronze, prooflike Uncirculated • No. 7, another. White metal, AU. • No. 8. Horatio N. Rust. Bronze, prooflike Uncirculated. • No. 8, another. White metal, AU • No. 9. Robert J. Dodge. Copper, prooflike Uncirculated • No. 9, another. Bronze, Uncirculated • No. 9, another. White metal. AU. Total: 19 pieces. [Realized $143.00.]

Lot 225: Sage's Numismatic Gallery: • No. 1. Charles I. Bushnell. Bronze. Uncirculated • No. 2. Henry Bogert. Copper. Prooflike Uncirculated (2 pieces). • No. 3. Jeremiah Colburn. Bronze. Uncirculated. • No. 6. Frank Jaudon. Copper. AU. • No. 7. William Chesley. Bronze. AU • No. 7, another. Copper. AU. Total: 7 pieces. [Realized $82.50.]

Lot 226: Sage's Masonic Series: • No. 1. Copper. Prooflike Uncirculated. • No. 1. Brass. Prooflike Uncirculated. • No. 1. Silver. AU. • Together with Sage's store card, NY-756. White metal, Uncirculated. Total: 4 pieces. [Realized $38.50.]

Lot 227: Sage's token mulings by George H. Lovett. Historical series. All with reeded edge: • Nos. 4/2. Copper. AU • Nos. 7/8. Silver. Prooflike Uncirculated. • Nos. 8/10. Silver. Prooflike Uncirculated • Nos. 8/10. Bronze. AU • Nos. 10/11. Silver. Prooflike Uncirculated. Total: 5 pieces. [Realized $187.00.]

Lot 228: Sage tokens "Odds and Ends": • No. 1. Crystal palace. Copper. Uncirculated. • No. 2. Old Sugar House. Bronze. AU • No. 2. Old Sugar House. Copper. Prooflike Uncirculated • No. 2, another. Bronze. EF • N. 3. Paul Morphy. Copper. AU. • No. 3. Another. Bronze. Uncirculated. Total: 6 pieces. [Realized $44.00.]

## COLLINS PRICE LIST (1991)

In 1991 Jack Collins, of South Gate, CA, issued his *Washingtonia Fixed Price List Featuring Selections from the Collection of F.C.C. Boyd.* The items had been gathered by Collins for some time, and included major purchases made from John J. Ford, Jr. (who had earlier sold to a Long Island, NY, collector the primary collection of Washington items belonging to Boyd). Collins produced a masterful listing of Washington pieces, complete with excellent illustrations of several hundred pieces that have not been depicted by Baker. The following are among the items are related to Sage. The prices are those asked by Collins:

Lot 114 1776 [i.e. 1860]. Baker 115A [Rarity-8]. The Home of Washington medal; *second obverse.* Equestrian figure of Washington in uniform, name and date above. Rev. View of Washington's mansion at Mount Vernon. Copper, 31.60 mm. Choice Uncirculated, light brown with suggestions of mint red, mostly on the reverse; surfaces faintly prooflike. *PLATE VII.* [$65.00]

Lot 115 *Similar.* Unlisted [=Baker 115B; Rarity-8]. Same dies as on last. Brass; 31.54 mm. Brilliant Uncirculated, prooflike, overlaid with touches of pale iridescence; highly attractive. [$95.00]

Lot 156 1776 [i.e. circa 1860]. Baker 181B [Rarity-7]. Washington's Headquarters During the Revolution—Newburg [sic]; *first obverse.* Equestrian figure of Washington in uniform, name and date above. Rev. View of farm house, THE OLD HASBROOK HOUSE above, NEWBURG [*sic*], N.Y. below. Brass, 31.50 mm. Brilliant Uncirculated, fully prooflike. *PLATE XI.* [$45.00] The city's name should actually be Newburgh, which is an indication of the haste with which Lovett prepared his dies during the frenzy of collecting Washingtonia during the 1860s.

## WITHAM COLLECTION (NOVEMBER 1992)

In a more recent venue, Bowers and Merena offered items from the Stewart Witham Collection as part of the Miller Collection sale, November 20-21, 1992. Witham, a dedicated student of several arcane specialties (most prominently, the life of Mint engraver John Reich), assembled what may well have been the most comprehensive offering of Sage items ever to cross the auction block. The complete Sage section of the sale is reproduced below (except for extensive historical notes, which would be redundant to present readers). Certain of the pieces may have been from the Boyd, Brand & Ryder sale:

Lot 2025: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 1. Charles I. Bushnell. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-63. Gorgeous heather and blue toning. [Realized $77.00.]

Lot 2026: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 2. Henry Bogert. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-61. [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2027: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 3. Jeremiah Colburn. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-60. Golden brown surfaces. [Realized $22.00.]

Lot 2028: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 5. Winslow Lewis, M.D. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-63. Pleasing blue and violet toning. Wisps of original mint red still survive around the design elements. Two spots are noted on the obverse and mentioned for accuracy's sake. [Realized $82.50.]

Lot 2029: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 6. Frank Jaudon. Copper. Plain edge. EF-45. [Realized $16.50.]

Lot 2030: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 6. Frank Jaudon. White metal. Plain edge. Proof-60. From the same dies as the preceding. Mostly brilliant surfaces. A few minor edge flaws are noted. [Realized $22.00.]

[1] Lightly edited.

[2] A curious listing, as Lewis is normally associated with No. 5; an effort is being made to locate this particular lot from the Boyd, Brand & Ryder sale to verify this piece.

Lot 2031: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. Muling of the obverse of No. 6 portraying Frank Jaudon, with the reverse of No. 5. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-60. [Realized $82.50.]

Lot 2032: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 7. William H. Chesley. Copper. Plain edge. AU-55. Golden brown toning. Quite attractive. [Realized $22.00.]

Lot 2033: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 7. William H. Chesley. White metal. Plain edge. Proof-60. The surfaces are about 20% brilliant with golden gray toning in the remaining areas. [Realized $33.00.]

Lot 2034: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 8. Horatio N. Rust. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-62. Blue and violet toning with much original mint brilliance still surviving on the obverse. [Realized $110.00.]

Lot 2035: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 8. Horatio N. Rust. White metal. Plain edge. Proof-60. Some scuff marks can be seen in the field accounting for the assigned grade. [Realized $38.50.]

Lot 2036: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 9. Robert J. Dodge. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-62. Blue and violet toning. Quite attractive from the aesthetic perspective. [Realized $88.00.]

Lot 2037: Sage's Numismatic Gallery. No. 9. Robert J. Dodge. White metal. Plain edge. Proof-63. A lovely specimen. A tiny scuff is noted in front of Mr. Dodge's nose, and a minor planchet flaw is present by the N in NUMISMATIC. [Realized $22.00.]

Lot 2038: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Copper. Plain edge. Thin planchet. Complete from No. 1 through No. 14, average Proof-60 to 63. The following varieties are included: • No. 1. The Old Provoost, N.Y. (2 pieces) • No. 2 City Hall, Wall St., N.Y. • No. 3. Faneuil Hall, Boston • No. 4. Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia • No. 5. The Old Jersey • No. 6 State House, Philadelphia • No. 7. Mount Vernon • No. 8. The Old Hasbrook House • No. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y. • No. 10. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan • No. 11. Valley Forge • No. 12 Sir Henry Clinton's House, N.Y. • No. 13. The Old Swamp Church • No. 14. The Charter Oak. (Total: 15 pieces) [Realized $330.00.]

Lot 2039: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Copper. Reeded edge. All are struck on thick planchets. • No. 1. Old Provoost, N.Y., Proof-63 • No. 6. State House, Philadelphia (2), Proof-63 and Proof-60. This latter piece has an obverse gouge • No. 7. Mount Vernon, Proof-60, with gilding on the obverse • No. 8. Old Hasbrook House, N.Y. Proof-63, with uneven edge reeding • No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House, N.Y., Proof-62. Struck slightly off center. (Total: 6 pieces) [Realized $66.00.]

Lot 2040: Sage's Historical Tokens series. All struck in brass with reeded edges. The selection grades average Proof-60: • No. 1. The Old Provoost, N.Y. • No. 3. Faneuil Hall, Boston • No. 4. Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia • No. 6. State House, Philadelphia • No. 7. Mount Vernon • No. 9. Richmond Hill House, N.Y. • No. 11. Valley Forge • No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House • No. 13. Old Swamp Church. (Total: 9 pieces) [Realized $99.00.]

Lot 2041: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Pair of varieties struck in silver-plated or tin-plated copper: • No. 2. City Hall, New York. MS-60, with some obverse spots • No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House. MS-60. (Total: 2 pieces) [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2042: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 2 and 3, featuring views of City Hall, N.Y. and Faneuil Hall, Boston, Boston. Copper. Reeded edge. AU-55. [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2043: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 2 and 3, as preceding. White metal. Reeded edge. AU-55. [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2044: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 2 and 4, featuring views of City Hall, N.Y. and Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. Brass. Reeded edge. Proof-60. [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2045: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 3 and 4, depicting Faneuil Hall, Boston and Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. Silver. Reeded edge. Proof-60. Attractive. [Realized $137.50.]

Lot 2046: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 4 and 5, depicting Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia and The Old Jersey. Brass. Reeded edge. Proof-60. [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2047: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Trio of varieties struck in silver. All have reeded edges, average Proof-60: • No. 6. State House, Philadelphia. Thin planchet • No. 9. Richmond Hill House. Thick planchet • No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. This last piece is cleaned with scuffed surfaces. (Total: 3 pieces) [Realized $110.00.]

Lot 2048: Sage's Historical Tokens series. No. 6 State House, Philadelphia. White metal. Plain edge. Pair of examples grading Proof-60 each. (Total: 2 pieces) [Realized $22.00.]

Lot 2049: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 7 and 8, featuring views of Mount Vernon and the Old Hasbrook House. Silver. Reeded edge. Proof-63. Beautifully toned. [Realized $137.50.]

Lot 2050: Sage's Historical Tokens series. No. 8. The Old Hasbrook House, N.Y. Brass. Reeded edge. Proof-63. Superb! [Realized $49.50.]

Lot 2051: Sage's Historical Tokens series. No. 8. The Old Hasbrook House, N.Y. White metal. Reeded edge. Proof-63. Brilliant and attractive. Struck very slightly off center. [Realized $49.50.]

Lot 2052: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 8 and 10, depicting the Old Hasbrook House and Washington's Headquarters at Tappan. Silver. Reeded edge. Proof-63. Lovely blue and heather toning. [Realized $165.]

Lot 2053: Sage's Historical Tokens series. Muling of obverses Nos. 10 and 11, depicting Washington's headquarters at Tappan and Valley Forge. Silver. Reeded edge. Proof-63. Appealing golden brown and gunmetal-blue iridescence. [Realized $165.00.]

Lot 2054: Sage's Masonic Medalets series, average Proof-60 to 63: • No. 1. Old Masonic Hall, Broadway, N.Y. (2). One is struck in copper and the other in brass. Both have plain edge. (Total: 2 pieces) [Realized $38.50.]

Lot 2055: Sage's Odds & Ends series. Quartette of different varieties. All are struck in copper with plain edges. Some are very rare. Average Proof-60 to 63: • No. 1 Crystal Palace • No. 2. Old Sugar House. Two-line inscription in exergue • No. 2. Old Sugar House. Three-line inscription in exergue • No. 3. Paul Morphy, The American Chess King. (Total: 4 pieces) [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2056: Sage's Odds and Ends series. Muling of the two Sugar House obverses, having the two-line inscription and three-line inscription. Copper. Plain edge. Proof-60. [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2060: George H. Lovett. Muling of the obverse of the "Penn's Treaty" medal with the obverse of Variety No. 12 of Augustus B. Sage's Historical Tokens series depicting the house of Sir Henry Clinton. White metal. Reeded edge: Proof-60. Both surfaces are slightly scuffed. [Realized $55.00.]

Lot 2067: Augustus B. Sage, New York. Selection of store cards grading average Proof-60. All have plain edges: • Brass, Miller-NY-751. • White metal, Miller-NY-752. • Copper, Miller-NY-754. • Brass, Miller-NY-755. • White metal, Miller-NY-756. (Total: 5 pieces). [Realized $137.50.]

## GANTER COLLECTION (NOVEMBER 1994)

The Ganter Collections, Part II, crossed the block on November 19, 1994, at Presidential Coin and Antique Company's

auction. Catalogued by Joseph Levine, the offering included these Sage items:

Lot 436: Masonic Medalet. Silver Plain edge. [Realized $82.50.]

Lot 437: Sage Historical Token #8. Silver. Reeded edge. [Realized $77.00.]

Lot 438 Sage Historical Token #11. Silver. Reeded edge.[Realized $77.00.]

Lot 439 Sage Historical Token #12. Silver. Reeded edge.[Realized $77.00.]

Lot 1632: Sage Historical Token #3, ca. 1860. 30.8 mm. Copper. PE [plain edge]. Unc., traces of red. Two minor obverse dark spots. FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON MASS. [Realized $9.00.]

Lot 1633: Sage Historical Token #6. 30.8 mm. Copper. Unc., traces of red. [Realized $9.00.]

Lot 1634: Sage Historical Token #8. 30.8 mm. Copper. R&B Unc., Minor obverse spots. THE OLD HASBROOK HOUSE. [Realized $9.00.]

Lot 1635: Sage Historical Token #9. 30.8 mm. Copper. Unc., traces of red. RICHMOND HILL HOUSE. [Realized $10.00.]

Lot 1636: Same as above. Unc. Almost red obverse with tiny spot. Brown reverse. [Realized $8.00.]

Lot 1637: Sage Historical Token #10. 30.8 mm. Copper. R&B Unc. Rx thumbprint marks. WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT TAPPAN. [Realized $8.00.]

Lot 1638: Sage Historical Token #11. 30.8 mm. Copper. R&B Unc. WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE. [Realized $10.00.]

Lot 1639: Sage Historical Token #12. 30.8 mm. Copper. R&B Unc. SIR HENRY CLINTON HOUSE. [Realized $10.00.]

Lot 1640: Sage Historical Token #13. 30.8 mm. Copper. R&B Unc. THE OLD SWAMP CHURCH. [Realized $10.00.]

Lot 1641: Sage Historical Token #14. 30.8 mm. Copper. R&B Unc. THE CHARTER OAK. [Realized $10.00.]

Lot 1642: Sage Odds and Ends Series #1. 30.8 mm. Copper. PE. R&B Unc. CRYSTAL PALACE BUILT AND BURNED. [Realized $10.00.]

Lot 1643: Sage Numismatic Gallery No. #2. 30.8 mm. Copper. PE. Unc., traces of red. HENRY BOGERT. [Realized $8.00.]

## PERRY COLLECTION (JANUARY 1996)

Auctioned by Bowers and Merena, the collection of American naval hero Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry included a fine set of Sage tokens, as described below, and purchased at the sale by Carl R. Feldman. The price on the original Perry Collection envelope indicates that $4.25 was paid for the set, or a little more than the $4 issue price asked by Sage in 1859. As Perry died in 1858, no doubt his heir, Caroline Perry Belmont, or another member of the family acquired the set at an early date.

Lot 698: Augustus B. Sage. Historical Token series complete from No. 1 through No. 14. Average MS-60 or better: No. 1. The Old Provost [with PRISON spelling]. • No. 2. City Hall, New York. • No. 3. Faneuil Hall. • No. 4. Carpenters' Hall. • No. 5. The Old Jersey. • No. 6. State House, Philadelphia [RENDESVOUS spelling]. • No. 7. Mt. Vernon. • No. 8. The Old Hasbrook House. • No. 9. Richmond Hill House. • No. 10. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan. • No. 11. Valley Forge. • No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House. • No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. • No. 14. The Charter Oak (Total: 14 pieces) Issued circa 1860 by one of America's earliest (and least chronicled) rare coin dealers. Usually, a few pieces in the Sage series are where you find them—one or two at a time. This set is a very unusual offering. [Realized $330.]

If anything, the preceding auction and fixed-price listings and other citations from 1859 onward illustrate that descriptions of Sage's tokens by cataloguers over the years were erratic and yield little in the way of information concerning issuance, quantities minted, etc. The prices realized were so nominal, even in sales of modern times, that such pieces scarcely repaid the cost of listing them. It is quite notable that Sage's tokens were typically offered as scattered assortments, rarely as complete runs or sets.

## P.C.A.C. SALES (1971-1996)

### Analysis

The sales of Presidential Coin and Antique Co. (H. Joseph Levine) provide a reflection of the availability of certain of Augustus B. Sage's medals at one specialized auction house during the years 1971 to 1996. While the listings below represent some duplication, in that the same specimen may have appeared in more than one sale, on a relative basis the information is very useful. The listing is not necessarily complete, but represents a scanning of the sale catalogues by two contributors. The sale number is followed by the date of the sale and the lot number.[1]

Sale 30 is remarkable in that it included as Lot 366 a complete set of three Odds and Ends tokens and 14 Historical Tokens as well as two silver strikings.

### ODDS & ENDS:

**Odds and Ends No. 1. Crystal Palace.**
Sale No. 10 (November 13, 1971), Lot 971.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 913.
Sale No. 25 (November 21, 1978), Lot 1798.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 30 , Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1155.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1642.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1487.
Total: 7 appearances.

**Odds and Ends No. 2. Old Sugar House.**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 29.
Sale No. 23 (April 18, 1977), Lot 1128.
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1209.
Sale No. 25 (November 21, 1978), Lot 1799.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 30 , Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1156.
Sale No. 38, Part II (June 10, 1985), Lot 1719.
Sale No. 48 (June 1990), Lot 1529.
Sale No. 61 (November 1996), Lot 1277.
Total: 9 appearances (dies not differentiated)

**Old Sugar House; muling of two dies, two buildings:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 914.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Odds and Ends No. 3. Paul Morphy. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 30.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 915.
Sale No. 23 (April 18, 1977), Lot 1129.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.

[1] Information supplied by H. Joseph Levine and, separately with annotations, David E. Schenkman; June 1997.

Sale No. 34, Part II (June 20, 1983), Lot 1040.
Total: 5 appearances.

**Odds and Ends No. 3. Paul Morphy. Silver:**
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 368.
Total: 1 appearance.

## HISTORICAL TOKENS:

**Historical Token No. 1. The Old Provoost Prison (2 dies). Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1016.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 898.
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1116.
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1202. Copper.
Sale No. 25 (November 21, 1978), Lot 1797.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 42, Part II (July 3, 1987), Lot 1035.
Sale No. 46 (June 24, 1989), Lot 1196.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1167
Sale No. 50 (June 1991), Lot 1349.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1671.
Total: 11 appearances (dies not differentiated).

**Historical Token No. 1. The Old Provoost Prison (2 dies). Brass, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 30 , Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1143.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1672.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 2. City Hall. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1117.
Sale No. 28 (June 7, 1980), Lot 1951.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1144.
Sale No. 46 (June 24, 1989), Lot 1197.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1168.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1480.
Total: 7 appearances.

**Muling of No. 2. City Hall / No. 3. Faneuil Hall. Copper:**
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1212.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Muling of No. 2. City Hall / No. 4. Carpenters' Hall. Brass:**
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1211.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Muling of No. 2. City Hall / UNION LEAGUE, 1863. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 30 , Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1145.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 3. Faneuil Hall. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 14 (June 14, 1973), Lot 730.
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1118.
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1203.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1633.
Total: 5 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 3. Faneuil Hall. Brass:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 899.
Sale No. 28 (June 7, 1980), Lot 1949.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 3. Faneuil Hall. White Metal, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1673.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Muling of No. 3. Faneuil Hall. / No. 4. Carpenters' Hall. Silver:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 912.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Muling of No. 3. Faneuil Hall. / No. 5. Old Jersey. White Metal: Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1676.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 4. Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1119.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1146.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1169.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1674. Copper. RE.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1481.
Sale No. 61 (November 1996), Lot 1276.
Total: 6 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 4. Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. Brass, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1204. (Edge not stated).
Sale No. 29 (March 9, 1981), Lot 723.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Muling of No. 4. Carpenters' Hall. / No. 5. Old Jersey. Brass:**
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1213.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 5. Old Jersey Prison Ship. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 14 (June 14, 1973), Lot 731.
Sale No. 15 (November 14, 1973), Lot 1288.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 900.
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1120.
Sale No. 48 (June 1990), Lot 1528.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1675.
Total: 6 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 6. State House, Phila. (2 dies). Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 27. RENDEZVOUS.
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1017.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 901.
Sale No. 22. April 18, 1977. Lot 902. Thick planchet.
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1121.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1147.
Sale No. 47 (December 2, 1989), Lot 1891.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1170.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1634.
Sale No. 58 (July 1995), Lot 1704.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1482.
Total: 12 appearances (dies not differentiated on most listings).

**Historical Token No. 6. State House, Phila. RENDEZVOUS. Brass:**
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1018.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 903.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 6. State House, Phila. RENDEZVOUS. White Metal:**
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1019.
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1122.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 6. State House, Phila. RENDEZVOUS. Silver:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 904.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 7. Mount Vernon. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 14 (June 14, 1973), Lot 729.
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1123.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 32, Part II (June 11, 1982), Lot 1467.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1171.
Total: 5 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 7. Mount Vernon. Brass:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 905.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 8. Old Hasbrook House. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 906.
Sale No. 22 (March 18, 1977), Lot 1124.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1148.
Sale No. 32, Part II (June 11, 1982), Lot 1468.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1172.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1634.
Total: 7 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 8. Old Hasbrook House. Copper, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 40 , Part II (August 11, 1986), Lot 1507.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 8. Old Hasbrook House. Brass, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 40 , Part II (August 11, 1986), Lot 1508.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 8. Old Hasbrook House. White Metal, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 40 , Part II (August 11, 1986), Lot 1509.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 9. Richmond Hill House. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 907.
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1125.
Sale No. 27 (November 28, 1979), Lot 2156.
Sale No. 29 (March 9, 1981), Lot 724.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 32, Part II (June 11, 1982), Lot 1469.
Sale No. 40, Part II (August 11, 1986), Lot 1510.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1173.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1635.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1483.
Total: 10 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 9. Richmond Hill House. Brass, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 30 , Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1149.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 9. Richmond Hill House. Brass, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1677.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 9. Richmond Hill House. Silver:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 908.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 10. Tappan. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1126.
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1205.
Sale No. 28 (June 7, 1980), Lot 1950.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1130.
Sale No. 32, Part II (June 11, 1982), Lot 1470.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1174.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1636.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1484.
Total: 9 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 11. Valley Forge. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 1127.
Sale No. 27 (November 28, 1979), Lot 2157.
Sale No. 30 , Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1131.
Sale No. 49 (December 1990), Lot 1175.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1638.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1485.
Total: 6 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 11. Valley Forge. Brass:**
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 909 (edge not stated).
Sale No. 40, Part II (August 11, 1986), Lot 1511. Reeded edge.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 28.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 910.
Sale No. 24. April 18, 1977, Lot 1206.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 34, Part II (June 20, 1983), Lot 1040. Thick planchet.
Sale No. 45 (December 3, 1988), Lot 1644.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1639.
Total: 7 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House. Copper, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 42, Part II (July 3, 1987), Lot 1036.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1679.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 1486.
Total: 3 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House. Brass, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 30 , Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1152.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1678.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Muling of No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House. / Penn's Treaty.**
Sale No. 10. November 13, 1971 Lot 968. Metal not stated.
Sale No. 46 (June 24, 1989), Lot 1198. White Metal.
Sale No. 51 (December 1991), Lot 951. Silvered.
Total: 3 appearances, various formats.

**Historical Token No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 16 (June 15, 1974), Lot 868.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1153.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1639.
Total: 4 appearances.

**Historical Token No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. Copper, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 42, Part II (July 3, 1987), Lot 1037.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. Brass, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1154.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. Brass, Reeded Edge:**
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1680.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 13. The Old Swamp Church. Silver:**
Sale No. 30 (May 30, 1981), Lot 368.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Historical Token No. 14. The Charter Oak. Copper, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 14 (June 14, 1973), Lot 550.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 911.
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1207.
Sale No. 30, Part I (May 30, 1981), Lot 366.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 1681.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1640.
Total: 6 appearances.

## NUMISMATIC GALLERY:

**Numismatic Gallery No. 1. Charles I. Bushnell.**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 22.
Sale No. 12 (August 8, 1972), Lot 1442.
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1009.
Sale No. 22 (April 18, 1977), Lot 916.
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1609.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1158.
Sale No. 48 (June 1990), Lot 1530.
Total: 7 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 2. Henry Bogert.**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 24.
Sale No. 14 (June 14, 1973), Lot 773.
Sale No. 20 (March 20, 1976), Lot 1320.
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1010.
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1208.
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1610.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1159.
Sale No. 57 (November 1994), Lot 1643.
Total: 8 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 3. Jeremiah Colburn. Copper:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 26.
Sale No. 20 (March 20, 1976), Lot 1321.
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1011.
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1611.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1160.
Sale No. 52 (June 1992), Lot 1414.
Total: 6 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 5. Winslow Lewis, M.D. Copper:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 23.
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1012 (tentative).
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1612.
Total: 3 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 5. Frank Jaudon. Copper:**
Sale No. 20 (March 20, 1976), Lot 1322.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 6. Frank Jaudon. Copper:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 25.
Sale No. 20 (March 20, 1976), Lot 1323.
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1613.
Sale No. 47 (December 2, 1989), Lot 1892.
Total: 4 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 6. William H. Chesley. Copper:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 19.
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1013.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 6. Horatio Rust. Copper:**
Sale No. 15 (November 14, 1973), Lot 1289. "Mule. Rx. of #6."[1]
Total: 1 appearance.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 7. William H. Chesley. Copper:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 18.
Sale No. 20 (March 20, 1976), Lot 1324.
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1014.
Sale No. 25 (November 21, 1978), Lot 1800.
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1614.
Sale No. 29 (March 9, 1981), Lot 724.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1161.
Total: 7 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 7. William H. Chesley. White Metal:**
Sale No. 21 (December 3, 1976), Lot 1015.
Sale No. 29 (March 9, 1981), Lot 726.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 8. Horatio Rust.**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 17.
Sale No. 16 (June 15, 1974), Lot 869.
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1615.
Sale No. 27 (November 28, 1979), Lot 2158.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1162.
Total: 5 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 9. Robert J. Dodge. Copper:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 20.
Sale No. 26 (May 26, 1979), Lot 1616.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1163.
Total: 3 appearances.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 9. Robert J. Dodge. White Metal:**
Sale No. 11 (April 1, 1972), Lot 21.
Total: 1 appearance.

## MASONIC MEDALETS:

**Masonic Medalet No. 1. Old Masonic Hall.**
Sale No. 24 (May 13, 1978), Lot 1210.
Sale No. 25 (November 21, 1978), Lot 1801.
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 1157.
Sale No. 40, Part II (August 11, 1986), Lot 1524.
Sale No. 41, Part II (January 16, 1987), Lot 952 ("brass").
Sale No. 41, Part II (January 16, 1987), Lot 953 ("bronze").
Sale No. 41, Part II (January 16, 1987), Lot 954 ("copper").
Total: 7 appearances.

## STORE CARDS:

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-750, Copper:**
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 1055.
Sale No. 55 (December 1993), Lot 555.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 615.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 616.
Sale No. 58 (July 1995), Lot 1354.
Sale No. 58 (July 1995), Lot 1355.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 707.
Total: 7 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-751, Brass, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 30 (July 20, 1981), Lot 567.
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 1056.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 617.
Total: 3 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-752. White Metal, Plain Edge:**
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 568.

[1] Unfortunately, H. Joseph Levine has no records of this sale or the buyer; it could be a typographical error or could be a correct listing, either is a possibility. (Cf. Letter, June 18, 1997).

Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 1057.
Sale No. 55 (December 1993), Lot 556.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 618.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 619.
Sale No. 59 (December 1995), Lot 644.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 708.
Sale No. 61 (November 1996), Lot 487.
Total: 8 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-754. Sir Henry Clinton's House. Copper:**
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 1058.
Sale No. 55 (December 1993), Lot 557.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 620.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 621.
Sale No. 59 (December 1995), Lot 645.
Sale No. 61 (November 1996), Lot 488.
Total: 6 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-755. Sir Henry Clinton's House. Brass:**
Sale No. 30, Part II (July 20, 1981), Lot 569.
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 1059.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 622.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 709.
Total: 4 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-756. Sir Henry Clinton's House. White Metal:**
Sale No. 16 (June 15, 1974), Lot 326.
Sale No. 50 (December 1991), Lot 490.
Sale No. 52 (June 1992), Lot 592.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 623.
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 710.
Total: 5 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-758. Washington / CIRCULATING LIBRARY. Copper:**
Sale No. 32, Part II (June 11, 1982), Lot 622.
Sale No. 45 (December 3, 1988), Lot 619.
Sale No. 45 (December 3, 1988), Lot 620.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 624.
Total: 4 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-759. Washington / CIRCULATING LIBRARY. Brass:**
Sale No. 12 (August 8, 1972), Lot 75.
Sale No. 12 (August 8, 1972), Lot 76.
Sale No. 27 (November 28, 1979) Lot 1499.
Sale No. 32, Part II (June 11, 1982), Lot 623.
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 615.
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 1060.
Sale No. 46 (June 24, 1989), Lot 492.
Sale No. 61 (November 1996), Lot 489.
Total: 8 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-760. Washington / CIRCULATING LIBRARY. White Metal:**
Sale No. 28 (June 7, 1980), Lot 838.
Sale No. 41 (January 1987), Lot 450.
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 1061.
Sale No. 46 (June 24, 1989), Lot 493.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 625.
Sale No. 58 (July 1995), Lot 1356.
Sale No. 58 (July 1995), Lot 1357.
Sale No. 58 (July 1995), Lot 1358.
Total: 8 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-761. Washington / RAFFLE. Silver:**
Sale No. 45 (December 3, 1988), Lot 47 Unc. $302.50.
Sale No. 59 (December 1995), Lot 127 Unc. $242.00 (probably from Sale 45[1]).
Total: 2 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-762. Washington / RAFFLE. Copper:**
Sale No. 28 (June 7, 1980), Lot 839.
Sale No. 29 (March 9, 1981), Lot 99.
Sale No. 33 (January 21, 1983), Lot 93.
Sale No. 36 (May 31, 1984), Lot 591.
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 616.
Sale No. 45 (December 3, 1988), Lot 621.
Sale No. 45 (December 3, 1988), Lot 622.
Sale No. 46 (June 24, 1989), Lot 494.
Sale No. 55 (December 1993), Lot 558 (thick planchet).
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 626.
Sale No. 59 (December 1995), Lot 646 (thick planchet).
Sale No. 60 (June 1996), Lot 711.
Total: 12 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-764. Washington / RAFFLE. White Metal:**
Sale No. 33 (January 21, 1983), Lot 94.
Sale No. 46 (June 24, 1989), Lot 495.
Total: 2 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY-765A. CIRCULATING LIBRARY / RAFFLE. Copper:**
Sale No. 25 (November 1978), Lot 897.
Jakira specimen (July 1990), Lot 245.
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 627.
Total: 3 appearances.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY 766. Washington 16 mm. Copper:**
Sale No. 27 (November 28, 1979), Lot 1500.
Total: 1 appearance.

**Sage Store Card, Adams-NY 768. Washington 16 mm. White Metal:**
Sale No. 23 (November 21, 1977), Lot 252.
Sale No. 28 (June 7, 1980), Lot 68.
Sale No. 32, Part II (June 11, 1982), Lot 627.
Sale No. 33 (January 21, 1983), Lot 95.
Sale No. 44 (June 25, 1988), Lot 614. "Fine, struck from misaligned dies so that half of design was weak when new."
Sale No. 56 (June 1994), Lot 628.
Total: 6 appearances.

## OTHER:

**Major Anderson medal.**
Sale No. 48 (June 1990), Lot 156. Silver plated White Metal. AU. $165.00.
Sale No. 61 (November 1996), Lot 550. Silvered White Metal. XF with a number of small rim nicks and very porous planchet. $165.00.
Total: 2 appearances.

[1] H. Joseph Levine, comment to author, June 1997.

# APPENDIX IV

# *Sage Token Metrology*

## METROLOGY

The metrology of various Sage-related tokens is discussed in the main text as part of individual descriptions. However, to gain an overall appreciation and for comparison, pieces which have been personally studied, measured, and weighed in connection with this project are listed below. In instances in which a token is worn or anomalous (damaged, plated, etc.) it is not used in the calculations.

While the absence or presence of an examined variety does not necessarily indicate rarity, it does verify that varieties represented by examined pieces do, in fact, exist (in contrast, some historical auction catalogue listings are ambiguous or incomplete). Several holdings examined were from collectors of Washington-related pieces (*e.g.,* Messrs. Schuster and Roelofs), thus skewing the observations toward larger numbers of such pieces. Moreover, the Johnson collection of Masonic medalets was laden with many duplicates of medals that, individually, are not often encountered.

All tokens were intended to be struck in medal alignment (obverse and reverse dies aligned in the same direction; described as 0°, or the beginning of the rotational analysis). However, among extant specimens there are slight variations. Measurements of angles of the reverse are taken clockwise with the 12 o'clock or high point being normal or 0°. If a reverse is misaligned about 10° to the left of the normal 0° it is described as having a 350° alignment, as it is 350° away from the starting point as measured *clockwise*. If a reverse is misaligned about 10° to the right of 0°, it is described as having a 10° alignment. Only a small percentage of the hundreds of pieces listed have been evaluated for die alignment; thus, other variations may exist. All alignments are approximate.

**Significance of weight:** In some instances, the weight of a piece can help identify its time of striking or its association with other pieces of like weight.

**Significance of die state:** Discussed in detail in the individual listings of tokens in the main text, die states can help determine the sequence of striking. In all instances, a token from a later die state (*e.g.,* with die breaks, rust pits, etc.) was struck later than one from a perfect, unbroken, unrusted die.

**Significance of diameter:** This factor has been little studied earlier, as it has been popular procedure to approximate diameters to the nearest millimeter or the nearest 1/16th of an inch. However, a study of diameters helps classify tokens into groups and periods of striking. Apparently, when George H. Lovett made restrikes of certain Sage tokens, he simply used a convenient collar in the press, not necessarily the same diameter collar used to strike originals.

In some instances, metrology notes are not complete. However, what is given will provide a foundation for further study of these tokens.

**Sources of pieces for the metrological study include:** William M. Ackerman, John W. Adams, American Numismatic Society, Victor Annaloro, Roy A. Baker, Q. David Bowers, Scott E. Douglas, Isaac Edmunds, Carl Feldman (many pieces are pedigreed to the Commodore Matthew C. Perry Collection; these are identified as Perry-Feldman), Dan Freidus, Wayne K. Homren, Peter Irion, Richard T. Johnson, George F. Kolbe, Paul Koppenhaver, Richard Moore, Eric P. Newman, Dr. Joel J. Orosz, Reigh Roelofs, David Schenkman, Dr. Irving N. Schuster, David Setree, William Shamhart, Jr., Henry Spangenberger, Terry M. Stahurski, Paul K. Van Sant, Jr., Frank Van Zandt, and Myron Xenos.

Multiple entries for a given token are in order of increasing weight.

**ODDS AND ENDS (copper, plain edge, original):**

**Odds and Ends No. 1, Crystal Palace:** • 135.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant; token worn and damaged, not used in analysis). • 136.2 grains; 31.0 mm. (Edmunds). • 174.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 174.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 175.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • 176.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 177.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 177.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore). • 177.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Annaloro, ex Eliasberg: 3044). • 198.5 grains; 30.9 mm. (Kolbe). • 203.5 grains; 30.9 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. A few are aligned about 350°.

**Odds and Ends No. 2 [2b], Sugar House, 2-line inscription. First original issue:** • 170.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore; worn, not used in analysis). • 173.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 175.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 176.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Edmunds). • 177.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 177.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Ackerman). • 178.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore). • 180.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore). • 180.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 181.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 181.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 181.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 182.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 182.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Restrikes of the preceding:** • 196.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (Kolbe). • 198.3 grains; 30.9 mm. (Orosz). • 198.6 grains; 30.9 mm. (Douglas). • 200.9 grains; 30.9 mm. (Kolbe). • 201.1 grains; 30.9 mm. (Irion). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Odds and Ends No. 2 [2a], Sugar House, 3-line inscription. Second original issue:** • 175.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Bowers). • 175.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore). • 177.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Xenos). (179.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 183.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. However, slight variations exist of about 10° to each side of the normal 0° alignment.

**Restrike of preceding:** • 197.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (Baker).

**Odds and Ends No. 3, Paul Morphy:** • 172.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 173.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 174.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 175.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 175.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore). • 175.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 179.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**ODDS AND ENDS MULING (copper, plain edge, restrike):**

**Muling of obverse 2a with obverse 2b:** • 191.3 grains; 30.9 mm. (Xenos). • **Typical die alignment:** 10° (slightly right of normal alignment).

**SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS (copper, plain edge, mostly originals; some of 30.9 mm. diameter and weights of 195+ grains may be plain-edge restrikes; see main text):**

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. BRISON reverse:** • 175.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 176.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 178.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore; planchet clip, not used in analysis). • 178.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Bowers). • 180.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Edmunds). • 181.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Bowers, ex Frank Sprinkle). • 181.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 181.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 182.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Orosz). • 182.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 182.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 182.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 182.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 183.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (Irion). • 184.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. PRISON reverse:** • 176.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 179.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 179.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore). • 181.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 180.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Bowers). • 182.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 182.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 182.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 182.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 182.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 183.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 183.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 183.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 184.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 188.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 190.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 2. City Hall:** • 167.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe; this specimen is weakly struck at the lower obverse and corresponding part of the reverse). • 175.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 175.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant; token silvered, not used in the analysis). • 178.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 180.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 180.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 180.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • 181.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Koppenhaver). • 181.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 181.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 181.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 182.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Edmunds). • 182.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 183.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 183.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Schenkman). • 196.4 grains; 30.9 mm. (Ackerman; restrike; die alignment 10°.). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 3. Faneuil Hall:** • 149.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant; token etched and silvered, not included in analysis). • 174.8 grains; 30.6 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 176.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 176.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). (176.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 177.1 grains; 30.7 mm. • 178.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Koppenhaver). (178.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 180.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 182.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • 183.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 187.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 189.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 193.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 193.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 4. Carpenters' Hall:** • 170.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 171.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 173.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Koppenhaver). • 173.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 173.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 174.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 174.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 175.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 175.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 175.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 176.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 177.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 178.4 grains; 31.7 mm. (Ackerman). • 178.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 179.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 180.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Moore). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 5. The Old Jersey:** • 170.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 170.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 171.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 171.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 172.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 173.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 173.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 174.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 176.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Edmunds). • 177.5 grains; 30.8 mm. • 182.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 196.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 6. State House. RENDESVOUS reverse:** • 169.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 171.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 171.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 172.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 176.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 178.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Xenos). • 182.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 6. State House. RENDEZVOUS reverse:** • 170.2 grains; 30.6 mm. (Van Sant; token etched and gilt, not included in analysis). • 170.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 171.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 171.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 172.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 172.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 172.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Xenos). • 172.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Ackerman). • 173.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 173.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 175.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 175.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 177.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 178.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 181.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 181.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 181.8 grains; 30.8 mm. • **Typical die alignment:** 340° to 350°. The reverse is typically skewed to the left of normal alignment.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 7. Mount Vernon:** • 141.1 grains; 30.6 mm. (Van Sant; token worn and oxidized, not included in analysis). • 171.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Roelofs). • 172.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 174.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 174.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 175.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 175.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 175.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 176.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 177.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 181.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Roelofs). • 185.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Roelofs). • 188.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 189.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 189.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 190.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 8. Old Hasbrook House:** • 172.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Schenkman). • 173.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 173.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 173.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 174.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 174.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Schenkman). • 174.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 174.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 174.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 175.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 175.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 176.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 176.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (Roelofs). • 177.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 178.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 179.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Roelofs; token has tiny planchet clip). • 180.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 180.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 188.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 192.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe; 350°). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 9. Richmond Hill House:** • 169.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 171.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 172.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 172.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 174.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 174.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 175.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Edmunds). • 176.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 177.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 178.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 180.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 186.7 grains;

30.9 mm. (Moore). • 193.7 grains; 30.9 mm. (Van Sant). • 194.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 195.9 grains; 30.9 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 196.1 grains; 30.9 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 10. Tappan:** • 171.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 172.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 172.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 172.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Orosz). • 172.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 174.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 176.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 177.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 177.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 178.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 179.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Sant). • 180.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Roelofs). • 181.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 182.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 194.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 195.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 197.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 11. Valley Forge:** • 168.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 170.7 (with part of inscription tooled away; thus weight not relevant; not included in analysis) grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 170.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 171.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Roelofs). • 171.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Setree). • 171.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Van Sant; token silver plated, not included in analysis). • 173.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 173.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 173.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 173.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Van Sant). • 174.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 176.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Roelofs). • 176.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 177.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Ackerman). • 179.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 189.7 grains; 30.9 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House:** • 171.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds; lightly worn, not used in analysis). • 171.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 172.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 172.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 173.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 173.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Setree). • 176.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 174.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 176.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 177.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 177.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Setree). • 181.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Setree). • 183.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Van Sant). • 184.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams). • 192.2 grains; 30.9 mm. (Orosz). • 197.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (Kolbe; alignment 350°). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 13. Old Swamp Church:** • 172.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 174.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Van Sant). • 174.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 175.8 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 178.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Setree). • 178.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 178.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 178.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 179.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 180.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 181.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 181.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 182.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position). Most are skewed slightly to the left, or about 350°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 14. First Meeting House, Hartford:** • 165.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Van Sant). • 172.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 174.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 177.0 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 177.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 178.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 177.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 178.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Setree). • 179.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 179.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Schenkman). • 179.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Perry-Feldman). • 181.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 182.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Setree). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS (copper, reeded edge, restrike):**

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. BRISON reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. PRISON reverse:** • 276.9 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • 278.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Douglas).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 2. City Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 3. Faneuil Hall:** • 199.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • 202.1 grains; 31.1 mm. (Schenkman). (• **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 4. Carpenters' Hall:** • 198.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • 201.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Edmunds). • 202.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Bowers). • 204.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 5. The Old Jersey:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 6. State House. RENDEZVOUS reverse:** • 272.7 grains; 31.2 mm. (Irion). • 274.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 275.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (Kolbe). • 276.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 277.2 grains; 31.2 mm. (Douglas). • 278.0 grains; 31.2 mm. (Orosz). • 281.6 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 7. Mount Vernon:** • 260.1 grains; 31.4 mm. (Orosz). • 261.8 grains; 31.4 mm. (Van Sant; token partly gilt). • 262.2 grains; 31.4 mm. (ANS). • 262.4 grains; 31.4 mm. (Van Sant). • **Typical die alignment:** 15°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 8. Old Hasbrook House:** • 259.6 grains; 31.4 mm. (Douglas). • 260.0 grains; 31.4 mm. (Moore). • 262.1 grains; 31.4 mm. (ANS). • 263.6 grains; 31.4 mm. (Van Sant).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 9. Richmond Hill House:** • 219.8 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • 272.2 grains; 31.2 mm. (Kolbe). • 272.9 grains; 31.2 mm. (Moore). • 275.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Roelofs). • 276.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Kolbe). • 281.1 grains; 31.2 mm. (Van Sant). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist to left and right.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 10. Tappan:** • 261.3 grains; 31.6 mm. (Van Sant). • 261.3 grains; 31.4 mm. (ANS). • 261.7 grains; 31.4 mm. (Moore). • 262.1 grains; 31.5 mm. (Roelofs). • **Typical die alignment:** 15°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 11. Valley Forge:** • 259.9 grains; 31.5 mm. (ANS). • 262.8 grains; 31.5 mm. (Koppenhaver). • 264.0 grains; 31.4 mm. (Roelofs). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House:** 277.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • 278.6 grains; 31.2 mm. (Setree). • 282.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Irion). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 13. Old Swamp Church:** • 264.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Setree). • 272.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 275.6 grains; 31.1 mm. (Setree). • 277.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 14. First Meeting House, Hartford:** • None examined.

**SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS (brass, reeded edge, restrike):**

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. BRISON reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. PRISON reverse:** • 255.6 grains; 31.1 mm. (Edmunds). • 256.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Bowers). • 257.4 grains; 31.0 mm. (Kolbe). • 258.3 grains; 31.1 mm. (Douglas). • 264.2 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • 264.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position). Slight variations exist.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 2. City Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 3. Faneuil Hall:** • 170.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 4. Carpenters' Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 5. The Old Jersey:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 6. State House. RENDEZ-**

**VOUS reverse:** • 254.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (Kolbe). • 255.4 grains; 31.2 mm. (Bowers). • 255.5 grains; 31.2 mm. (Douglas). • 256.1 grains; 31.1 mm. (Xenos). • 256.6 grains; 31.2 mm. (Xenos). • 257.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 257.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant; duplicate piece with same metrology). • 258.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Xenos). • 260.4 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 7. Mount Vernon:** • 213.7 grains; 31.4 mm. (Douglas). • 216.1 grains; 31.4 mm. (ANS). • 216.9 grains; 31.4 mm. (Xenos). • **Typical die alignment:** 10°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 8. Old Hasbrook House:** • 213.4 grains; 31.4 mm. (Roelofs). • 216.2 grains; 31.4 mm. (ANS).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 9. Richmond Hill House:** • 255.6 grains; 31.2 mm. (Van Sant). • 255.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Kolbe). • 256.1 grains; 31.1 mm. (Xenos). • 258.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 258.7 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • 260.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 0° to 10°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 10. Tappan:** • 212.8 grains; 31.4 mm. (ANS).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 11. Valley Forge:** • 210.7 grains; 31.4 mm. (Moore). • 213.3 grains; 31.4 mm. (ANS). • 216.2 grains; 31.5 mm. (Douglas). • **Typical die alignment:** 15°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House:** • 252.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 254.9 grains; 31.1 mm. (Douglas). (256.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Bowers). • 258.0 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • 258.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Koppenhaver). • 260.7 grains; 31.2 mm. (Kolbe). • 260.9 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 261.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Setree). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 13. Old Swamp Church:** • 255.3 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 257.6 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • 259.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Edmunds). • 261.4 grains; 31.0 mm. (Van Sant). • 261.7 grains; 31.0 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 14. First Meeting House, Hartford:** • None examined.

**SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS (white metal, plain edge, restrike):**

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. BRISON reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. PRISON reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 2. City Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 3. Faneuil Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 4. Carpenters' Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 5. The Old Jersey:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 6. State House. RENDEZVOUS reverse:** • 166.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Van Sant). • 167.7 grains; 31.2 mm. (Edmunds). • 168.0 grains; 31.3 mm. (Moore). • 170.2 grains; 31.3 mm. (Irion). • 171.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • 171.1 grains; 31.2 mm. (Van Sant). • 172.1 grains; 31.2 mm. (Edmunds). • 172.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Van Sant). • 172.8 grains; 31.2 mm. (Bowers). • 174.8 grains; 31.2 mm. (Douglas). • **Typical die alignment:** 0° to 10°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 7. Mount Vernon:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 8. Old Hasbrook House:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 9. Richmond Hill House:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 10. Tappan:** • 194.3 grains; 31.6 mm. (ANS).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 11. Valley Forge:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 13. Old Swamp Church:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 14. First Meeting House, Hartford:** • None examined.

**SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS (white metal, reeded edge, restrike):**

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. BRISON reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. PRISON reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 2. City Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 3. Faneuil Hall:** • 125.5 grains; 31.2 mm. (Bowers). • 127.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 4. Carpenters' Hall:** • 125.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • 125.3 grains; 31.3 mm. (Baker). • 125.6 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 10°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 5. The Old Jersey:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 6. State House. RENDEZVOUS reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 7. Mount Vernon:** • 194.8 grains; 31.5 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 10°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 8. Old Hasbrook House:** • 194.9 grains; 31.5 mm. (Roelofs).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 9. Richmond Hill House:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 10. Tappan:** • 194.3 grains; 31.6 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 11. Valley Forge:** • 257.5 grains; 31.6 mm. (ANS).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 13. Old Swamp Church:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 14. First Meeting House, Hartford:** • None examined.

**SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS (silver, reeded edge, restrike):**

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. BRISON reverse:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 1. The Old Provoost. PRISON reverse:** • 170.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 2. City Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 3. Faneuil Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 4. Carpenters' Hall:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 5. The Old Jersey:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 6. State House. RENDEZ-**

**VOUS reverse:** • 110.9 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • 122.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 7. Mount Vernon:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 8. Old Hasbrook House:** • 207.9 grains; 31.4 mm. (Van Sant).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 9. Richmond Hill House:** • 170.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Kolbe). • 171.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant). • 172.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 10. Tappan:** • None examined.

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 11. Valley Forge:** • 205.9 grains; 31.5 mm. (Van Sant).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House:** • 168.9 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • 172.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 13. Old Swamp Church:** • 166.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (ANS). • 171.2 grains; 31.0 mm. (Van Sant; token very lightly worn).

**Sage's Historical Tokens No. 14. First Meeting House, Hartford:** • None examined.

SAGE'S HISTORICAL TOKENS (mulings):

**Nos. 2/3: No. 2. City Hall, Wall St., N.Y. / No. 3. Faneuil Hall. Copper, reeded edge:** • 201.1 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant).

**Nos. 2/3: As preceding. Brass, reeded edge:** • 168.9 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • 169.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Nos. 2/3: As preceding. White metal, reeded edge:** • 124.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Feldman).

**Nos. 2/4: No. 2. City Hall, Wall St., N.Y. / No. 4. Carpenters' Hall. Copper, reeded edge:** • 200.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Nos. 2/4: As preceding. Brass, reeded edge:** • 218.3 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant).

**Nos. 2/5: No. 2. City Hall, Wall St., N.Y. / No. 5. The Old Jersey. Copper, reeded edge:** • 202.1 ; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Nos. 2/5: As preceding.. Brass, reeded edge:** • 221.0 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Nos. 2/5: As preceding. White metal, reeded edge:** • 201.9 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS).

**No. 2 with Union League reverse:** • 201.9 grains; 31.0 mm. (consigned to Joseph Levine, 1998).

**Nos. 3/4: No. 3. Faneuil Hall. / No. 4. Carpenters' Hall. Copper, reeded edge:** • 201.1 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • 201.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Nos. 3/4: As preceding. Brass, reeded edge:** • 215.3 grains; 31.1 mm. (Irion).

**Nos. 3/4: As preceding. White metal, reeded edge:** • 123.9 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Nos. 3/4: As preceding. Silver, reeded edge:** • 120.5 grains; 31.0 mm. (Van Sant, ex Witham).

**Nos. 3/5: No. 3. Faneuil Hall. / No. 5. Old Jersey. White metal, reeded edge:** • 126.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Nos. 4/5: No. 4. Carpenters' Hall. / No. 5. The Old Jersey. Copper, plain edge:** • 198.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Xenos). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Nos. 4/5: As preceding. Copper, reeded edge:** • 201.6 grains; 31.1 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Nos. 4/5: As preceding. Brass, reeded edge:** • 218.5 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant).

**Nos. 4/5: As preceding. White metal, reeded edge:** • 126.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Bowers). • 127.6 grains; 31.4 mm. (Douglas; oxidized, not used in analysis).

**Nos. 7/8: No. 7. Mount Vernon. / No. 8. The Old Hasbrook House. Silver, reeded edge:** • 206.9 grains; 31.5 mm. (Van Sant, ex Witham).

**Nos. 8/10: No. 8. The Old Hasbrook House. / No. 10. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan. Silver, reeded edge:** • 204.4 grains; 31.5 mm. (Van Sant, ex Witham).

**Nos. 10/11: No. 10. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan. / No. 11. Washington's Headquarters, at Valley Forge. Silver, reeded edge:** • 207.7 grains; 31.5 mm. (Van Sant, ex Witham).

**No. 12/Penn's Treaty: No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House, No. 1 Broadway, N.Y. / Penn's Treaty. White metal, reeded edge:** • 150.7 grains; 31.1 mm. (Van Sant).

NUMISMATIC GALLERY (plain edge, copper, original):

**Numismatic Gallery No. 1, Charles I. Bushnell:** • 170.2 grains (token with evidence of light wear; thus weight not relevant; not included in analysis), 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 171.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 171.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 172.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Freidus). • 172.7 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 173.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 173.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Shamhart). • 175.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 176.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 176.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 177.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • 177.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 180.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 180.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • **Typical die alignment:** 10°.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 2, Henry Bogert:** • 173.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Schenkman). • 173.5 grains; 30.7 mm. (Van Zandt). • 174.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 174.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 175.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 175.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Adams; worn, not used in analysis). • 175.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore; worn, not used in analysis). • 176.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 176.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 177.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Stahurski). • 179.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 179.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (Edmunds). • 179.4 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 179.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 179.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 189,4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 180.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Edmunds). • 180.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 180.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 181.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 182.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • 182.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 183. grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 350° to 0° (mostly the latter).

**Numismatic Gallery No. 3, Jeremiah Colburn:** • 174.3 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 177.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Stahurski). • 177.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 178.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 178.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 179.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 179.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 179.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 180.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 180.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Koppenhaver). • 180.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 183.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 4, James R. Chilton:** None reported (in the modern era) or seen.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 5, Winslow Lewis, M.D.:** • 174.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (ANS). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 178.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 178.9 grains; 30.7 mm. (Xenos). • 179.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Stahurski). • 180.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 180.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0° to 20°. On some other pieces, the reverse is skewed to the left.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 5, Frank Jaudon:** • 170.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 173.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 174.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 178.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Stahurski). • 179.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 180.6 grains; 30.7 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 6, Frank Jaudon:** • 174.1 grains; 30.9 mm. (Kolbe; token has massive rim break on reverse). • 174.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 175.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 175.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz; token has massive rim break on reverse). • 175.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 179.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS; early die state with just one radial crack; thin line crack through beads). • 179.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 180.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore; worn, not used in analysis). • 180.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (Moore; perfect die reverse). • 181.0 grains; 30.9 mm. (Moore). • 181.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • 181.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers; token has massive rim break on reverse). • 181.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe; token has die crack among beads on reverse). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 6, William H. Chesley:** • 174.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Bowers). • 174.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 179.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 179.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Numismatic Gallery No. 7, William H. Chesley:** • 170.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 172.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • 173.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 174.1 grains; 30.7 mm. (Baker). • 175.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 175.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 180.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 180.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Douglas). • 182.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 184.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 8, Horatio N. Rust:** • 177.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 178.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 180.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 180.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • 181.2 grains; 30.7 mm. (Stahurski). • 182.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 9, Robert J. Dodge:** • 170.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (Moore). • 171.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Edmunds). • 173.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 175.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Stahurski). • 176.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 177.4 grains; 30.9 mm. (Moore). • 177.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 180.9 grains; 30.9 mm. (Xenos). • 181.6 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

NUMISMATIC GALLERY (plain edge, white metal, original):

**Numismatic Gallery No. 6, Jaudon:** • 145.3 grains; 30.9 mm. (Douglas). • 147.7 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 7, Chesley:** • 145.5 grains; 30.9 mm. (Douglas). • 147.7 grains; 30.9 mm. (Moore). • 147.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 148.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 8, Rust:** • 144.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 145.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Stahurski). • 145.5 grains; 30.9 mm. (Feldman). • 146.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 146.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Xenos). • 146.6 grains; 31 mm. (Newman; diameter approximate). 146.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 148.1 grains; 30.9 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°. Slight variations exist.

**Numismatic Gallery No. 9, Dodge:** • 145.0 grains; 31.0 mm. (Koppenhaver). • 147.3 grains; 30.9 mm. (Moore). • 147.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

SAGE'S MASONIC MEDALETS (plain edge, copper, original):

**No. 1:** • 171.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (Moore). • 176.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 177.4 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 179.0 grains; 30.8 mm. (Johnson). • 179.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Kolbe). • 180.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Johnson). • 180.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (Irion). • 182.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Baker). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

SAGE'S MASONIC MEDALETS (plain edge, copper, restrike):

**No. 1:** • 189.3 grains; 31.3 mm. (Baker). • 191.5 grains; 31.2 mm. (Kolbe), • 194.2 grains; 31.3 mm. (Orosz). • 196.4 grains; 31.4 mm. (Moore). • 201.3 grains; 31.3 mm. (Baker). • 207.3 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • 207.7 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • 209.5 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • 210.0 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

SAGE'S MASONIC MEDALETS (plain edge, brass, restrike):

**No. 1:** • 172.6 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • 173.9 grains; 31.2 mm. (Xenos). • 176.4 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • 176.9 grains; 31.3 mm. (Edmunds). • 181.9 grains; 31.3 mm. (Xenos). • 184.1 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

SAGE'S MASONIC MEDALETS (plain edge, silver, restrike):

**No. 1:** • 174.8 grains; 31.2 mm. (Orosz). • 177.9 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson).

SAGE'S MASONIC MEDALETS, LATER MULINGS WITH SAGE OBVERSE DIE:

**Muling. Obverse with Old Masonic Hall (obverse of Sage Masonic Medalet No. 1); reverse with 1875 Masonic Temple, copper, plain edge:** • 276.2 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • 278.0 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. As preceding. Brass, plain edge:** • 254.0 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • 254.9 grains; 31.2 mm. (Orosz). • 256.0 grains; 31.3 mm. (ANS). • 257.5 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 257.9 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 258.5 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 260.5 grains; 31.2 mm. (Kolbe). • 260.9 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. As preceding. Silver, plain edge:** • 169.5 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. Obverse with Old Masonic Hall (obverse of Sage Masonic Medalet No. 1); reverse with HOLLANDSCHE LOGE, etc. Copper, plain edge:** • 200.6 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 203.3 grains; 31.3 mm. (Kolbe). • 203.9 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 205.9 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 208.4 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 217.3 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. Obverse with Old Masonic Hall (obverse of Sage Masonic Medalet No. 1); reverse with pavilion, three columns, and Masonic emblems. Copper, plain edge:** • 271.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Orosz). • 273.5 grains; 31.4 mm. (Johnson). • 274.6 grains; 31.2 mm. (Edmunds). • 275.6 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • 276.4 grains; 31.2 mm. (Orosz). • 278.9 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). • 280.4 grains; 31.2 mm. (Moore). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. As preceding. Brass, plain edge:** • 253.8 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • 256.5 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • 257.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • 260.3 grains; 31.2 mm. (Edmunds). • 260.6 grains; 31.2 mm. (Moore). • 260.8 grains; 31.0 mm. (Johnson). • 262.0 grains; 31.2 mm. (Orosz). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. As preceding. Silver, plain edge:** • 164.5 grains; 31.3 mm. (Johnson). **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

MASONIC MULINGS (ONE GENERATION REMOVED FROM SAGE DIES):

**Muling. Obverse with 1875 Masonic Temple; reverse with pavilion, three columns, and Masonic emblems. Copper, plain edge:** • 225.3 grains; 31.1 mm. (Johnson). • 228.6 grains; 31.2 mm.

(Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. As preceding. Brass, plain edge:** • 258.8 grains; 31.1 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. As preceding. White metal (a.k.a. tin in the literature), plain edge:** • 155.7 grains; 31.2 mm. (ANS). • 158.4 grains; 31.2 mm. (Orosz). • 157.9 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • 161.1 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. As preceding. Silver, plain edge:** • 131.4 grains; 31.1 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. Obverse with 1875 Masonic Temple; reverse with HOLLANDSCHE LOGE, etc. Copper, plain edge:** • 279.0 grains; 31.2 mm. (Johnson). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Muling. Obverse with HOLLANDSCHE LOGE, etc.; reverse with "Fd. SEPt. 20 AS No. 8," etc., and inscription relating to Wood's Series "D," No. 4. White metal, plain edge:** • 166.4 grains; 31.3 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

SAGE'S STORE CARDS OF 1859 AND 1860:

**1859 white metal. 15.7 mm. Washington with palm branches.**

**Adams-Miller NY-766: Copper:** • None examined.

**Adams-Miller NY-767: Brass:** • None examined.

**Adams-Miller NY-768: White metal:** • 35.1 grains; 15.5 mm. (Van Zandt). • 35.5 grains, 15.7 mm. (Schuster). • 35.6 grains; 15.5 mm. (ANS). • 35.7 grains; 15.6 mm. (Adams). • 36.0 grains; 15.5 mm. (Irion). • 36.7 grains, 15.6 mm. (Roelofs). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**1859 Book Raffle Token (1st variety), PATER (to the left) PATRIÆ obverse.**

**Adams-Miller NY-762: Copper:** • 77.6 grains, 20.5 mm. (Roelofs). • 77.9 grains, 20.5 mm. (Orosz, earlier in the Collins, Ford, and Boyd collections). • 100.0 grains; 20.5 mm. (Homren). • 100.9 grains; 20.5 mm. (ANS). • 101.2 grains (thick planchet), 20.5 mm. (Schuster). • 100.5 grains (thick planchet), 20.5 mm. (Kolbe). • 102.6 grains; 20.5 mm. (Bowers). (• **Typical die alignment:** Ranges from 0° to left 10° (to the 350° position).

**Adams-Miller NY-763: Brass:** • 71.2 grains; 20.5 mm. (ANS). • 71.5 grains; 20.6 mm. (Douglas).

**Adams-Miller NY (unlisted): Copper-nickel:** (.53.6 grains, 20.3 mm. (Schuster).

**Adams-Miller NY-764: White metal:** • None examined.

**Adams-Miller NY-761: Silver:** • None examined.

**1859 Book Raffle Token (2nd variety). BORN / DIED obverse.**

**Adams-Miller NY (unlisted). Copper.** • None examined.

**1860 Circulating Library Token**

**Adams-Miller NY-758: Copper:** • 77.7 grains; 20.6 mm. (Douglas). • 84.5 grains, 20.6 mm. (Roelofs). • 84.7 grains; 20.5 mm. (ANS). • 85.3 grains, 20.5 mm. (Schuster). • 85.2 grains, 20.5 mm. (Kolbe). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-759: Brass:** • 69.6 grains, 20.6 mm. (Schuster). • 70.7 grains; 20.5 mm. (ANS). • 71.9 grains, 20.5 mm. (Schenkman). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-760A: Copper-nickel:** • None examined.

**Adams-Miller NY-760: White metal:** • 59.9 grains; 20.5 mm. (Edmunds; lightly worn, not used in analysis). • 60.3 grains, 20.5 mm. (Orosz). • 61.1 grains; 20.5 mm. (Van Zandt). • 62.2 grains, 20.6 mm. (Bowers). • 62.2 grains; 20.5 mm. (Edmunds). • 62.0 grains, 20.6 mm. (Schuster). • 61.1 grains; 20.6 mm. (Bowers). • 63.3 grains; 20.5 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-757: Silver:** • None examined.

**1859/1860 Raffle/Library Muling**

**Adams-Miller NY-765A: Copper:** • 77.7 grains, 20.5 mm. (Orosz). • 78.1 grains, 20.5 mm. (Schenkman). • 83.1 grains; 20.5 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-765: Brass:** • 71.0 grains; 20.5 mm. (Spangenberger). • 71.8 grains; 20.5 mm. (Van Zandt). • 73.5 grains, 20.5 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Adams-Miller NY (unlisted): White metal.** • 58.7 grains; 20.5 mm. (Van Zandt).

**1860 City Hall / Sage Muling**

**Adams-Miller NY-750: Copper. Plain edge:** • 187.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • 185.1 grains; 30.8 mm. (Orosz). • 185.2 grains; 30.9 mm. (Xenos). • 186.8 grains; 30.8 mm. (Shamhart). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-751: Brass. Plain edge:** • 161.4 grains; 30.9 mm. (Edmunds). • 162.9 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 165.3 grains; 30.9 mm. (Edmunds). • 165.5 grains; 30.8 mm. (Shamhart). • 168.2 grains; 30.8 mm. (ANS). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-752: White metal. Plain edge:** • 148.5 grains; 31.0 mm. (ANS). • 149.3 grains; 30.8 mm. (Bowers). • 150.9 grains; 30.9 mm. (Xenos). • **Typical die alignment:** 0°.

**Adams-Miller NY-749: Silver. Plain edge:** • None examined.

**1860 Clinton's House / Sage Muling**

**Adams-Miller NY-754: Copper. Plain edge:** • 165.8 grains; 30.9 mm.(ANS). • 182.2 grains; 30.9 mm. (Orosz). • 186.5 grains; 31.0 mm. (Douglas). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-755: Brass. Plain edge:** • 155.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (ANS). • 160.8 grains; 30.9 mm. (Bowers). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-756: White metal. Plain edge:** • 141.6 grains; 31.0 mm. (Bowers). • 141.6 grains; 30.9 mm. (Orosz). • 147.1 grains; 30.9 mm. (ANS). • 151.0 grains; 30.9 mm. (Edmunds). • **Typical die alignment:** 350°.

**Adams-Miller NY-753: Silver. Plain edge:** • None examined.

1858. April 6th. 799— 3

First Regular Meeting of the American Numismatic Society, held April 6th 1858, at the house of Mr Sage, 121 Essex

Present. — Messrs Gibbs, English, Vail, Atkinson, Boughton, Foskett Melber, Hill, Gook, Whitmore, Sage & Olivery.

Dr Gibbs was elected President pro tem. and Mr Sage Secretary P.T. The meeting was called to order at 8 O'clock.

On motion of Mr Sage, after hearing the report of the Committee on Constitution and by-laws, the meeting resolved itself into a committee of the whole. after various ~~alterations~~ propositions Dr English drew up the Constitution ~~etc~~ & By-Laws, which version was unanimously adopted.

It was moved and carried that the election of Officers take place at the next regular meeting. — Adjourned.

A. B. Sage
Sec. pro. tem.

Minutes of the meeting of the American Numismatic Society, April 6, 1858, held at the home of Augustus B. Sage (but not written in Sage's hand).

# APPENDIX V

# *American Numismatic Society:*

## *Minutes, Correspondence, Roster 1858-1859*

The following minutes and notes are transcribed *verbatim* from handwritten notes in the archives of the Society. These reflect the progress of the Society during its formative years. The March 1858 notes are not official minutes, but are commentaries from the personal notebook of Edward Groh, who attended. Apparently, in March 1858 meetings were held on the 15th, 16th, 18th, 21st, 22nd, and 29th, but information has not been located for all of these gatherings. For some meetings, additional separate notes are reproduced. These are from a second set of notes preserved by the Society and probably represent the matrix from which the expanded minutes were prepared.

The notes are lightly edited. Modern footnotes and commentaries [in brackets] have been added. The Constitution, By-Laws, and certain correspondence have been interleaved with the minutes and meeting notes to provide a time sequence of events in the order in which they occurred.

### [1858, March 8.]

[Date of announcement signed by Augustus B. Sage, Henry O. Hart,[1] James D. Foskett, Edward Groh, and James Oliver, inviting interested collectors to meet on the 15th. No minutes of this March 8 gathering have been located, nor is it known where it was held.]

### 1858, March 15

In evening attended the first irregular meeting of the proposed Numismatic Society at the house of A.B. Sage, 121 Essex Street.

Present, Jas. D. Foskett, James Oliver, Dr. Gibbs, Harry Whitmore, H.E. Hart and a number of others, Ezra Hill, T.W. Lawrence.[2]

### 1858, March 16

In eve'g to meeting of a committee to draft a constitution & By Laws for the Numismatic Soc. At the house of A.B. Sage, 121 Essex St. Met there Jas. Oliver, Mr. Hart absent. T.W. Lawrence (as constituting committee).

### [1858, March 18.]

[Informal gathering held at Sage's home. No minutes located.]

### 1858, March 21

Attended meeting of the coin collectors at the house of A.B. Sage. Present, Foskett, Oliver, Hill, Melber, Whitmore, T.W. Lawrence, Dr. Gibbs and Gus Sage.

### [1858, March 22.]

[Informal gathering held at Sage's home. No minutes located.]

### 1858, March 29

Attended meeting of the coin collectors at the house of A.B. Sage. Present, Foskett, Whitmore, Oliver, Lawrence, Dr. Atkinson, John Cooper Vail, Sage, Thos. Dunn English, etc.

### 1858, April 6th

First regular meeting of the American Numismatic Society, held April 6th, 1858, at the house of Mr. Sage, 121 Essex St.

Present.—Messrs. Gibbs, English, Vail, Atkinson, Boughton, Foskett, Melber, Hill, Groh, Whitmore, Sage, and Oliver.

Dr. Gibbs was elected President and Mr. Sage Secretary P.T.[3] The meeting was called to order at 8 o'clock.

On motion of Mr. Sage, after hearing the report of the Committee on Constitution and by-laws, the meeting resolved itself into a committee of the whole. After various propositions ["alterations" crossed out] Dr. English drew up the Constitution, and by-laws, which version was unanimously adopted.

It was moved and carried that the election of officers take place at the next regular meeting. Adjourned, A.B. Sage, Sec. pro tem.[4]

[SEPARATE MINUTES OF THE SAME MEETING.]

### 1st Regular Meeting — April 6, 1858

House of A.B. Sage.
Present (12)
Gibbs, Dr. Isaac Hand.
English, Dr. Thos. Dunn
Vail, John Cooper
Atkinson, Dr. Asher D.
Boughton, Alfred
Foskett, Jas. D.
Melber, J.J.
Hill, Ezra
Groh, Edw.
Whitmore, Henry
Oliver James
Sage, Aug. B.

Dr. Gibbs elected President
Aug. B. Sage
Secretary pro tem

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[1] Of the original signatories, Hart is the only one who seems to have never joined the Society, or, if he did, no record has been located.

[2] It is not clear whether "a number of others" referred to additional attendees besides the subsequently mentioned Hart and Lawrence.

[3] P.T., for *pro tem*, added with carat.

[4] These minutes are by a hand other than Sage's (as evidenced by the different style of penmanship).

## Constitution of the American Numismatic Society Adopted April 6, 1858

### Article First

This association shall be known by the name, style and title of "The American Numismatic Society," and its objects shall be the collection and preservation of the coins and medals struck in this country, with an investigation into their history, and such connate matters as the Society may deem worthy of its attention.

### Article Second

Any person who may be approved by a majority of the members present at a stated meeting, may be elected a member of this society. Each member shall sign the constitution, and pay a fee to the Society of Three Dollars, semi-annually, in advance; but such persons as the Society may elect honorary members, shall not be called upon for dues, though they shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership, except that of voting and holding office.

### Article Third

The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, two vice presidents, a corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer and an Actuary, who shall be elected on the second Tuesday of April, annually. They shall hold office until their successors are duly chosen, and shall have the same rights and perform the same duties with similar officers in associations of like nature, together with such other duties as may be imposed on them by the by-laws.

### Article Fourth

This Society shall meet upon the second Tuesday of each and every month, at such hour and place as may be designated by the Society; and at such other times, and at such hours and places, as it may be called to meet, by the President, at the request of any three of the members. At each of these meetings, six or more members, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

### Article Fifth

This constitution shall not be altered, amended nor abrogated, except by a vote of two-thirds of the members present when the vote there on is taken and said amendment, alteration or abrogation, must be signed by the mover and seconder thereof, and must have been presented in writing, at least one stated meeting previous to its adoption.

## By-Laws of The American Numismatic Society Adopted April 6, 1858

### Article First

The order of business at each meeting shall be as follows:

1. Reading and consideration of the minutes.
2. Report of Standing Committees.
3. Report of Special Committees.
4. Proposition of new members.
5. Unfinished business.
6. New business.

### Article Second

The President immediately after his election shall appoint standing committees, consisting of three members each, on the following subjects, viz: on Coins, on Medals, on transactions and on Library; and on each of these committees the President shall be a member ex officio.

### Article Third

The Actuary, in addition to acting as custodian of the property of the Society, shall be the Librarian, and shall report annually, or oftener if the Society require, the condition, nature and amount of the coins, medals, books, papers and other property of the Society, and shall keep a correct catalogue of the same ready for inspection.

### Article Fourth

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to report the state of the finances annually, on the second Tuesday in April, and to give such information concerning the same from time to time, as may be demanded by the Society.

### Article Fifth

The debates and business of this Society shall be governed, as far as the same will apply, by the rules of order in use by the House of Representatives of the United States.

### Article Sixth

These by-laws may be amended or altered by the vote of a majority of all the members present at any stated meeting, provided that notice of said amendments or alteration shall have been given at any previous meeting; but any portion thereof may be suspended during any one meeting, by the consent of two-thirds of the members present.

## 1858, Tuesday Eve'g, April 13.

The meeting was called to order, by Dr. Gibbs. Presdt. pro tem at 8 o'clock.

The minutes of the preceding meeting being read and approved, it was moved and carried, that we do now proceed to the election of permanent officers for the Society.

For president, Mr. Sage nominated Dr. Gibbs, and Dr. Atkinson nominated Dr. English.

On balloting Dr. Gibbs receiving a majority of the votes cast, was declared duly elected. The vote stood— Dr. Gibbs—5 —Dr. English—4 — [for a total number of votes cast of] 9.

On motion the other officers consisting of Messrs. Jno. C. Vail and Henry Whitmore for Vice Presidents, Jas Oliver for Recording Secretary. Aug. B. Sage for corresponding Secretary, T.W. Lawrence for Treasurer, and Jas. D. Foskett for actuary, were elected by acclamation.

On this election the chairman appointed the following Committees.—On Coins.—Messrs. Atkinson, Vail, and Morgan.

On Medals.—Messrs. Oliver, Whitmore and Hill.

On Transactions.—Messrs. Sage, Boughton and Lawrence.

On Library.—Messrs. Foskett, Groh & Lawrence.

At the request of Messrs. Sage, Foskett, and Hill, the chairman called a special meeting, to be held on Tuesday Eve'g April 20th. Adjourned, A.B. Sage, Secy., pro tem.[1]

## Special Meeting, April 20th

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Whitmore, the Vice Pres. at 8 o'clock.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

**—New Members—**

Mr. Whitmore proposed that Mr. A.L. Squire be elected a member—laid over.

Mr. Vail proposed Messrs. Hatch, Moorby and Carpenter. Also laid over to next regular meeting.

**—Printing By-Laws—**

On motion of Mr. Foskett it was resolved that the Constitution and by-laws be printed, and that a committee of three be appointed to superintend the printing.—adopted and Messrs. Sage, Foskett and Vail appointed a committee.

**—Donations—**

Moved and carried, that the Cor. Sec'ty address the members of the Legislature soliciting donations of books, etc. for the library.

**—Vote of Thanks—**

Mr. Foskett moved that a vote of thanks be given to Dr. English for the excellent manner in which the Constitution and By-Laws were drawn up and engrossed by him. Carried unanimously.

[1] Minutes not in Sage's hand.

**—Books for Officers—**

It was moved and carried that Mr. Sage be appointed a committee to procure suitable books for the use of the Officers.

Adjourned. Jas. Oliver, Rec. Sec.

## [LETTER}

121 Essex Street
New York
May 3d, 1858

Peter Cooper, Esq.
Dear Sir:

I am authorized by the Society, a copy of whose By-Laws I enclose, to negotiate with you for the use of a room in your Building.

The Society has just completed its organizations, and possesses but limited means—however, if a room can be obtained in the Union, we will pay a reasonable rent therefore.

Be kind enough to acknowledge receipt, informing me if such a room as would be suitable is at your disposal, with probable rent, etc.

I am, Sir,
Very respfly,
Aug. B. Sage
Corr. Sec. A.N.S.

## [LETTER.]

New York, NY
May 6, 1858

Augustus B. Sage, Esqr.
Dear Sir:

I received your note making inquiry in relation to rooms in the Institute.

In answer I write to say that it will give me pleasure to let you any of the unoccupied rooms in the Building. I am at the Building at 1/2 past nine o'clock every morning, and shall be pleased to confer with you.

Yours most respectfully,
Peter Cooper

## 1858, Tuesday Eve'g, May 11th.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 8 o'clock, and the minutes of the preceding meeting and special meeting were read and approved.

**—Reports of Com'tees—**

The committee on printing reported having had the Constitution etc. printed according to resolution of previous meeting.

Mr. Sage, committee for purchase of books for officers reported the performance of the duty.

**—New Members—**

The following gentlemen were proposed by Mr. Whitmore—Mr. A.L. Hatch and Mr. Edwin F. Cory, Jr.

Moved and seconded that Messrs. Hatch and Cory be elected members by acclamation—carried.

Mr. Hill proposed Messrs. Norton, Fiske and Dodge, carried by acclamation.

**—Report of Treasurer—**

The Treasurer reported the expenditure of seven dollars and fifty cents, for printing and two dollars and fifty cents for books for use of the offices, and fifty cents for postage, expended by the Corr. Sec.—leaving a balance in the treasury of eight dollars and fifty cents.

**—Donations—**

The Cor. Sec. reported the receipt of a donation to library from the Hon. W.H. Seward,[1] and a vote of thanks was carried for said donation.

Votes of thanks were also given to Messrs. Foskett and Groh for donations of books to the library—

A motion, that, when this meeting adjourns, it be adjourned to Tuesday Eve'g, May 25, was carried. On motion the meeting then adjourned.

## [ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR SAME MEETING.]

## May 11, 1858.

President, in chair.
New Members
A.L. Hatch, by Whitmore
Norton, J.H. by Hill
Fiske, by Hill
Dodge, R.J. by Hill
Elected by acclamation.
Treasurer's Report. (1st time)
Printing $7.50
Books for Officers .50
Postage .50
Bal. on hand 8.50
Donations from
Hon. W.H. Seward, a donation to library.
Foskett, Jas. P., a donation of books
Groh, Edw., a donation of books

## [LETTER}

May 12, 1858

Hon. Mr. H. Seward
Dear Sir:

I am directed to return to you the thanks of the American Numismatic Society, for your kind donation of books, etc.

All public documents are carefully preserved in our archives. We are anxious to obtain a copy of the Pacific Railroad Survey. Could you obtain a copy for us?

I am, Sir.
Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servt
Aug. B. Sage
Corr. Sec., A.N.S.

## [1858, May 25.]

May 25—The Society met according to adjournment. Mr. J.C. Kappel[2] was proposed and elected a member when the adj: meeting was declared closed.

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[1] William Henry Seward (1801-1872), a former governor of New York state (1839-1843) and later a senator from the same state, by 1858 had been a national figure for a long time. In spring 1858, around the time he gave a book to the American Numismatic Society, he was mentioned as a leading possibility for nomination two years hence as president by the Republican Party, which had passed over him in favor of John C. Frémont in 1856. In 1861 he was named as secretary of state by President Lincoln, a post he held through the Johnson administration as well. At the 1860 convention his outspoken anti-slavery stance and the opposition of New York newspaperman Horace Greeley were among the considerations which prevented his nomination. Lincoln was chosen by the party, and Seward campaigned vigorously on his behalf.

[2] Incorrectly as Kappel in ANS minute book. Joseph C. Koppel, a dealer in cigars, did business at 524 Grand Street, New York City.

Sage's reference copy, in his own hand, of a letter sent to Peter Cooper on May 3, 1858. In this era before carbon paper and other copying methods, Sage made copies for American Numismatic Society files by penning in full a duplicate of the original sent.

121 Essex St.
New York May 3-58

Peter Cooper Esq
Dear Sir:

I am authorized by the Society, a copy of whose Rules & Laws I enclose, to negotiate with you for the use of a room in your Building.

The Society has just completed its organizations, and possesses but limited means — however, if a room can be obtained in the Union, we may pay a reasonable rent therefor.

Be kind enough to acknowledge receipt, informing me if such a room as would be suitable is at your disposal, with probable rent &c.

Sir,
Very Respfully &c
Aug. B. Sage
Cor. Sec. A. N. S.

121 Essex St.
New York May 12, 58

Hon W. H. Seward,
Dear Sir:

I am directed to return to you the thanks of the American Numismatic Society for your kind donation of Books &c.

All Public Documents are carefully preserved in our Archives. We are anxious to obtain a copy of the Pacific Rail-road Survey. Could you obtain a copy for us?

I am, Sir,
Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Servt
Aug. B. Sage
Cor. Sec. A. N. S.

(Copy)

Sage's reference copy of a letter sent to Hon. William H. Seward on behalf of the American Numismatic Society, May 12, 1858.

## [ADDITIONAL NOTES ON SAME MEETING.]

### May 25, 1858.

(Present; where at?) Sage's 121 Essex St.

No minutes recorded excepting that a new member proposed I.L. Kappbel[1] was elected same time of proposition.

### 1858, Thursday, June 10.

In consequence of a severe storm, there was not a quorum present this eve'g and no business was transacted.

### [LETTER.]

121 Essex St.
New York
June 12, 1858

To the
Corr. Sec. A.A.S. [American Antiquarian Society.]
Worcester Mass.

Dear Sir:

Some time since I observed a short paragraph in one of our papers, referring to the "Life of Hull," the mint-master of 1652, which was to be published by your Society.[2]

I desire to know whether this work is published yet, and if so, is it on sale? Enclosed please find a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of the A.N.S.

Very Truly Yours
Aug. B. Sage

### [LETTER.]

121 Essex St.
New York
July 7, 1858

Horace Webster, Esq.
Dear Sir:

Accompanying please find a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of a Society lately organized in this city, having for its object the formation of the Science of Numismatology.

Feeling anxious to complete the series of Society, College, and School medals, as soon as possible, we are desirous of adding thereto those belonging to the Academy.

Feeling assured that you will do everything in your power to advance any science, I remain,

Respfy Yours,
Aug. B. Sage

P.S. Mr. Lovett has the dies of two of the medals, and will furnish them (with your consent) at cost of striking.[3]

### [1858, June 13.]

[Informal meeting held; no minutes kept.]

### Special Meeting, Thursday Eve. June 17th

Pursuant to call a special meeting of the society was held on this eve'g. The President called the meeting to order at 8 o'clock. The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

**—Memorial to Congress—**

It was moved by Mr. Sage that a committee of three by appointed to draw up a memorial to Congress, at its next meeting, protesting against the establishment of a medal department in the U.S. Mint—carried and Messrs. Sage, Foskett and Norton appointed a committee.

**—Honorary Member—**

On motion, Benson J. Lossing, Esq.—was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

Adjourned. Jas. Oliver, Rec. Sec.

### [1858, June 27.]

[Informal meeting held; no minutes kept.]

### July 13th, 1858.

The President took the chair at 8 o'clock. The minutes of the preceding meeting being read and adopted. Mr. Norton nominated Mr. W.S.F. Mayers as a member, which was carried. Mr. Max Wauzman [or Waugman, Waizman, etc., spelling not clear] was also nominated by Mr. Kappel [should be Koppel] and elected a member.

It was moved that the word "the" before "coins" and the words "struck in this country" after medals in article one of the Constitution be stricken out which was laid over to next meeting.

The Corres. Secretary read a communication from Benson J. Lossing Esq. in reference to his election as honorary member.[4]

On motion a committee of three—Viz, Messrs. Norton, Dodge and Sage, were appointed to revise the Constitutions and by-laws.

Adjourned on motion, to Tuesday, Eve., July 27.

### [1858, July 27.]

Adjourned meeting July 27—Mr. Dodge was elected President pro tem. The minutes of preceding meeting were read and adopted. No business being brought before the society, the meeting adjourned early.

### [LETTER.]

Rec'd. July 31, 1858 [notation by Sage][5]

Dear Sir:

N. Adams [North Adams, Massachusetts] July 22

Though a perfect stranger to you yet seeing your name published in the Tribune as an officer of the Numismatic Society in N.Y. City, I take the liberty of sending you the enclosed coin and asking you to examine it and telling me what it is, to send it back as soon as possible.

I know or think rather that it is a coin of the Roman or Plantagenet monarch of England but owing to my little acquaintance with old English money I am unable to tell which one it is.

(It was given me by a gentleman in town who took it in change.)

I have been collecting for the last six years but all the time of the coins of Gloucester and N. Adams and having but few facilities for obtaining coin have but a small collection, 625 specimens in all. I commenced when twelve years old and not being in business I have

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[1] Should be J.C. Koppel.

[2] The reference is to "The Diaries of John Hull, Mint-Master and Treasurer of the Colony of Massachusetts," published in 1857 as part of *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, pp. 109-316.

[3] This letter is significant as the postscript notes that as of that time, the summer of 1858, Lovett would not permit unauthorized use of dies made for a client.

[4] Correspondence between Sage and Lossing is reprinted in Chapter 6.

[5] This letter is interesting on several counts. It illustrates the type of inquiry that the new Society was apt to receive; it reveals that even a collector who acquired hundreds of coins over a period of time had no reference works to consult on American numismatics; it reflects the desire to learn more (via acquiring books); and it is typical in that the correspondent also collected seashells, minerals, insects, and perhaps other things in addition to coins.

been unable to spend but little in that department. I have also collections in Entomology, 700 specimens prepared arranged, in Conchology (about 250 species of shells), in Mineralogy 800 specimens.

Perhaps you would like to know what coins of any interest I have, perhaps not; if not leave out this page & 1/2 the next in your reading this letter.

The cent of every year they were coined in the U.S. 1793-1858 inclusive except 1799 and 1815. The half cents of 1804, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56.

Pine tree sixpence. Dime 1805.

Dime 1824 in which U.S. Mint Repts say none were coined (found in change).

1/2 dime 1795 & 1803.

Washington token— Washington & Independence, Head, 1783
rev. Unity States of America, one cent, 1/100
obv. Washington & Independence, Head, 1783
rev. figure like Britannia United States
Mind your business cent
Two styles of Nova Constellatio cents
Connecticut cent. Mass cent & 1/2 cent
New Jersey cent through Vermont cents, different kinds
Virginia 1/2 cent
Also quite a number of Britannia & brass medals U.S.
George II. 1/2 penny & farthing.
George III. 1/2 penny & farthing.
George III. Penny, 1/2 penny, farthing—10
George IIII. [unclear] farthing.
Wm. IV " " "
Victoria " " " 1/2 farthing.

Three or four coins of Constantine & Const. Elizabeth— 3 pence. Charles II & Wm. & Mary 3 pence

What do a set of what are English model coin cost they were right or 10 years ago and have on them model 1/2 penny & so on.

What work on coinage not very expensive could you recommend me. Should prefer non modern coinage. I have so few ancient coins and for the present shall have a few.

I have asked quite a number of questions for my first attempt in writing to you. Pardon me. If you will only afford me the information as to this English coin and what German state this other coin belongs to you will greatly oblige.

Yours truly,
Chas. D. Sanford
N. Adams, Mass.

### Tuesday Eve'g, August 10th.

In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Mr. Dodge was elected President pro tem.

**—Committee Reports—**

The committee on memorial to Congress, appointed to draft a protest against the establishment of a medal department in the U.S. Mint—having reported that no cause existing for the Society to take action upon—it was moved that all proceedings in relation to the matter be dropped, which was carried, and the committee discharged.

The chairman of Committee on revision of the constitution and By-Laws presented a report, which was laid over to next meeting—

Adjourned. A special meeting was called for Tuesday Eve., Aug. 24th.

## [SEPARATE NOTES FOR SAME MEETING.]

### Regular Meeting

### Tuesday eve., August 10th, 1858

Mr. Dodge, pres. pro tem.

Nothing worthy of mention.

### Special Meeting, August 24

The President in the chair the minutes of the preceding meeting being read and adopted, it was moved by the librarian that the Society do subscribe for a copy of Dr. Dickson's work on American Coins and Tokens, seconded by Mr. Sage and carried.

The Librarian also moved that a copy of Hickcox's Manual be subscribed for—carried.

## [ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR SAME MEETING.]

### 1858, August 24

On motion by Mr. Mayers, Mr. Chas. Endicott of Boston was elected a corresponding member.

Adjourned.

### Tuesday Eve'g, Sept. 14.

In the absence of the regular officers Mr. Dodge was elected President pro tem. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The committee on Library reported that the price of Hickox's manual having been increased, they waited for further instructions before subscribing for it in accordance with the resolution of preceding meeting—the matter was left over for consideration.

The report of the committee on revision of Constitution, etc. was taken up, and the different articles voted on in regular order—articles 1 and 2 were adopted—

Article 3—Mr. Foskett moved to amend by substituting the word "Curator" for "Actuary," which after some discussion was adopted.

Articles 4 and 5 were adopted.

Article 6, after some discussion, the motion fixing the annual dues at four dollars—non resident members one half—was carried.

The remaining articles were approved and the constitution and By-Laws as amended, adopted.

On motion of Mr. Sage, Mr. Henry Bogert was unanimously elected a member of the Society.

It was moved and seconded that a committee of three be appointed to rent a suitable room for the Society—carried. The chairman appointed Messrs. Foskett, Sage and Norton a committee.

On motion of Mr. Norton the evenings of meetings were changed to the first and third Thursdays of every month.

It was moved that the absent members be notified of the important change in the Constitution etc. of the Society, and that they be requested to attend the next meeting. Adopted.

It was moved by Mr. Mayers and carried that the corresponding Sec. be directed to order from Canada, sets of the new coinage of the Colony to the amount of Five Dollars for the members of the society who might wish them.[1]

Adjourned to Thursday Eve., Sept. 23.

### 1858, Thursday Eve., Sept. 23.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 8 o'clock and the minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

It was moved by Mr. Mayers, that a committee of three be appointed to draw up a priced catalogue of American Coins & Tokens, to be published by the Society—not seconded, and motion withdrawn.

The committee on room reported progress.

It was moved by the Librarian that a book be procured in which to catalogue the coins and medals belonging to the Society—adopted. Adjourned to Oct. 7.

### 1858, Thursday Eve'g., Oct. 7th.

There not being a quorum present this evening no business was transacted.

[1] The first Canadian decimal coinage was produced (at the Royal Mint, London) in 1858 and consisted of the denominations of 1 cent, 5 cents, 10 cents, and 20 cents. Specimens with Proof finish were made available to collectors.

## [LETTER.]

Oct. 19, 1858

Dear Sir:

It was with great pleasure that I received a few days since, your note informing me of my election as corresponding member of your association.

I thank the Society for the honour conferred upon me, and will endeavor to aid them in their researches to the best of my ability.

I have lately added to my collection the Washington cent of 1791 (price 6.00) in perfect preservation, a cent of 1793 very good indeed (price $3.00) an Eagle of 1803. Half Eagle 1806.

Silver dollars 1794-1795-1853-1856

Half " 1807-1837-1838 &c. Ten ct. pc. of 1846 which is quite scarce, and the half cent of 1857 all of which are in excellent preservation as good as new. I intend shortly making a visit to a gentleman in Salem, Mass.,[1] who has one of the finest collections in the country should I see anything of interest—I will write you.

Enclosed you will please find two dollars and a half ($2.50) the price of my admission and assessment. Should be glad to hear at any time what progress the society are making, and if in want of any particular coin. I can perhaps aid them in getting it.

I remain

Yours Respectfully

Chas. Endicott

To Aug. B. Sage

121 Essex St.

N.Y.

## Thursday Eve. Oct. 21.

Mr. Henry Bogert was elected chairman pro tem—the minutes of meeting of Oct. 7 were read and adopted.

The corresponding Sec. acknowledged the receipt of one dollar and a half [*sic*] from Mr. Endicott of Boston.

It was moved by Mr. Foskett that a copy of Hickcox's Manual be procured for the Library—not seconded, and withdrawn.

Mr. Sage moved that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. Mayers for causing articles, in relation to the Society, to be published in the public papers—carried. Adjourned.

## 1858, Semi-Annual Meeting, Thursday, Nov. 3d

(Omactl Club rooms)[2]

In the absence of the regular officers Mr. Dodge was called to the chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted. (The meeting was held in the rooms of the "Omactl Club.")[3]

It was then moved and adopted that the revised Constitution and By-Laws be printed, and that a committee of three be appointed for the purpose—the chairman appointed Messrs. Sage, Norton, and Mayers.

On nomination by Mr. Sage, Mr. W.L. Bramhall was unanimously elected a member of the Society.

On motion the members present proceeded to ballot for Officers for the ensuing year, when Mr. Robt. J. Dodge for President and Mr. Henry Bogert for vice president were elected—the following officers were elected—on motion—by acclamation—recording Secretary—Jas. Oliver (reelected), Corresponding Secretary—F.H. Norton, Treasurer, Wm. F.S. Mayers

Secretary—Jas. Oliver (reelected),

Corresponding Secretary—F.H. Norton,

Treasurer—Wm. F.L. Mayers

Librarian—Jas. D. Foskett

Curator—Aug. B. Sage.

## [LETTER attached to minute book.]

New York, Nov. 5th, 1858

Dr. I.H. Gibbs, Dear Sir.

At a meeting of the New York Numismatic Assoc. held on the evening of Thursday Nov. 4th, it was unanimously resolved.

"That the thanks for the Association be conveyed to Dr. I.H. Gibbs, for the able efficient and courteous manner with which he has sustained the office of President of the Ass. during the last six months, and that the Corresp. Secr. be directed to convey the same to him. I have the honor to be

Your most obdt. servt.

Frank H. Norton, Cor. Sec.

On motion by Mr. Sage a vote of thanks were given to Dr. Gibbs, the retired President. [note in margin said Dr. Gibbs resigns]. Adjourned to Friday, November 19, (the regular Thursday falling on Thanksgiving).

## [LETTER.]

Boston, Nov. 9th, 1858

F.H. Norton, Esq.

Dear Sir:

Will you favor me with a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of the American Numismatic Society. Feeling a great interest in everything that relates to the Numismatic branch of Archaeology, I wish to avail myself of every privilege which is afforded by your Society. I have a collection of some 1200 coins and medals,—ancient and modern—and when I have become more conversant with the subject, and find time to classify my collection. I shall be most happy to furnish you with such information as I may derive therefrom.

Yours very truly,

Justin Jones

Editor Saturday Evening Express

2 Water St., Boston

## [LETTER}

Boston, November 11, 1858

F.H. Norton, Esq.

Dear Sir:

I have in my possession,—

a Pine Tree shilling 1652,

a Massachusetts copper 1788

" " half " "

" Connecticut " 1785

which I would place at the disposition of the American Numismatic Society of they are desirous of receiving the same - otherwise, I have another disposition for the same.

Yours truly

David M. Balfour

## [LETTER.]

Boston, November 16

Dear Sir,

Enclosed you will find an United States cent of the link or chain pattern of 1787—a Pine Tree shilling of Massachusetts, 1652.

A Massachusetts copper 1787

" " half "

a Connecticut copper

which, I will do myself the honor to place at the disposal of your institution.

Yours truly,

David M. Balfour

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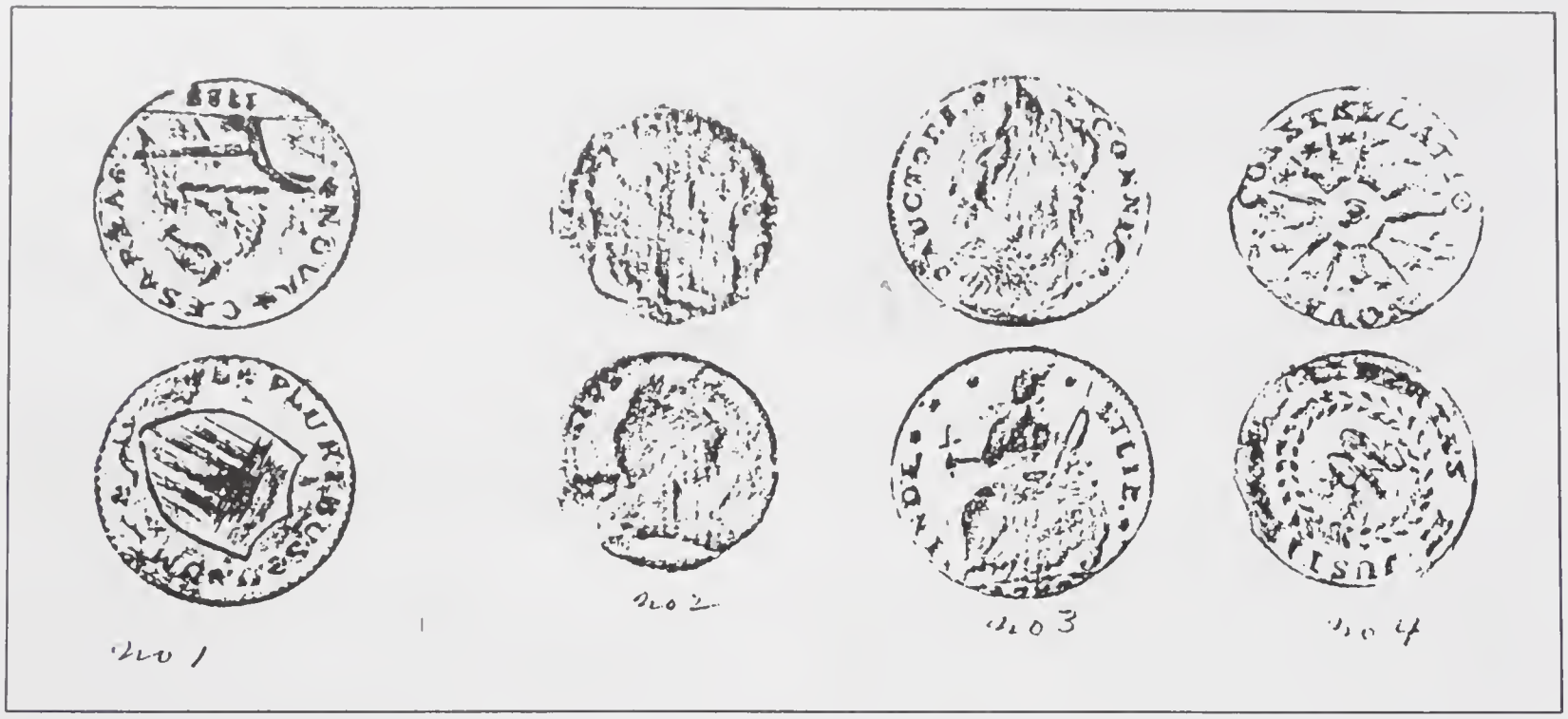
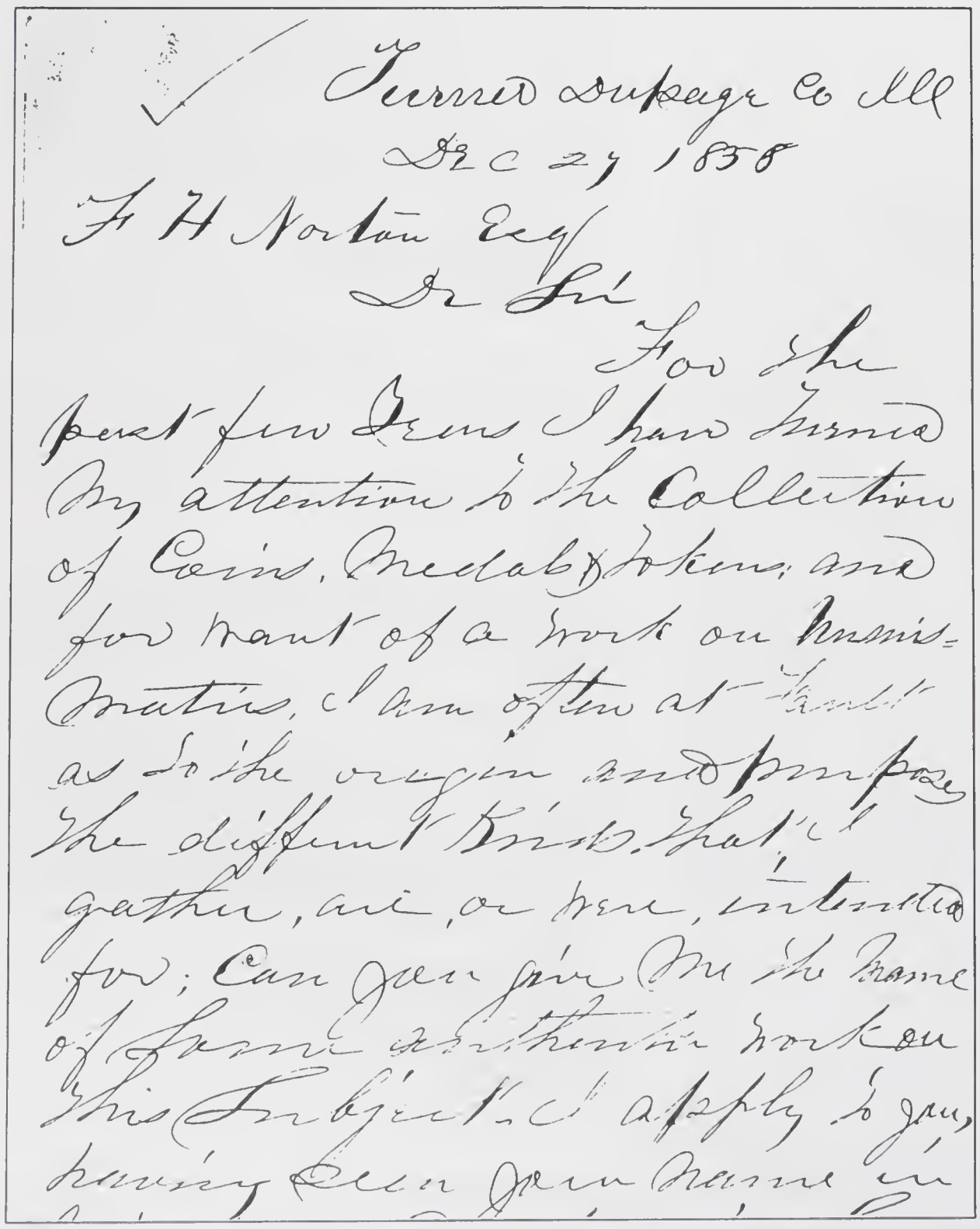
[1] No doubt this was Salem numismatist Matthew A. Stickney.

[2] This parenthetical note was added later in another hand; the spelling should have been Omacatl.

[3] Part of the original minutes; also misspelled.



Turner Dupage Co Ill
Dec 27 1858

F H Norton Esq
Dr Sir

For the past few Years I have turned my attention to the Collection of Coins, Medals & Tokens; and for want of a work on Numismatics, I am often at a loss as to the origin and purpose the different Kinds that I gather, are, or were, intended for; Can you give me the name of some authentic work on this Subject. I apply to you, having seen your name in

Portion of John West's letter to the American Numismatic Society, December 27, 1858, and the pencil rubbings of the coins in his possession.

### Friday Eve., Nov. 19th.

Thursday.[1]

The Vice President [Bogert] took the chair and called the meeting to order at 8 o'clock. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The committee on printing the constitution, as amended, reported having performed the duty, Mr. Sage moved that the report be accepted—seconded and adopted.

The committee on room reported progress.[2]

On proposal by Mr. Sage, Mr. Chesley of Brooklyn, corr.,[3] was unanimously elected a corresponding member.

The corresponding Sec'y read a communication from Mr. Balfour of Boston donating several valuable coins to the Society; on motion a vote of thanks for the donation were unanimously carried. The corres. secy., also reported the receipt of several communications from gentlemen requiring information regarding the Society, and copies of the constitution and by-laws.

A paper, entitled "The Literature of American Numismatics," was then read to the Society by Mr. Mayers, a motion that Mr. Mayers be thanked for his very able and interesting paper was carried unanimously.[4] Adjourned.

### 1858, Thursday Eve., Dec. 2nd.

The meeting was called to order by the President [Dodge] at 8 o'clock and the minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

On nomination by Mr. Norton, Mr. Gabriel N.B. Gale of Albany was unanimously elected a corresponding member.

A communication was read by Mr. Mayers, from Mr. Allen of Boston, stating that although unable to take an active part in the Society, he sympathized with its objects, and enclosed two dollars as a donation. Therefore Mr. Mayers moved that Mr. Allen be elected a corresponding member, which was carried.

The corresponding secy. read a letter from a gentleman in Cincinnati, asking for information concerning a vase in his possession, in which are inserted a number of silver coins.

It was suggested by the chairman that the coins and medals belonging to the society should be catalogued in the order of their reception, which the curator said would be done.

On motion by Mr. Mayers a committee of five, viz Messrs. Mayers, Norton, Foskett, Bramhall, and Hill, were appointed to draw up a catalogue of Numismatic Books. Adjourned.

### [1858, December 10.]

[There may have been an unrecorded meeting of some type on this date. James Muhlenberg Bailey is said to have joined at this time.]

### Thursday Eve., Dec. 16th

There was no meeting held this evening, a quorum not being present.[5]

### [LETTER.]

Turner Dupage Co, Ill.

Dec. 29, 1858

F.H. Norton, Esq.

Dear Sir:

For the first few years I have turned my attention to the Collection of Coins, Medals, Tokens, and for want of a work on Numismatics. I am often at fault as to the origin and purpose. The different kinds that gather are, or were, intended for. Can you give me the name of some authentic work on this subject. I apply to you, having seen your name in print as Corresponding Sec of the American Numismatic Society. I have enclosed facsimiles of several copper coins or tokens I now have. I know they relate to the United States of that is all.

No. 1 is a pretty good impression; the date is 1788. I have those of 1786. They are not so finely executed. I have not [noticed?] the branches crossing underneath the shield. What were they intended for and by whom issued?

No. 2. This is much worn brass on one side the profile bust of George III, on the reverse the arms of England surmounted by a crown, around the margin the word Virginia; date 1773.

No. 3 is a pretty good impression. It reads Auctori Connec; on its reverse inde Etlib 1787; others of 1788 have the word Vermon in place of Connec.

No. 4 describes itself, I have also one of the Mind Your Business cents; I notice a difference in the cents of 1794—one being smaller in circumference and thicker than the other; the head on the thick one bears a resemblance to Washington; the other the Goddess of Liberty, with flowing locks, what was the reason of changing the die in the same year. I should like to obtain a work on American coinage. Can you favor me with answers or instructions to the above. My only apology for rambling to you is I know of no one else to whom to apply.

Yours truly

John West

### [MINUTES OF ADJOURNED MEETING OF DECEMBER 16, 1858, HELD ON JANUARY 6, 1859.]

### Thursday eve., January 6, 1859.[6]

The meeting was called to order by the President at 7 1/2. The minutes of the preceding meeting were then read and adopted.

The committee on room reported having taken the room in which the meeting is held this evening, until the 1st of May, at a monthly rent of 12.50. (No. 44 Bible House, Astor Place.)

The committee on numismatic catalogue reported progress.

On nomination of Mr. Norton—Mr. Mortimer S. Brown was elected a member.

On nomination by Mr. Mayers—the Marquis Lousada—British Consul at Boston was elected a corresponding member.

On nomination by Mr. Bramhall Mr. S. Girard [Gerard] Moses was elected a member.

### [SEPARATE SET OF MINUTES FOR NEW BUSINESS.]

### 1859, January 6th

The Curator tendered his resignation in consequence of engagements that occupied all his attention, on motion the resignation of Mr. Sage was accepted and Mr. W.L. Bramhall was elected his successor.

The Corresponding Sec'y. reported the donation to the Society, of the Catalogue of the N.Y. State Library by Mr. Hickcox,[7] and proposed the following resolutions:—

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[1] "Thursday" added by a later hand. November 19, 1858 fell on a Friday, as stated in the heading of the minutes.

[2] This sentence was at the top of the second page of the meeting of November 19, 1858; the top of the second page bore the erroneous date "1858, Nov. 9th."

[3] "corr" added by a later hand, apparently by someone making notes in the original minute book.

[4] Mayers' paper was subsequently printed in *Norton's Literary Letter* No. 3, thus becoming the first known study to be published on the subject of American numismatic literature.

[5] "a quorum not being present" added by a later hand. The items on the agenda were held over until January 6, 1859 (see subsequent minutes).

[6] This meeting was actually held on January 6, 1858, but in some notations the proceedings are back dated to December 16, 1858, the time that the meeting was originally scheduled, but had to be postponed due to lack of members in attendance.

[7] Catalogue prepared by Philadelphia numismatist Richard W. Davids in 1853; devoted 58 pages to describing coins and medals held by that institution.

"Resolved that the thanks of this Society be tendered to the trustees of the New York State Library for their donation of the catalogue of the Library."

"Resolved, that Mr. J.H. Hickcox, in consideration of his services to the cause of Numismatics, and to the American Numismatic Society, be elected an Honorary Member." the resolutions were adopted.

Mr. Norton moved that a vote of thanks be tendered the "Omacatl Club" for their kindness in allowing this society the use of their room, which was carried.

It was moved by Mr. Norton, seconded, and adopted, that in consideration of the kindness of Mr. Sage in allowing the use of his house to the Society, and also for his care as Curator, he be thanked by this Society.

Mr. Mayers presented a "Pattern Guinea in brass of Geo: III,"[1] as a donation from Mr. Endicott of Boston.

The President then read a paper description of a number of political tokens in his possession.

On motion the meeting adjourned. An informal meeting was appointed for Wednesday Eve., Jan. 12.

## 1859, Jan. 12. Informal Meeting

The meeting was called to order at the usual hour, by the President.

The corresponding secretary reported the receipt of a vase or bowl, in which is inserted a number of silver coins, from a gentleman in Cincinnati—who wishes to be informed as to its history and value. It was moved that a committee of three be appointed to investigate the subject—adopted and Messrs. Norton, Mayers, & Sage appointed.

Mr. Sage suggested that an effort should be made to have this Society incorporated by the Legislature. The Cors. sec. was directed to enquire into the matter.

It was moved and carried that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. Wm. R. Darling, for a donation to the Society.

The following new members were proposed and elected—

By Mr. Bramhall, Mr. Walter S. Weed.

By Mr. Norton, Mr. Isaac J. Greenwood, Jr.

The President read a paper on "Numismatic Terms," after which the meeting adjourned.

## Thursday, Jan'y 20

The President in the chair—the proceedings of the previous meeting, being read, were adopted.

The committee on Library reported progress.

The committee on cup from Cincinnati reported progress.

The following new members were then proposed and elected.

Mr. W.H. Smith of Brooklyn, by Mr. Norton.

Mr. Frank Jaudon, by Mr. Norton.

Mr. O.G. Brady, by Mr. Bramhall.

Mr. James H. Clegg, by Mr. Moses.

The cor. sec. reported the transmission of thanks according to the resolution passed at the previous meeting, and also reported having addressed the director of the Mint in relation to Proofs, &c.

It was moved and seconded that a copy of Humphrey's Coin Collectors Manual and Anthon's Classical Dictionary be purchased for the library—motion lost—a motion to purchase Humphrey's manual was adopted.

A vote of thanks were then passed for a donation of books. Adjourned.

## Thursday, Jan. 27 (Informal)

Mr. Mayers was elected chairman pro tem—in the absence of the regular officers.

The minutes of the previous meeting being adopted—the chairman of the committee on cup read a report, which was laid over to regular meeting.[2]

The committee on library reported progress.

The law hearing on the incorporation of this Society was read by the cor. sec., and laid over for consideration.

A letter was read from Mr. Hickcox accepting an honorary membership and donating a copy of his Manual to the Society.

A communication from the Mint, of a favorable nature—in relation to Proofs for the cabinet of the Society, was also read.

The cor. sec. also read a letter from Mr. Josiah Brewer, offering the services of his son now in Europe, in obtaining coins for this Society.

Mr. Mayers, presented several coins as donations from Mr. Lousada and Mr. Endicott of Boston

Mr. J.R.[3] Glover of Brooklyn, was then proposed by Mr. Sage, and elected a corresponding member. Adjourned.

## 1859, Thursday, February 3

Mr. Mayers was elected chairman pro tem. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and approved.

The report of the committee on cup was again read and laid on table.

The report of committee on incorporation was read and laid over.

The following books were then presented as a donation to the Library—"Monograph of the Dollar," (Foskett), Ackerman's Introduction to the Study of Coins," (Oliver), Addison, Vol. 3 containing A Discourse on Medals (Groh), and the finding of Hickcox's Manual (Bramhall).[4]

A "Supplement to the New York Gazette," containing the news of the repeal of the "Stamp Act" in 1766, was presented by the Recording Secretary on behalf of Mr. Victor Lanuza.

The following resolutions were moved by the Librarian and adopted,

"Resolved, that no book coin or other property of the Numismatic Society, shall be taken from the rooms of the Society, nor leave the custody of its proper officer without a majority vote of the members present at a regular meeting."

"Resolved, that every book coin or other article borrowed, shall be registered as such with the name of its borrower by the officer in charge of the same, or in his absence, by the presiding officer of the evening."

"Resolved, that in no case shall any article borrowed from the Society, be retained for a longer period than two weeks by the borrower."

It was moved that Mr. Bramhall be empowered to take charge of Hickcox's Manual for the purpose of binding, which was carried. Adjourned.

## 1859, Thursday, Feb. 10 (Informal)

The President in the chair.

The Special Committee on catalogue of numismatic books reported progress.

The report of the committee on ancient cup was taken from the table and accepted and ordered to be printed. The committee were discharged with thanks.

A letter from Mr. Greenough of Boston, in reference to membership was read by Mr. Mayers.

The corresponding secretary read a letter from a gentleman in Cincinnati inquiring concerning the transactions of the Society, whether printed, &c.

The Librarian moved that the Historical Magazine be subscribed for. Carried.

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[1] "in brass" added by a later hand. The "pattern" was probably an early counterfeit.

[2] "to regular meeting" added by a later hand.

[3] J. "W" in original minutes crossed out by a later hand, and "R" written above it. The reference is to John R. Glover. A separate set of minute notes says "R. Glover."

[4] Donor names given here in parentheses (*e.g.*, Bramhall) were added in the margin by a later hand.

It was moved and carried that a medal in the possession of Mr. Jaudon be referred to the committee on foreign coins for a description.

It was moved by Mr. Sage that a committee of three he appointed to draft a Certificate of Membership, and an amendment was added to entrust the same committee with the duty of drawing a plan for a seal. The motion and amendment were adopted, and the following committee named—Messrs. Mayers, Oliver & Sage.[1]

On motion the report of the committee on Incorporation was taken from the table and accepted.

Several donations of coins were handed to the curator. Adjourned.

### 1859, Thursday, Feb. 17th

The meeting was called to order by the President at 7½. The minutes of last meeting were read and adopted.

The committee on foreign coins, reported on medal of Mr. Jaudon. On motion the report was accepted.

The Library committee reported the purchase of Humphreys Manual.

The committee on Numismatic Catalogue reported progress.

The committee on Certificate and Seal reported progress.

The committee on rules of order gave in a report, and on motion that each article be voted on separately, articles I to VI were adopted, article VII was rejected.

### [ANOTHER SET OF MINUTES OF THE SAME MEETING.]

### Meeting 23. — Feb. 17, 1859, Thurs.

President in chair.

The various Com. reported to

Articles I to VI were adopted.

Treasurer's resignation, in consequence of his approaching departure for Europe, Mr. Mayers resignation accepted.

New Treasurer, elected, Mr. Frank H. Jaudon, vice.

Mr. Mayers nominated by Norton was unanimously elected an Honorary member. Adjourned.

### [1859, February 24.]

The President in chair

Committee reports accepted, motion carried, a letter read from Mr. Hall of [not clear] ville, N.Y.

[Only one set of minutes has been found for this meeting; this one did not mention the fact that Rev. Joseph B. Felt was given an honorary membership in the Society.]

### 1859, March 10, Thursday (Informal)

The President took the chair at the usual hour.

On motion Mr. Jaudon was appointed to fill the place on special committee on certificate, vacant by the absence of Mr. Mayers.

On nomination by the Secretary, Mr. Chas. H. Morse, Cambridgeport, Mass. was elected a corresponding member.[2]

The committee on Seal and Certificate having reported progress—the meeting was adjourned.

### 1859, March 17, Thursday

In the absence of the President and Vice President—Mr. Foskett was appointed chairman, pro tem.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The committee on seal and certificate reported progress.

On proposal by the secretary Mr. Wm. G. Stevenson was elected a member of the Society.

The Curator read a report of the description and number of coins and medals in the cabinet of the Society.

Adjourned.

### 1859, March 24, Thursday (Extra)

Mr. Sage was elected chairman pro tem.

The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and adopted, the chairman announced the donation to the Society of a copy of the "American Numismatical Manual," by the author, Dr. Dickeson.

The Special Committee on Seal etc. reported progress.

Mr. Bramhall moved the following resolution—whereas—The question as to the coinage of the American cent in the year 1815, remains a matter of doubt and dispute, therefore—Resolved that the Committee on American Coins, be and is hereby instructed to investigate and report regarding the same—which was carried.[3]

On motion Dr. Dickeson, author of the "American Numismatical Manual," was unanimously elected an Honorary Member.

Mr. Bramhall gave notice of a motion to amend the by-laws.

Donations were then presented by the following members—Messrs. Sage, 4 tokens; Groh, 1 coin; Oliver, 1 medal; Bramhall, a cent of 1819; Brown, 1 coin; Stephenson, 1 coin.

The meeting then adjourned.

### 1859, March 31, Thursday (Informal)

The President called the meeting to order at 8 o'clock.

The minutes of the preceding meetings were read and adopted.

On proposal by Mr. Jaudon, Dr. Mark W. Collet of Philadelphia was elected a corresponding member.

On proposal by Mr. Sage, Mr. Edward S. Cummings was elected a member.

Mr. Williams was proposed by Mr. Norton and elected a member.

Mr. Lewis N. Carnes was proposed by Mr. Jaudon and elected a member.

The President then proposed Mr. J. Lorimer Graham, Jr. as a life member, which was carried.

A donation of a collection of 49 Continental bills was presented by the corresponding secretary, from Henry Stevens, Esq., Vermont.

A motion that Mr. Stevens be made an honorary member of the Society was carried unanimously.

A donation of 13 trade and political tokens were presented by Mr.

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[1] It is believed that Frank Jaudon was also named to this committee.

[2] Another notation says "by whom" re: the nominator of Morse; perhaps the person making the nomination was someone not recorded, and the "on nomination by the secretary" was added later to fill the gap.

[3] Presumably, Bramhall had read, but had not agreed with Dickeson's comment on p. 211 of his newly-published work: "Cent. 1815. In this year, we are satisfied that there was no coinage of either cents or half cents, or even a pattern piece gotten up for either. Most numismatologists and others concur in this opinion, though a few contend that pattern pieces were struck off at the Mint, and urge as a reason for their not being coined in volume and circulated, the destruction of the Mint by fire in this year. It will be found, by referring to the newspapers of that time, that the fire did not occur till January 1816, and that it then only destroyed a portion of the shed adjoining the mint-house, in which the rolling was done. The true reason for the non-coinage was, we believe, the want of copper, occasioned by the European agents not sending it forward in time for use. A few amateur collectors, however, boast of genuine specimens, and cite tests and proofs; but if the coins could tell their own story, they would not impute their origin to the United States Mint. Those *we* have examined, bearing the date of this year, are clearly alterations of the cent of 1813, rendered scarce, as we have heretofore remarked, by this very operation." On p. 210, Dickeson had commented concerning *1813* cents: "So many of the best of this emission have been altered to 1815, that it is difficult to obtain good specimens."

Cummings, and on motion a vote of thanks were given Mr. Cummings for his donation.

The chairman presented on behalf of Mr. Mayers, a copy of Bushnell's American Tokens.

A set of the new Canadian coinage—a coin of Mexico and a three-cent piece of 1855 were also presented on behalf of Mr. Mayers by the Cor. Secretary.

The following donations were also presented—78 Canadian tokens by Mr. Sage, 17 Canadian tokens by Mr. Groh, and three 3rd Avenue Railroad[1] tokens by Mr. Jaudon.

Notice of a motion to alter article IV of the By-Laws, by substituting "ten" for "five," and the additional words—"and only by consent of three fourths of the members present at the meeting on the first Thursday of the month," was laid on the table by Mr. Sage, seconded by Mr. Foskett.

The meeting then adjourned.

## 1859, April 7, Thursday

Mr. Norton was elected chairman pro tem. The meeting was called to order at 8 o'clock, and the minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

### Seal Certificate

The special committee on Seal and Certificate reported progress.

### Communication

A letter from Mr. Champlin of New London describing a number of American coins for sale by him, was read by Mr. Foskett and referred to the committee on American coins.

### Communication

The corresponding secretary read a letter from the Rev. Joseph B. Felt accepting an Honorary Membership.

### Donation

Chickerings chart of prize Medals was presented by Mr. Cummings, and a vote of thanks given therefore.

This Society being about to apply for an act of incorporation, and it being necessary that the officers or trustees be of legal age—the curator, being a minor, gave in his resignation, nominating Mr. Edward Groh as his successor. It was moved that the resignation of Mr. Bramhall be accepted, and that a vote of thanks be given him for his care while curator—carried. Mr. Groh was then unanimously elected curator.

A meeting of the council of Management was called for Tuesday Eve next, and the meeting adjourned.

## [1859, April 12.]

The council of management met on Tuesday, April 12, to perfect arrangements for the incorporation of the Society. the necessary certificate was drawn up and signed, to be acted upon immediately.

## 1859, April 14, Thursday (Informal)

Mr. Norton was elected, chairman pro tem.

Mr. Theodosius Pratt was proposed by Mr. Foskett and elected a new member.

The special committee on numismatic catalogue reported, and handed in results.

A bronze medal of St. John's College was presented by the Cor. Sec. as a donation from Mr. R.J. Tellier. On motion the cor. sec. was directed to return the thanks of the Society to Mr. Tellier, for his donation.

Adjourned.

## 1859, April 21, Thursday.

Mr. Jaudon was elected chairman pro tem. The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

Mr. Norton stated that inquiries had been made to him, in reference to the Society's retaining the room at present occupied by it, and moved that the room be given up.—Carried.

It was moved that a committee be appointed to obtain a suitable room for the use of the Society—adopted—and Messrs. Norton, Cummings, Foskett and Oliver appointed by the chair.

Several letters were read by the Cor. Sec. from corresponding members.

It was moved that every member be requested to contribute coins, and that Proofs of this year's U.S. coinage be obtained, to present to the London Numismatic Society—Carried.

Adjourned.

## 1859, April 28, Thursday (Informal)

The President in the chair.

On proposal by Mr. Bramhall, Mr. Oliver J. Stuart was elected a member of the Society.

It was moved by Mr. Jaudon that a book be procured in which to enter the names of members in order of election—carried.

A bronze medal, as a donation from the Syracuse Mechanics Association was presented by the Cor. Secretary, and a vote of thanks passed for said donation.

Adjourned.

## 1859, May 12, Thursday (Special)

This meeting was held at Mr. Sage's 24 Division St. Mr. Jaudon was elected chairman pro tem and called the meeting to order at 8 o'clock.

The chairman stated that he had seen one of the Directors of the Cooper Institute in reference to a room for the Society, who said that if a petition were sent to the board of Directors it was probable a room would be given for the use of the Society, in the course of two months.

On proposal by Mr. Jaudon, Mr. A.H. Satterlee was elected a member of the Society.

Adjourned.

## 1859, May 19, Thursday

The meeting was held at 24 Division St.[2] Mr. Jas. Foskett was appointed chairman pro tem.

It was moved that a committee of three be appointed to collect from the members, the coins to be presented to the Numismatic Society in London—Carried, and Messrs. Jaudon, Sage, & Oliver appointed.

A motion that a committee be appointed to look up a temporary room was carried, and Messrs. Jaudon, Oliver, & Brown, appointed a committee.

A special meeting was called for Tuesday, Eve., May 24.

Adjourned.

## 1859, May 24, Tuesday. Special Meeting

Mr. Jaudon was appointed chairman pro tem. A petition to the Board of Directors of the Cooper Institute was drawn up, and the meeting adjourned.

## Thursday, June 9 (Informal)

The Society met at 839 Broadway. Mr. Norton was elected chairman, pro tem. The minutes of the preceding meetings were read and adopted.

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[1] The Third Avenue Railroad was granted a franchise by the Common Council of the City of New York on December 31, 1832. By 1854 the line had 40 small "city cars" and traveled a route from the corner of Broadway and Park Row, through Park Row, Chatham Street, Bowery, and Third Avenue, to 61st Street.

[2] Another version of the minutes states that this meeting was held at the "house of A.B. Sage" at 24 Division Street, indicating that Sage may have lived there at the time this was his office address.

The Cor. Sec. presented a bronze medal, as a donation from the Ohio State Board of Agriculture, and also a number of coins from Mr. I.K.H. Wilcox, Richmond-Staten Island, and moved that Mr. Wilcox be elected a member for two years without dues, which was carried.

Mr. Cummings then presented several fine tokens and the meeting adjourned.

### 1859, June 14. Tuesday, Special Meeting

Mr. Norton was elected chairman pro tem. (The meeting was held in the room of the Geographical Society, Clinton Hall.)

It was moved that when this meeting adjourns, it be adjourned to the third Thursday in September which was carried.

It was moved and adopted that the matter of obtaining a room in the Cooper Institute be referred to Mr. Norton with full powers.

On motion the Secretary was directed to notify the absent members to contribute coins to be sent as a donation to the London Numismatic Society.

The Cor. Secretary read a letter from Dr. Dickeson, accepting an honorary membership.

It was moved and adopted that the officers of the Society be directed to draw up reports to be read at the next meeting in September.

A donation of two volumes to the Library was presented by Mr. Foskett, of which a vote of thanks were passed.

Mr. Bramhall also presented a half dollar of 1794 as a donation from him to the cabinet of the Society, a vote of thanks were given for the donation.

Adjourned to Sept. 15.

### [1859, July 28.]

[Apparently, the Society had an informal meeting on this date. Extant records indicate that David T. Valentine, well-known publisher of New York City annual guides, was elected to honorary membership on this date.]

### 1859, Oct. 13, Thursday, (Informal)

The President in the chair—minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

The treasurer read the following report—

| | |
|---|---|
| Cr. Cash from W.S.F. Mayers: | 16.75 |
| Initiation fees: | 4.00 |
| Semi-an. dues: | 13.00 |
| Life membership: | 20.00 |
| | 53.75 |
| Dr. Sundry Expenses: | 24.75 |
| Library a/c: | 3.15 |
| Proofs of 1859: | 2.02 |
| | 29.92 |
| Balance on hand: | 23.83 |
| Initiation fees due: | 8.00 |
| Semi-annual dues: | 9.00 |
| | 39.00-56.00 |
| | 79.83 |

Some discussion ensued in reference to the proposed admission of the Society into the Society of Arts—which was laid over to next meeting.

The cor. sec. read letters from the Secretary of the Cooper Union, and announced the offer of that body, and the temporary gift of a room in the Cooper Institute.[1]

The Pres. gave a verbal digest of a late letter from Hon. Mem. W.S.F. Mayers, and the meeting was then adjourned.

### 1859, Oct. 20, Thursday (Stated)

The President took the chair at 8 o'clock, and the minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted. Meeting held in the office of the Cooper Institute.[2]

It was moved that a committee be appointed to draft resolutions to the Cooper Union, in reference to the room given this Society, which was carried and Messrs. Norton & Oliver appointed.

The Cor. Sec. read a letter from the Sec. of the Worcester Co. Mechanics Association, accompanied by an electrotype copy of the seal, and also the bronze medal of the Association as a donation.

It was moved and adopted that the cor. sec. return a suitable acknowledgment for the above donation.

A donation of one Greek and three Roman coins was presented by Mr. Greenwood.

A donation of five coins and nine medals was presented by Mr. Sage.

Dr. Mark W. Collet of Philadelphia—a corresponding member of this Society—was introduced by Mr. Jaudon.

Dr. Collet, after showing the importance of an accurate standard of measurement for coins and medals—presented a scale which has been adopted by the Philadelphia Numismatic Society—of which he is a member—and expressed a desire that it might also be adopted by this Society.

After some remarks by several of the members, a motion that a committee be appointed to report on the merits of the Doctors scale and that proposed by Mr. Dodge—was carried and Messrs. Jaudon, Norton, & Sage appointed.

A motion that Mr. G.H. Lovett be elected an Honorary Member was lost.[3]

At the request of Mr. Norton, Dr. Collet gave a very interesting history of the Num. Soc. of Philadelphia.

It was moved and carried that a fine of 10 cents be imposed on members not attending the regular meetings of the Society.

A motion that the sec. be requested to give notice of the above resolution to all the members when notifying them of meetings was adopted—and the meeting adjourned.

Note—A lapse in the meetings of the Society now occurs, caused mainly, by the difficulty of obtaining a room, the one offered to the Society by the Cooper Ins. not being suitable. The political troubles and the rebellion, tended also to disturb the operations of the Society, so much so that several attempts to hold meetings, failed, a quorum could not be assembled, and it was not until the time recorded in the following pages, that the Society was revived under a new title.

Jas. Oliver.

Rec. Sec'y.

### [SEPARATE NOTES; SAME MEETING.]

### Thurs. Oct. 20, 1859, Stated (39)

President in chair. In the office of Cooper Institute.

Moved and carried that a com. be appointed to draft Resolution, to the Cooper Union, for the room granted in the use of the Soc.—North & Oliver, the Com.

Donations rec. from Worcester Co. Mechanics Association, a bronze medal of the Society.

Do. an electrotype copy of their seal, all accompanied by a letter for the Soc.

Mr. Greenwood, a Greek coin.

Mr. Sage, 5 coins and 9 medals.

Geo. H. Lovett, was proposed for Honorary Membership. The motion lost.

Fine of 10 cents. Was moved and carried that a fine of 10 cents be imposed on all members not attending the Regular meeting. The Sec. ordered to give notice of above resolution to all the members.

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[1] Another version of the minutes reads: "Cor. Sec. read letters for the Sec. of the 'Cooper Institute' announcing the offer of that body of the temporary gift of a room in the Cooper Institute."

[2] This last sentence added by a later hand.

[3] The nomination is an indication of engraver Lovett's importance to one or more members of the Society; by that time he had engraved dies and struck many medals for Sage.

Mark W. Collet, a Cor. Mem. from Phila., addressed a few remarks given a very interesting history of the Phil. Num. Soc.—he also shared the importance of an accurate standard of measures for coins and medals & presented a scale adopted by the Phil. Soc., that this Soc. would also adopt it. A Com. was appointed to consider the adoption of said scale of Jaudon, Norton & Sage.

Adjourned.

## ROSTER OF AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY MEMBERS 1858-1859

Listed alphabetically. In the numerous instances in which individuals have been described earlier in the present text, cross-references are given.

This roster has been compiled from various sources including 1858-1859 ANS documents and later *Proceedings*. In instances in which the *Proceedings* were found to be incomplete or with wrong dates, original documents from 1858-1859 took precedence. This is the most comprehensive roster ever published of early Society members.

Selected New York City listings from Trow's (alphabetical by surname) and Wilson's (in categories by occupation; a separate volume lists co-partnerships) directories of merchants and tradesmen are given from the 1858-1859 period; there is always the possibility that some of the entries may represent similarly-named people other than those affiliated with the American Numismatic Society. Moreover, it was not unusual for directories to omit listings or to have outdated entries. Further, minors living with their parents were not listed, thus accounting for the absence of information for certain youthful members of the Society. Still further, those not engaged in trades and professions are often omitted. A quick perusal of directory listings reveals that many Society members moved frequently within New York City.

**Allen, [Mr.]** • Joined the Society on December 2, 1858 • from Boston; elected as a corresponding member).

**Atkinson, Asher D., M.D.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In the 1857 directory he is listed as a druggist with an office at 230 Greenwich Street, residence at 528 Hudson Street. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 230 Greenwich Street. • In 1858 his directory listing is 528 Hudson Street. • In 1859 his directory listing is as a druggist at 230 Greenwich Street; residence at 155 Adams Street, Brooklyn, NY. • In 1860 he is listed as a druggist at 230 Greenwich Street; residence at 97 Concord Street, Brooklyn. • As Atkinson is not noticed at length elsewhere in the present text, notes are given here: Born in Philadelphia, PA, September 30, 1821, the son of a physician, Asher D. Atkinson was an active numismatist by the 1850s. After early schooling in Philadelphia and New Jersey, he moved with his family to New York City where he studied medicine. He never practiced his profession, but engaged in various business activities, achieving great success in the oil business circa 1863. His collection of large cents was acquired by the Mint Cabinet after having passed through several interim owners. Atkinson and Thomas Dunn English, both early members of the Society, were cousins and had attended the Friends' Academy in Burlington, NJ, together. On April 6, 1908, at a ceremony held for the opening of the American Numismatic Society building, this being the 50th anniversary date of the founding of the Society, a letter was read from him; he was the only living founder of the group. Atkinson died on June 26, 1909.

**Bailey, James Muhlenberg.** • He is said to have joined the American Numismatic Society on December 10, 1858, but no meeting minutes of that date have been seen by the author. From March 25, 1869 to March 24, 1870 served as the Society's recording secretary. On January 15, 1884, he became a life member of the Society. Later accounts sometimes list his membership as dating from 1884, forgetting his earlier tenure. He was very active as a bidder on the auction scene in the early days, including in Sage's Foskett and Whitmore sales, and was a buyer at W. Elliot Woodward's 1864 McCoy sale among many auction events.

**Bogert, Henry.** • Joined the Society on September 14, 1858. Among the five Henry Bogert listings in Trow's 1858 directory for New York are these: Henry Bogert, accountant, lived at 96 West 26th Street; Henry C. Bogert, clerk, lived at 202 West 27th Street. • The 1858 directory lists Henry Bogert, clerk, living at 96 West 26th Street. • In 1859 his directory listing is the same. • Bogert is noticed at length in Chapter 14 and was also a subject in Sage's Numismatic Gallery (Chapter 11).

**Boughton, Alfred.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. At that time he gave his address as 48 First Street.

**Brady, Oliver G.** • Joined the Society on January 20, 1859. In 1857, Oliver G. Brady, a chaser (an embosser or decorator of metal items), plied his trade at 185 Mercer Street and lived at 19 Barrow Street. • In 1858 his directory listing is as a chaser at 625 Hudson Street, residing at 167 West 16th Street. • In 1859 and 1860 his directory listing is as a chaser at 625 Hudson Street, residing at 55 Bethune Street.

**Bramhall, William Leggett.** • Joined the Society on November 3, 1858. Lived in Manhattan with his family. He was in the dry goods business. • Bramhall is noticed at length in Chapter 7.

**Brown, Mortimer S.** • Joined the Society on December 16, 1858 [officially; but the action took place on January 6, 1859]. • The 1860 directory lists Mortimer S. Brown as a baker at 27 Third Avenue, residing at 172 Ninth Street.

**Carnes, Lewis N.** • Joined the Society on March 31, 1859. • The 1860 directory lists him as an importer at 20 Pratt Street; residence at 20 West 21st Street.

**Chesley, William H.** • Joined the Society on November 19, 1858 (of Brooklyn; elected as a corresponding member; at the time Brooklyn was not part of New York City, was not connected by bridges, and required a ferry trip).[1] • Chesley is noticed at length in Chapter 11.

**Clegg, James H.** • Joined the Society on January 20, 1859. The 1857 directory lists two men under this name: a brushmaker who resided at 73 Washington Street; and a wire worker who lived at 164 East 27th Street. • In 1858, James Clegg, smith, is listed as residing at 90 Broome Street. • In 1859 his directory listing is James Clegg, wire-drawer, residing at 145 East 24th Street.

**Collet, Mark W., M.D.** • Joined the Society on March 31, 1859 (of Philadelphia; elected as a corresponding member). • Collet is mentioned earlier in Chapter 4 in connection with the numismatic scene in Philadelphia.

**Cory, Edwin F.** • Joined the Society on May 11, 1858.

**Cummings, Edward S.** • Joined the Society on March 31, 1859, but did not play an important part in the group's activities. • In 1857, Edward S. Cummings is listed as a musician at 196 West 20th Street. • In 1858 his directory listing is as a musician at 44 West 23rd Street. • In 1859 his directory listing is as a musician at 83 West 22nd Street.

**Dickeson, Montroville Wilson, M.D.** • Joined the Society on March 24, 1859 (elected as an honorary member). Lived in Philadelphia. • Dickeson is noticed at length in Chapter 15.

**Dodge, Robert J.** • Joined the Society on May 11, 1858. In 1857 Dodge is listed as a surveyor residing at 137 East 13th Street. • In 1858 his directory listing is the same. • In 1859 his directory listing is as a surveyor at 63 East 14 Street; he lived in New Jersey. • In 1860 he is listed as surveyor at 923 Broadway; no residence given. • Dodge is noticed at length in Chapter 11.

**Endicott, Charles.** • Joined the Society on August 24, 1858 (from Boston; elected as a corresponding member, the first out-of-state member).[2]

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[1] In certain later ANS records his membership is given erroneously as November 9, 1858.

[2] By 1883 he and Charles H. Morse were the only living corresponding members who had joined in the 1858-1859 period. By that time Endicott was located in Detroit, MI.

**English, Thomas Dunn, M.D., LL.D.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, his mailing address was Houston Street, but he is thought to have lived in New Jersey. • English is noticed at length in Chapter 6.

**Felt, Joseph B., Rev.** • Named to honorary membership in the Society on February 24, 1859, accepted by April 7, 1859. • Felt and his 1839 book on Massachusetts currency are noticed in Chapter 1.

**Fiske, Daniel W.** • Joined the Society on May 11, 1858.[1] In 1857 he is listed as an assistant librarian at 34 Lafayette Place (the Astor Library). • In 1858 his business address is the same; his home is listed as 150 East 14th Street. • In 1860 he is listed as residing at 110 East 14th Street. • Fiske is noticed at length in Chapter 3.

**Foskett, James D.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 200 South Street. • In 1860 he is listed as a dealer in oysters at 104 3rd Avenue; residence at 116 Stanton Street. • Foskett is noticed at length in Chapter 15.

**Gale, Gabriel N.B.** • Joined the Society on December 2, 1858 (from Albany; elected as a corresponding member).

**Gibbs, Isaac Hand, M.D.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. In 1857 he is listed as a druggist at 206 Delancey Street. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 215 Delancey Street. • In 1859 and 1860 his directory listing is as a druggist at 206 Delancey Street.

**Glover, John R.** • Joined the Society on January 27, 1859, as a corresponding member. Lived in Brooklyn.

**Graham, J. Lorimer, Jr.** • Joined the Society on March 31, 1859 (elected as a life member, the first in the life member category). In 1857 he is listed as a banker at 64 Cedar Street, residing at 39 Waverley Place (his father, James, Sr., lived at 73 Waverley Place). • In 1858 his business address is the same; both he and his father are now listed as living at 21 Washington Square. • In 1859 his directory listing is as a banker, no business address given; he lived at 4 Washington Square (his father lived at 21 Washington Square). • Graham is noticed at length in Appendix I.

**Greenwood, Isaac John, Jr., A.M.** • Joined the Society on January 12, 1859. • In 1859 his directory listing is as a druggist; he lived at 142 West 14th Street (where Isaac, Sr., also lived). • In 1860 he is listed similarly, but his occupation is given as a chemist (another term for druggist).

**Groh, Edward.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858.[2] In 1857 he seems to have lived at 30 Rose Street in the home of John Groh, maker surgical instruments. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 30 Rose Street. • In 1858 the directory listing is the same as 1857. • In 1859 the directory listing is similar, but the trade of John Groh is listed as "tools." • Groh is noticed at length in Chapter 6.

**Hart, Henry O.** • One of five signatories to the original letter inviting interested collectors to attend a March 15, 1858, meeting which eventually led to the founding of the Society. However, there is no record that he actually became a Society member, although his absence from the membership roll seems unlikely. • In the 1859 directory Henry O. Hart is listed as a broker at 168 Chatham Street; residence 127 West Street.

**Hatch, Almond L.** • Joined the Society on May 11, 1858. In 1857, Almond L. Hatch is listed as an accountant residing at 58 North Moore Street. • In 1858 his directory listing is the same.

**Hickcox, John Howard.** • Joined the Society on January 6, 1859 (elected as an honorary member). Lived in Albany, NY. • Hickcox is noticed at length in Chapter 2.

**Hill, Ezra.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 248½ Broadway. • In 1860 he is listed as a dealer in coins at 6 Bleecker Street; residence at 248½ Bowery [*sic*]. • Hill is noticed at length in Chapter 3.

**Jaudon, Frank H.** • Joined the Society on January 20, 1859. In 1857 he is listed as a broker at 54 Wall Street with a residence at Hellgate (later the district was called Hell's Gate). • In 1858 his directory listing is the same. • In 1859 his directory listing is as a broker at 17 William Street; residence at 65 East 30th Street. • In 1860 he is listed as a broker at 17 William Street; residence at 117 East 30th Street. • Jaudon is noticed at length in Chapter 11.

**Koppel, Joseph C.** • Joined the Society on May 25, 1858. • In 1859 and 1860 he is listed as a dealer in cigars at 524 Grand Street. • In 1860 he is listed individually and also as J.C. Koppel & Brother, segars, 524 Grand Street.

**Lawrence, Theophilus W.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 32 Fleet Street, Brooklyn. Was a bookseller.

**Lossing, Benson J.** • Joined the Society on June 17, 1858 (elected as an honorary member, the first such in this membership category). Lived in Dover, NY. • Lossing is noticed at length in Chapter 6.

**Lousada, The Marquis.** • Joined the Society as a corresponding member on December 16, 1858 [officially; but the action took place on January 6, 1859].

**Melber, Jacob J.** • In some but not all ANS accounts as a founding member, but not a personal signatory of the roster of early members; erroneously listed in one later account as a Society founder under the name of Jacob J. *Miller*). Later forgotten by ANS historians. • In 1857 Jacob J. Melber is listed as a tailor at 439½ Pearl Street. • In 1858 John J. Melber is listed as a grocer at 40 Grand Street, residing at 46 Grand Street. Julius J. Melber is listed as a dealer in segars at Bowery, corner of Chestnut Street. There is no listing for Jacob. • In 1859 Jacob Melber is listed as a grocer at 28 Grand Street. • In 1860 he is listed as a grocer at 23 Thompson Street.

**Moorby, [Mr.].** • Proposed for membership by Henry Whitmore on April 20, 1858; disposition of proposal not known, but he is not listed in subsequent meeting minutes. • In 1857 the only Moorby listed in the directory is Edwin B. Moorby & Co., dealers in stoves, 137 Eighth Avenue. • In 1858 the only person with this surname listed is Edwin B. Moorby, clerk, living at 834 Greenwich Street.

**Morgan, William H.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 13 Bank Street.

**Morse, Charles H.** • Joined the Society on March 10, 1859 (of Cambridgeport, MA; elected as a corresponding member).[3] • His name appeared on the covers of several auction sale catalogues published in Boston and New York in 1860.

**Moses, S. Girard.**[4] • Joined the Society on January 6, 1859. Lived in Philadelphia.

**Norton, Frank H.** • Joined the Society on May 11, 1858. • In 1857 he is listed as an assistant librarian at 34 Lafayette Place (Astor Library). • In 1858 his business address is the same; his residence is listed as 118 4th Street. • Norton is noticed at length in Chapter 6.

**Oliver, James.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he gave his address as 396 Broadway. • In 1857 he is listed as a picture-liner at 396 Broadway. • In 1858 his directory listing is the same. • In 1859 and 1860 his business is given as a "liner," and his home address as 94 Grand Street. • On October 27, 1890, Oliver died in New York City. Coins from his collection were auctioned in 1868 (Bangs, Merwin & Co.), 1892 (New York Stamp & Coin Co.), and 1893 (same cataloguer).

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[1] Daniel W. Fiske was forgotten in certain later ANS accounts and seems to have been listed for the first time (1892 history) simply as "Fiske," with first name not known, then dropped.

[2] Listed in *Proceedings, 1886-1892*, as having joined on February 4, 1864 (in actuality, a *re*-joining date; in any event, the rejoining date should have been listed as February *5*, 1864).

[3] By 1883 he and Charles Endicott were the only living corresponding members who had joined in the 1858-1859 period. By that time Morse was located in Washington, DC.

[4] Girard in ANS records; generally spelled as Gerard elsewhere.

**Pratt, Theodosius.** • Joined the Society on April 14, 1859.

**Sage, Augustus B.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he lived with his mother and siblings at 121 Essex Street (for directory listings of Sage see Appendix VII).

**Satterlee, Alfred H.** • Joined the Society on May 12, 1859. Lived in Brooklyn, NY. • Many of his items were dispersed at auction by Bangs, Merwin & Co. in three sales held in 1862. In the same year he published a book, *An Arrangement of Medals and Tokens, struck in honor of the Presidents of the United States, and of the Presidential Candidates, from the administration of John Adams to that of Abraham Lincoln, Inclusive. Described chiefly from originals in the possession of the compiler and of Robert Hewitt, Jr., Esq.*, which was highly acclaimed in its time and stood as the standard reference for a long time thereafter.

**Smith, William H.** • Joined the Society on January 20, 1859 (lived in Brooklyn).

**Stevens, Henry F.** • Joined the Society on March 31, 1859 (of Vermont; made an honorary member by virtue of his donation of a collection of 49 Continental bills to the Society).

**Stevenson, William G.** • Joined the Society on March 17, 1859, at which time he lived at 230 West 30th Street, New York City.

**Stuart, Oliver J.** • Joined the Society on April 28, 1859. • In 1858 his directory listing notes he is an engraver at 149 Broadway, residing at 110 Franklin. • In 1859 his directory listing is the same. • In 1860 he is listed as an engraver at 149 Broadway; no residence given.

**Vail, John Cooper.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • In April 1858, when he joined the ANS, he lived at 14 & 16 Ann Street • In 1859 John C. Vail is listed as residing at 130½ West 19th Street. • In 1860 he is listed as residing at 130 (not 130½) West 19th Street. • Vail is noticed at length in Chapter 3.

**Valentine, David T.** • Joined the Society on July 28, 1859 (said to have been elected to honorary membership, per later records; no contemporary record located). Well-known compiler of New York City Common Council directories (listing city employees, etc.), such annual guides being filled with many interesting facts and illustrations about the city. Valentine was a clerk of the Common Council for many years.

**Wauzman, Max.** (or Waugman, or ?; spelling uncertain). • Joined the Society on July 13, 1858 (elected a member; he was later forgotten by ANS historians). The writer has not located him in any New York City directories of the period.

**Weed, Walter S.** • Joined the Society on January 12, 1859. • In 1857 he is listed as a clerk residing at 153 West 36th Street.

**Whitmore, Henry.** • Joined the Society on April 6, 1858. • When he joined the ANS, he lived at 162 Henry Street. (In 1857 he lived with Isaiah C. Whitmore at 162 Henry Street; Isaiah is listed as a merchant with F.H. Whitmore & Co., 47 South Street. • In 1858 the directory listings were the same. • In 1859 he is listed as a merchant at 47 South Street; residence at 162 Henry Street (with Isaiah C. Whitmore). • In 1860 he is listed as a merchant at 47 South; residence at 162 Henry Street. • Whitmore is noticed at length in Chapter 16.

**Wilcox, I.K.H.** • Joined the Society on June 9, 1859. • Of Staten Island; "elected a member for two years without dues," in consideration of a donation he made to the Society's collection).

**Williams, [Mr.].** • Joined the Society on March 31, 1859.

## OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1858-1859

**Presidents:**
Isaac Hand Gibbs, M.D. (Elected April 13, 1858).
Robert J. Dodge (November 3, 1858).

**Vice-Presidents:**
Henry Whitmore (April 13, 1858).
Henry Bogert (November 3, 1858).

**Recording Secretary:**
James Oliver (April 13, 1858, re-elected November 3, 1858).

**Corresponding Secretaries:**
Augustus B. Sage (April 13, 1858).
Frank H. Norton (November 3, 1858).

**Treasurers:**
Theophilus W. Lawrence (April 13, 1858).
William S.F. Mayers (November 3, 1858).
Frank H. Jaudon (February 17, 1859).

**Actuary:**
James D. Foskett (April 13, 1858).

**Curators** (new title for Actuary):
James D. Foskett (September 14, 1858).
Augustus B. Sage (November 3, 1858).
William L. Bramhall (January 6, 1859).
Edward Groh (April 7, 1859).

**Librarian:**
James D. Foskett (November 3, 1858).

# APPENDIX VI

# *American Numismatic Society Holdings*

The following accession records, provided by Curator Dr. John Kleeberg, reflect Sage-related items accessioned by the American Numismatic Society as gifts of Augustus B. Sage. These dates are useful as for various medals it verifies that such pieces had been struck by that time. For dies the information suggests that they could not have been used for restriking after the time of donation. Certain of the dies are illustrated earlier in the text, from photographs supplied by the Society.

In addition to medals published by Sage, he donated a large number of world coins, tokens, and other items, not cited below.

## SAGE TOKEN AND MEDAL ACCESSIONS 1858-1864

**1859, February 10:**

Crystal Palace, rev. ALL IS VANITY. No. 1 Odds and Ends.

The Hasbrook House, Newburg, No. 8, Historical Tokens.

Richmond Hill House, Washington's Head Quarters, No. 9, Historical Tokens.

Washington's Head Quarters at Tappan, rev: Liberty Tree, No. 10, Historical Tokens.

**1859, February 17:**

Sugar House, Liberty St, rev., A BRITISH PRISON, etc. No. 2. Odds and Ends.

Same as above with smaller die [second die variety, with date in three lines, but with die the same diameter?.]

Paul Morphy, the American chess king, No. 3 Odds and Ends.

The Old Provost, British Prison, No. 1 Historical Tokens.

Same as above.

City Hall, Wall Street, British Prison, No. 2 Historical Tokens.

Faneuil Hall, Boston, Cradle of American Liberty, No. 3 Historical Tokens.

Carpenters Hall, Philadelphia, ASSEMBLING PLACE, etc., No. 4 Historical Tokens.

The Old Jersey, rev: A BRITISH PRISON, No. 5, Historical Tokens.

State House Philadelphia, RENDESVOUS, No. 6, Historical Tokens.

State House Philadelphia, RENDEZVOUS, No. 6, Historical Tokens.

Mount Vernon, the Home of Washington, No. 7, Historical Tokens.

**1859, March 23:**

Charles I. Bushnell, No. 1, Numismatic Gallery.

Henry Bogert, No. 2, Numismatic Gallery.

Sir Henry Clinton's House, No. 1, B'way, No. 12, Historical Tokens.

**1859, March 31:**

The Old Swamp Church, Frankfort St., No. 13, Historical Tokens.

**1859, October 10:**

Bust of Washington, A.B. Sage & Co. Coin Dealer, 1859. 24 Division Street. Tin. Brass.

**1859, October 12:**

Washington's Head Quarters, Valley Forge, No. 11, Historical Tokens.

First Meeting House at Hartford, The Charter Oak, No. 14, Historical Tokens.

Old Masonic Hall, Broadway, No. 1, Sage's Masonic Token.

Jeremiah Colburn, No. 3, Numismatic Gallery.

Winslow Lewis, No. 5, Numismatic Gallery.

Frank Jaudon, No. 5, Numismatic Gallery.

Frank Jaudon, No. 6, Numismatic Gallery, different from above.

**1859, October 20:**

William H. Chesley, No. 7, Numismatic Gallery, Copper.

Same in tin.

Horatio N. Rust, No. 8, Numismatic Gallery, Copper.

Same in tin.

Robert J. Dodge, No. 9, Numismatic Gallery, Copper.

Same in tin.

**1864, June 9:**

Behold the Manual, Numismatist, for Valor to Gus. An electrotype. The above piece originated thus: Mr. A.B. Sage, in 1854 [*sic;* should be 1857] wrote a series of articles on coins which were published at that time in the *New-York Dispatch,* under the name of Gus, in which he quoted the Mint Manual, and as that book is full of errors, Mr. Bushnell under the name of Numismatist, corrected him very severely, the consequence of which was, a spirited controversy arose, which in the end resulted in the acquaintance of both parties. When Mr. Bushnell to commemorate the event, had 3 of the above medals made, one for himself, one for Mr. Sage (the above medal) and one for the editors of the *Dispatch.* For further particulars see *Sunday Dispatch* for November 22nd, 1854 [*sic*].

## SAGE TOKEN AND DIE INVENTORY

The following inventory represents Augustus B. Sage material in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.[1] De-

[1] Courtesy of Dr. John Kleeberg, curator, May 17, 1996. Notes are by the author (QDB) taken during a visit to the ANS, July 24, 1997.

scriptions are adapted from ANS file notations. Weights expressed in grams are from ANS notations; conversions have been made into grains by the author and are given simultaneously. The gram weights are retained as this is how they are identified on ANS specimen boxes.

## Notes:

Shanks (not including face) of various dies measure about 41 mm. to 43 mm.

Die face measurements given below are for the finished part of the die, at the end; measurements are made on the vertical axis, unless a break prevented this (in which case the exception is noted). All die faces now (in 1997) show rust, ranging from extensive to light.

Comments such as clockwise, from one point to another, etc., have been stated as found on the *finished tokens;* on the dies the directions are reversed.

### Sage's Odds and Ends:

No. 1. Crystal Palace:

Copper, plain edge (1). 13.185 grams (203.5 grains); 30.9 mm. Perfect dies.

No. 2. Old Sugar House, 2-line inscription on obverse:

Copper, plain edge (2). 11.698 grams (180.5 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 11.815 grams (182.3 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies

*Original obverse die for 2-line inscription variety.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Die rim broken off from center of beads above L in OLD to just past R in SUGAR.

*Original obverse die for 3-line inscription variety.* Diameter of die face: 30.9 mm. Notes: Die broken away from center of beads outward, from to the left of the first D in DEMOLISHED, continuing clockwise to between the S and U in SUGAR. Die crumbling (entire pieces not broken away) is seen from below the right of the second D in DEMOLISHED, clockwise to the space between 4 and 0 of the 1840 date; another crumbling from above the right side of R in SUGAR, clockwise for a short distance to just right of the H in HOUSE; another crumbling from above the left arm of Y LIBERTY, clockwise to above the left arm of Y in N.Y.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Massive rim break from beads outward, from opposite S in ODDS, clockwise to the top right of A in A BRITISH. Heavily rusted today.

No. 3. Paul Morphy:

Copper, plain edge (2). 11.159 grams (172.2 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 11.321 grams (174.7 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.7 mm. Notes: Perfect; no breaks. Die pitted near AUG. B.

### Sage's Historical Tokens:

No. 1. BRISON spelling on reverse:

Copper, plain edge (1 specimen). 11.811 grams (182.3 grains); 30.7 mm.; regular die state with break over T, N.Y. Gift of F.C.C. Boyd to the Society, 1956.

No. 1. PRISON spelling on reverse:

Copper, plain edge (3). 11.811 grams (182.3 grains); 30.7 mm.; die break slightly advanced clockwise, about the distance of two beads past the period after Y. 11.880 grams (183.3 grains); 30.8 mm.; regular die state with break over T, N.Y. 11.896 grams (183.6 grains); 30.8 mm.; regular die state with break over T, N.Y.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 17.946 grams (276.9 grains); 31.1 mm.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 17.121 grams (264.2 grains); 31.1 mm. Late reverse die state.

Silver, reeded edge (1). 11.018 grams (170.0 grains); 31.1 mm.; obverse with massive rim break from above first O in PROVOOST, clockwise to the left of and opposite the lower row of windows in the building.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Die completely broken away from beads outward. [Note: This die was used by Isaac F. Wood in the 1870s to make restrikes.]

No. 2. City Hall:

Copper, plain edge (2). 11.344 grams (175.1 grains); 30.8 mm.; obverse die with rim break from slightly below opposite the lower left corner of the building, clockwise to before C in CITY; reverse with rim break beginning at left of third link to right of A at the top of the coin (counting the link directly above A), clockwise to below H in HISTORICAL. 11.788 grams (181.9 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect obverse die; reverse with rim break beginning at left of third link to right of A at the top of the coin (counting the link directly above A), clockwise to below H in HISTORICAL; gift of F.C.C. Boyd to the ANS, 1956.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: Measurement or close estimate not possible due to condition of the die. Notes: Edge completely broken all around border, from center of beads outward.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.6 mm. Notes: Rim broken away from beading outward *except* from the middle of the link above R in PRISON, clockwise for a very short distance to the left of the edge of the link above the letter A at the top of the die.

Muling: City Hall / Old Jersey:

White metal, reeded edge (1). 8.077 grams (124.6 grains); 31.2 mm. CITY HALL die with rim completely broken away. THE OLD JERSEY die is perfect. Carelessly struck with a very high wire rim on the top part of the obverse.

No. 3. Faneuil Hall:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.475 grams (177.1 grains); 30.7 mm. Perfect dies.

White metal, reeded edge (1). 8.261 grams (127.5 grains); 31.1 mm.; obverse weakly struck at rims, but with massive rim break from at least top of token, clockwise to directly below the fourth column in the bottom part of the building; break is very clear from about 1 o'clock to its termination. Reverse die perfect from below T in TOKENS, clockwise to 12 o'clock, weakly struck and not determinable from 12 o'clock clockwise to T in TOKENS.

Lead (or tin, badly attacked by tinpest) (1). 5.369 grams (82.9 grains); 31.9 mm., but so corroded that the original diameter was probably larger. *Coin-wise (not medal-wise) die alignment.*

No. 4. Carpenters' Hall:

Copper, plain edge (2). 11.210 grams (173.0 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 11.521 grams (177.8 grains); 30.7 mm.; perfect dies.

White metal, reeded edge (1). 8.140 grams (125.6 grains); 31.1 mm.; planchet pinch at 3:30 position. Obverse die with rim broken away from beading outward; reverse from perfect die.

No. 5. Old Jersey:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.503 grams (177.5 grains); 30.8 mm.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.7 mm. Notes: Perfect; no breaks. One of the more lightly rusted of the dies preserved by the ANS.

No. 6. State House, Philadelphia. RENDESVOUS spelling:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.157 grams (172.2 grains); 30.8 mm. Gift of F.C.C. Boyd to the ANS, 1956.

No. 6. State House, Philadelphia. RENDEZVOUS spelling:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.783 grams (181.8 grains); 30.8 mm.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 18.245 grams (281.6 grains); 31.1 mm.; obverse with cud break over H and left side of O. Reverse with rim break seemingly extending all around rim, although not sharply struck up at the extreme right.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 16.872 grams (260.4 grains); 31.2 mm.;

obverse with a massive cud break at rim beginning above the left upright of H in HOUSE and continuing clockwise to above the right side of H in PHILADELPHIA; reverse with entire rim broken away.

White metal, plain edge (1). 11.080 grams (171.0 grains); 31.1 mm.; perfect dies (no breaks).

Silver, reeded edge (1). 7.188 grams (110.9 grains); 31.1 mm.;

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.7 mm. Notes: Rim broken from beads outward, from above left side of H in HOUSE, clockwise to above right of H in PHILADELPHIA; another rim break from above second A in PHILADELPHIA, clockwise a short distance to opposite corner of building ground. [Note: This die was used by Isaac F. Wood in the 1870s to make restrikes.]

No. 7. Mount Vernon.

Copper, plain edge (2). 11.361 grams (175.3 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 12.236 grams (188.8 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 16.989 grams (262.2 grains); 31.4 mm.; obverse rim broken away, reverse die state not determinable.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 14.003 grams (216.1 grains); 31.4 mm. With obverse rim completely broken away. Reverse weakly struck in areas, but from the 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock area, which is visible, there are no breaks. Gift of F.C.C. Boyd to the ANS, 1956.

No. 8. Hasbrook House:

Copper, plain edge (3). 11.238 grams (173.4 grains); 30.8 mm.; purchased by the ANS in 1935 for 25¢. 11.267 grams (173.9 grains); 30.7 mm.; perfect dies. 11.385 grams (175.7 grains); 30.7 mm.; perfect dies.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 16.981 grams (262.1 grains); 31.4 mm.; obverse (HASBROOK) die has a massive cud break beginning below the U in NEWBURG, continuing clockwise to nearly completely around the border, ending below the Y of N.Y. Reverse seemingly from a perfect die, but not completely struck up for the small area from 3 o'clock to 5 o'clock.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 14.011 grams (216.2 grains); 31.4 mm. obverse has a massive cud break possibly beginning below the U in NEWBURG (indistinctly struck at that point and for most of the rest of the border). Reverse with break beginning below left side of U in AUG. and continuing clockwise to an unknown point (not sharply struck at the border).

No. 9. Richmond Hill House:

Copper, plain edge (2). 11.180 grams (172.5 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 11.686 grams (180.3 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 14.246 grams (219.8 grains); 31.2 mm.; obverse with cud break at rim beginning above upper right of M in RICHMOND and extending clockwise to opposite lower right side of ground (upon which the building is situated). Reverse die perfect, but with rust around the balance scales.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 16.784 grams (258.7 grains); 31.2 mm.; obverse rim is broken at the border, beginning slightly below lower center of bottom row of windows, clockwise nearly completely around the rim to below the right side of R in ERECTED. Reverse die perfect, but with rust around the balance scales and with the "o" in No. (part of No. 9 inscription) incomplete, possibly from die lapping.

Silver, reeded edge (1). 11.163 grams (172.3 grains); 31.2 mm.; perfect dies, but with rust.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. (estimated from a series of trial measurements; today the die is broken at the rim). Notes: Edge broken away from opposite the lower part of the lower row of windows on the left of the token, clockwise nearly all around the border to below tail of R in ERECTED. [Note: This die was used by Isaac F. Wood in the 1870s to make restrikes.]

No. 10. Washington's Headquarters at Tappan:

Copper, plain edge (3). 11.460 grams (176.9 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 11.836 grams (182.7 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 12.591 grams (194.3 grains); 30.8 mm.; probably perfect dies, but obverse rim not fully struck up.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 16.935 grams (261.3 grains); 31.4 mm.; obverse with massive cud break at rim, details indeterminable due to striking. Reverse with massive rim break beginning at an unknown point, but to the left of the 6 o'clock position, after which the striking is indistinct to about the 11 o'clock position, from which point the massive cud break is distinct, well past TREE and ending at the 3 o'clock position.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 13.787 grams (212.8 grains); 31.4 mm.; obverse die with indistinctly struck rim overall. Reverse with indistinctly struck rim except from 8 o'clock clockwise to 2:30, where a massive rim break is seen.

White metal, reeded edge (1). 12.590 grams (194.3 grains); 31.6 mm. Obverse with massive rim break around, but not at lower left from about 7:30 to 9:30 position (indistinctly struck, thus not completely determinable). Reverse with entire rim broken away outside of beads.

No. 11. Valley Forge.

Copper, plain edge (3). 11.226 grams (173.2 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 11.232 grams (173.3 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 11.442 grams (176.6 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 16.843 grams (259.9 grains); 31.5 mm. Late die state as described in the main text.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 13.822 grams (213.3 grains); 31.4 mm.; the obverse has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the E in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right; reverse rim indistinctly struck in areas, but without rim breaks from 6 o'clock clockwise to 12 o'clock, after which point the state is not determinable.

White metal, reeded edge (1). 16.683 grams (257.5 grains); 31.6 mm.; the obverse has a massive cud break at the rim, beginning below the E in VALLEY and continuing clockwise nearly completely around the rim, ending opposite the middle of the fence at the right. Reverse from perfect die.

No. 12. Sir Henry Clinton's House:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.221 grams (173.2 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 17.969 grams (277.3 grains); 31.2 mm.; obverse with rim broken from below the R in BROADWAY, continuing clockwise to an indeterminable point (due to indistinct striking), the rim resuming its clarity below the second A of BROADWAY, and without a break from that point to the starting point at the R. Reverse die with massive rim break from below U in AUG., clockwise past stars, to near the 8th star.

Brass, reeded edge (1). 16.721 grams (258.0 grains); 31.2 mm.; obverse rim broken away or removed from centerpoint (approximately) of beads to rim. Reverse die with cud break at rim from below U of AUG., clockwise to opposite 10th star (counting the stars beginning at left); another rim break from opposite 21st and 22nd stars clockwise to below left side of K in TOKENS.

Silver, reeded edge (1). 10.944 grams (168.9 grains); 31.1 mm.; obverse with massive cud break at rim, beginning to the right of No. at the bottom, continuing clockwise to above the left side of the first N in CLINTON. Another cud break is at the rim opposite Y, N.Y. Two die cracks at lower rim, one to the left of B and the other below the left side of R in BROADWAY. Reverse from perfect die (no breaks). Both dies repolished, but with many rust pits.

No. 13. Old Swamp Church.

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.741 grams (181.2 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies.

Copper, reeded edge (1). 17.981 grams (277.5 grains); 31.1 mm.; with breaks (see main text).

Brass, reeded edge (1). 16.693 grams (257.6 grains); 31.1 mm.; obverse with a massive cud break beginning at a point directly below the rightmost window in the building, extending clockwise to cover nearly all of the rim, to a point to the right of and opposite the rightmost

window. On the reverse, the rim is broken beginning below the I in HISTORICAL and continuing clockwise to opposite the second rhomboid-shaped ornament from the left.

Silver, reeded edge (1). 10.805 grams (166.7 grains); 31.1 mm.; perfect dies.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. (measurement made possible as the part broken away does not extend completely down to the main part of the shank). Notes: Rim completely broken away from center of beads outward, all around border. [Note: This die was used by Isaac F. Wood in the 1870s to make restrikes.]

No. 14. First Meeting House in Hartford:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.290 grams (174.2 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies.

The ANS cabinet also has a copper-surface electrotype, 15.585 grams (240.5 grains); 30.9 mm.

**Sage's Numismatic Gallery:**

General note: Extant dies in this series are, generally, more heavily rusted than those in the preceding series; they were not used for restriking and thus were not as carefully preserved.

No. 1. Charles Bushnell:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.420 grams (176.2 grains); 30.7 mm.; perfect dies.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

No. 2. Henry Bogert:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.622 grams (179.4 grains); 30.7 mm.; perfect dies.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Medium to heavy rust today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

No. 3. Jeremiah Colburn:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.297 grams (174.3 grains); 30.7 mm.; perfect dies.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.6 mm.; smaller than standard. Notes: Small rim break or chip behind top of head, about the length of two or three beads; Heavily rusted today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.7 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

No. 4. James Chilton.

[Not represented either by tokens or dies.]

No. 5. Winslow Lewis:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.282 grams (174.1 grains); 30.7 mm.; perfect dies

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

No. 5. Frank Jaudon:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.602 grams (179.0 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies

No. 6. Frank Jaudon:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.639 grams (179.6 grains); 30.8 mm.; early die state with just one radial crack; thin line crack through beads (see text).

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.7 mm. Notes: Die broken at rim from the right of the leftmost bottom star, clockwise for a short distance, irregularly, to about opposite the A in AUG. This die was also used to strike the No. 6 *William H. Chesley* token (an example of which is not in the ANS collection). Heavily rusted today.

No. 7. William H. Chesley:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.821 grams (182.4 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect die; no breaks.

White metal, plain edge (1). 9.605 grams (148.2 grains); 30.8 mm.; Perfect die; no breaks.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 31.5 mm.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

No. 8. Horatio Rust:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.710 grams (180.6 grains); 30.8 mm.; Perfect die; no breaks.

White metal, plain edge (1). 9.459 grams (146.0 grains); 30.8 mm.; Perfect die; no breaks.

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.7 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Rim break from beading outward, from above the rightmost star, clockwise to several beads before the next star. Heavily rusted today.

No. 9. Robert J. Dodge:

Copper, plain edge (1). 11.500 grams (177.5 grains); 30.8 mm.; Perfect die; no breaks.

White metal, plain edge (1). 9.581 grams (147.9 grains); 30.8 mm.; Perfect die; no breaks. Bulge on reverse to the left of No. 9 (from a blister or bubble in the planchet; the extant die shows no bulge).

*Original obverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.8 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Heavily rusted today.

*Original reverse die.* Diameter of die face: 30.7 mm. Notes: Perfect die; no breaks. Very heavily rusted today.

**Sage's Masonic Medalets:**

No. 1. Old Masonic Hall:

Copper, plain edge (2). 11.498 grams (177.4 grains); 30.8 mm.; perfect dies. 12.500 grams (192.9 grains); 31.4 mm.

*Original obverse die.* Notes: Diameter of die face: Measurement or close estimate not possible. Notes: Rim completely broken away from center of beads outward, all around the border. [Note: This die was used by Isaac F. Wood in the 1870s to make restrikes.]

Muling of Old Masonic Hall / reverse with emblems of Freemasonry:

Copper, plain edge, rounded rim[1] (1). 17.797 grams (274.6 grains); 31.2 mm. Die breaks as described in main text.

Brass, plain edge (1). 16.452 grams (253.8 grains); 31.2 mm.; obverse die not completely struck up, but seemingly with massive rim break around much or all of rim.

Muling of Old Masonic Hall / reverse with Masonic Temple dedicated June 2, 1875:

Brass, plain edge (1). 16.590 grams (256.0 grains); 31.3 mm. OLD MASONIC HALL die seemingly broken all around, but not completely clear. Break at N.Y.

[Related muling, but not with Sage dies] Obverse, emblems of Freemasonry / reverse with Masonic Temple dedicated June 2, 1875:

White metal, plain edge (1). 10.089 grams (155.7 grains); 31.2 mm.

**Sage Store Cards:**

Adams-Miller NY-750 (1). Copper. 12.122 grams (187.1 grains); 30.8 mm.; obverse die seemingly with rim completely broken, or else

[1] Typical of restrikes in the Sage series; original impressions of the correct No. 1 die combination by Sage have wire or knife rims (cf. Dr. John Kleeberg, May 17, 1997).

struck so as not to permit identification; uncertain state.

Adams-Miller NY-751 (1). Brass. 10.901 grams (168.2 grains); 30.8 mm.; obverse from die with outer rim broken away.

Adams-Miller NY-752 (1). White metal. 9.623 grams (148.5 grains); 31.0 mm.; CITY HALL obverse with rim break from lower left corner of building ground, clockwise to just before C of CITY.

Adams-Miller NY-754 (1). Brass. 10.743 grams (165.8 grains); 30.9 mm.; obverse from perfect die (no rim breaks).

Adams-Miller NY-755 (1). Copper. 10.097 grams (155.8 grains); 30.9 mm.; obverse rim indistinctly struck so as not to permit examination of die state.

Adams-Miller NY-756 (plain edge) (1). White metal. 9.533 grams (147.1 grains); 30.9 mm.; obverse from perfect die (no rim breaks).

Adams-Miller NY-758 (1). Copper. 5.488 grams (84.7 grains); 20.5 mm.

Adams-Miller NY-759 (1). Brass. 4.582 grams (70.7 grains); 20.5 mm.

Adams-Miller NY-760 (1). White metal. 4.101 grams (63.3 grains); 20.5 mm.

Adams-Miller NY-762 (1). Copper. 6.538 grams (100.9 grains); 20.5 mm.

Adams-Miller NY-763 (1). Brass. 4.611 grams (71.2 grains); 20.5 mm.

Adams-Miller NY-768 (1). White metal. 2.308 grams (35.6 grains); 15.5 mm.; obverse from perfect die; reverse with cud break at top rim above B., S, and part way to A (of SAGE); irregular cud breaks above E & C (of SAGE & Co.); possibly some rim break irregularities at the 2 o'clock position, but not determinable. From A.B. Sage, October 10, 1859.

**Sage/Bushnell medal:**

"To Gus for Valor" electrotype medal in silver (1). 16.105 grams (248.5 grains); 30.2 mm. Silvered surfaces over unknown metal. Described by Edward Groh in ANS *Proceedings*, 1901, p. 69, under title of "A Rare Medal."

**Cyrus W. Field medal (1st Reverse)**

Copper (1). 79.286 grams (1,223.5 grains); 51.2 mm. Obverse die perfect; reverse die with bisecting crack extending from rim, between P and E of DESPERANDUM, through the medal at the center (going through the word IN), exiting at lower right at right side of C in VINCIT, to rim. Gift to ANS via the bequest of R.J. Eidlitz and gift of Mrs. R.G. Eidlitz.

**Cyrus W. Field medal (2nd Reverse)**

Copper (2). 69.342 grams (1,070.1 grains); 50.9 mm.; light rim breaks at the 3:30, 4, 5, and 7 o'clock positions. 80.011 grams (1,234.7 grains); 51.2 mm.; late die state with breaks at the 2, 3:30, , 4, 5, 6 and 7 o'clock positions, plus interior breaks.

**Fort Sumter medal.**

Brass (1). 164.320 grams (2,535.8 grains); 69.9 mm. Gift of F.C.C. Boyd, 1956.

White metal (1). 191.186 grams (2,950.4 grains); 69.9 mm.

Silver (1). 101.563 grams (1,567.3 grains); 69.9 mm.

# Appendix VII

# *Sage Directory, Census, and Related Listings*

The following selected listings from directories and other listings are among those consulted during the preparation of the text. Entries relate to Sage and his family.

## 1850 Federal Census Data

The federal census data for 1850 show Catherine Sage living in the 11th Ward of the city of New York in Dwelling 1139, data taken on August 13, 1850. This and other census data often contained errors, for the interviewee may have forgotten or incorrectly remembered certain birth dates, certain spellings may have been incorrectly transcribed by the census taker, etc.

Catherine Sage, age 50, female, born in Connecticut.

John Sage, age 21, shoemaker. [No birth place given for John and following.]

Benjamin Sage, age 19, shoemaker [his trade].

Francis [or Frances?] Sage, age 23.

Agnis [Agnes? Agnas?] Sage, age 17.

Harriet [not clear] Sage, age 14.

Augustus Sage, age 9, in first [*sic*] grade of school.

Georgianna Sage, age 7, in first grade of school.

## Catherine Sage, Widow of Robert Sage,

### City Directory Listings

Although Augustus B. Sage is not listed in directories prior to 1858, his mother, Catherine Sage, is recorded with the following addresses from 1850 to 1874, with some gaps (including some times, such as 1863-1864, when she was living with Augustus).

1850-51: 109 Avenue B [first time she is listed].

1855-56: 259 Delancey Street.

1857: 259 Delancey Street.

1858: 121 Essex Street.

1858: (The only Sage listed at 121 Essex Street is Benjamin).

1868: 279 Seventh Street.

1870: 279 Seventh Street [in this location he is listed under the 1870 census data for the household of Catherine Sage; see below].

1873-74: 32 Rutgers Street.

## Catherine Sage in 1870

### (Census Data)

On July 1, 1870, the federal census data include widow Catherine Sage and her family at 279 Seventh Street, in the 19th District of the 19th Ward, New York City. In residence were the following family members. It will be seen that these names do not correlate in all instances with the family members in the household 20 years earlier in 1850.

Catherine Sage, age 70, female, white, born in Connecticut.

Benjamin Sage, age 38, male, white, broker [his trade], born in Connecticut.

Frances Sage, age 36, female, white, born in Connecticut. [Seemingly a different person from the Francis or Frances mentioned in the 1850 census; the ages are inconsistent]

Augustus Sage, age 29, male, white, lawyer, born in Connecticut.

Agnes [or Agnas?] Sage, age 26, white, born in Connecticut.

Augina (spelling?) Sage, age 21, female, white, born in Connecticut.

## Augustus B. Sage

### Directory Listings

In 1863-1864 Augustus B. Sage appears in New York City directories as a stationer, living at 46 Rivington Street. This was also the address of "Sage, Catherine, widow of Robert." However, directories were noted for having stale information, and this data, prepared in 1862 or 1863, may indicate what Sage was doing *before* he went into the military service.

*Trow's New York City Directory* issues of various dates give an overview of Sage's locations.[1] It should be noted, however, that directory listings often lagged actual address changes. Moreover, most information for a directory was prepared the year before the date on the directory. For example, an examination of the 1861 edition indicates that the final entries were made in the summer of 1860.

Prior to 1859: Not listed (for he was living with his mother Catherine Sage).

1859-60: Stationer, 24 Division; home at 140 Norfolk. His brother Benjamin lived at the same address.

[1] From directory searches by Scot Willingham.

1860-61: Coins, 24 Division; home at 456 Fourth Street.

1861-62: Stationer, home at 46 Rivington Street.

1862-63: Stationer, home at 46 Rivington.

1863-64: Stationer, home at 46 Rivington.

1864-65: Not listed.

1865-66: Books, home at 155 Orchard Street.

1866-67: Lawyer, 863 Broadway; home at 155 Orchard.

1867-68: (No copy seen).

1868-68: Not listed.

1869-70: Not listed.

1870-71: Not listed.

1871-72: Lawyer; home at 279 Seventh Street (his mother's address; see below).

1872-73: Lawyer, home at 22 Henry Street.

## MARTINDALE-HUBBELL LISTING OF LAWYERS:

1868: Sage, Augustus B. 37 Nassau, h. 137 Madison Avenue.[1]

[1] This was last year (1868) that the directory was published in Sage's lifetime; years later it was issued on a regular basis.

# APPENDIX VIII

# *Mionnet Scale Equivalents*

## *Commentaries on Other Scales and Conversion Data*

For ease in translating certain early catalogue descriptions of tokens given in the Mionnet scale the following approximations may be useful. The same scale was widely used to describe other numismatic series as well, in many American catalogues prior to the mid-1860s.

This scale was devised by Théodore Edme Mionnet and published in Paris in 1806 in the first volume of *Description de Médailles Antiques,* a series continued through the 16th volume in 1837.[1] During the early nineteenth century there was a great passion for medals among French citizens, and the works of Duvivier, Caqué, Gatteaux, Puymaurin, and others were widely collected. France was viewed as the world's premier source for art medals, and certain early American historical medals were produced there, the most familiar being Dupré's Libertas Americana.

In America the Mionnet Scale was published extensively in auction catalogues and in books (including in Montroville W. Dickeson's landmark study, *American Numismatical Manual,* 1859, p. 30). As it required constant reference to a printed scale (and some printed scales were irregular and inaccurate), it was generally laid aside in America in the mid-1860s and replaced by the American Scale, which had been devised by Mark W. Collet and had been adopted by the Philadelphia Numismatic and Antiquarian Society in September 1858.[2] The American Sale was in 1/16ths of an inch; thus, "Size 16" represented a coin 1 inch in diameter, "Size 32" equaled a 2-inch coin, etc. At their meeting of October 20, 1859, members of the American Numismatic Society, New York, discussed the official adoption of the American Scale per a suggestion made by Dr. Collet, who was a guest on that day, but no action was taken. After this meeting the American Numismatic Society became inactive. Upon resumption of its meetings in spring 1864, the scale was adopted.

In later times, continuing to the present day, it became popular to express coin diameters in millimeters per the metric system. In May 1877 in *Numisma,* Édouard Frossard commented:

> The Mionnet scale of measurement for coins and medals may now be considered as entirely superseded in France and other countries by the more convenient and far more exact scale of *millimeters.* Much might be said in favor of the adoption of the same scale by numismatic societies and authorities of the United States and Canada, and very little, we believe, against it. The columns of *Numisma* are open for the discussion of the subject, and we invite contributions from those who feel sufficiently interested to give our readers their views.

In the July 1878 issue of *Numisma,* Frossard took up the subject again:

> The new metric scale for measuring coins is divided into millimeters. These are the thousandths of a meter (the international unit of length, now legalized in this country), as the centimeter is the hundredth and the decimeter the tenth. It is, therefore, a decimal scale, and as the numbers of the sizes correspond with the numbers of the millimeters, the size of a coin is the number of millimeters in its diameter. All countries using the metric system measure the diameters of their coins in millimeters, so that the use of this scale will place us in conformity with the rest of the world. It is so superior to the old scale of sixteenths of an inch that it is hoped its adoption will not be far distant.

Meanwhile, in *The Coin Collector's Journal,* May 1878, New York City collector William Boerum Wetmore, without reference to Frossard's 1877 comments or any other earlier proposals, suggested that the scale of 16ths of an inch for coin measurement be dropped, and the metric system used instead. During the next several years a few citations called the metric scale the "Wetmore scale" or "Wetmore system." Wetmore lived in New York City.[3]

Notwithstanding its precision, the metric scale of millimeters was not widely used in the United States until well into the twentieth century.

With both the American Scale and the metric system, standard measuring devices such as rulers and calipers could be used, and it was not necessary to refer to a printed scale in a numismatic book.

### MIONNET SCALE (COMPLETE)

The Mionnet scale, irregular in its intervals, is given herewith:

Mionnet Scale, Size 1 = 9.0 mm.
Mionnet 2 = 12.5 mm.
Mionnet 3 = 15.0 mm.
Mionnet 4 = 18.0 mm.
Mionnet 5 = 21.5 mm.

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[1] Bibliographical information from George F. Kolbe, May 21, 1997.

[2] The Society was founded on January 1, 1858, with papers signed on January 21, 1858, to become the first coin collectors' group in America. Founders included Joseph J. Mickley, Arthur G. Coffin, Samuel H. Fulton, William S. Vaux, Alfred B. Taylor, John Bohlen, J. Ledyard Hodge, Mark W. Collet, M.D., and Montgomery L. Frederick.

[3] On June 27-28, 1906, Major Wetmore's collection was sold by the Chapman brothers, the final auction event before the partnership dissolved and the Chapmans pursued their business individually.

Mionnet 6 = 24.0 mm.
Mionnet 7 = 26.5 mm.
Mionnet 8 = 29.0 mm.
Mionnet 9 = 32.0 mm.
Mionnet 10 = 35.5 mm.
Mionnet 11 = 38.0 mm.
Mionnet 12 = 40.5 mm.
Mionnet 13 = 43.5 mm.
Mionnet 14 = 52.0 mm.
Mionnet 15 = 56.5 mm.
Mionnet 16 = 61.0 mm.
Mionnet 17 = 65 mm.
Mionnet 18 = 71.0 mm.
Mionnet 19 = 78.5 mm.

## AMERICAN SCALE (ABSTRACT)

The typical token in Sage's Historical, Numismatic Gallery, and Odds and Ends series measured close to 31 mm. To aid in converting from American Scale sizes in this general range, the following abstract is given.

American Scale, Size 18 = 28.6 mm.
American Scale, Size 19 = 30.2 mm.
American Scale, Size 20 = 31.8 mm.
American Scale, Size 21 = 33.3 mm.

It is seen that neither the Mionnet Scale nor the American Scale is particularly useful in determining minute differences in diameter. In applications in historical listings of Sage's tokens in books and catalogues, measurements have been inconsistent. Today, the use of the metric (millimeter) scale is more objective.

## GRAINS TO GRAMS (CONVERSION FORMULA)

In instances in which weights are given, in nearly all historical catalogue descriptions of Sage medals the weights are expressed in grains. To convert grains to grams use this formula:

1 grain = 0.0648 grams.

Thus, for example, a Sage token weighing 180.3 grains also weighs 11.68 grams.

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